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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME VII.

JANUARY TO JUNE, 1900

Fourth Series

DUBLIN
BROWNE & NOLAN, LIMITED, NASSAU-STREET
1900
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Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

BROWNE & NOLAN, LTD., NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

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THE VALUE OF A SCRUPLE

'Magna vis est conscientiae, et magna in utramque partem: ut neque timeant, qui nihil commiserint, et poenam semper ante oculos versari putent, qui peccarint.'—CICERO, *Pro Milone*, xxiii. 61.

THERE is no one but admits that this is a reading age. Free libraries are yearly multiplying in number; lending libraries are increasing their stock of books; and the press of the country, from week to week, is unceasingly pouring forth upon the world a seemingly endless supply of printed matter, the degrees of excellence of which are as multi-coloured as Joseph's coat. That most of this stuff is read, somewhere or another, is undeniable; but equally certain it is that a vast portion of it is calculated to do a large amount of mischief. Writers who have established for themselves a name can always count upon a host of readers, whose applause and appreciation add very materially to the market value of the writer's output. Milton would raise his hands in astonishment could he but learn the net earnings of an ordinary mediocre scribe of to-day, who, with the business instinct of the man of the world, carefully gauges the wants of the public, and then sets himself to supply them.

Like the rest of their neighbours, our Catholic people are engaged in the perusal of current literature. Works of fiction are most in demand, and the fiction of to-day is a widely different thing to what it was fifty years since, when

the works of Lever, Charlotte Brontë, Thackeray, Dickens, and Lytton amused and improved our fathers. The world, however, has advanced with giant strides since those days. Questions then unheard, perhaps undreamt of, are now occupying our thoughts, and pressing for solution with a persistency which cannot be ignored. Some of these questions have been taken up by our novelists, and have been set forth with considerable skill and power. Thus the novel whose theme is the eternal question of sex, man's inhumanity to woman, the clashing of human love with sacred obligations, and the drowning of the voice of conscience in the maelstrom of passion, is sufficiently well known to most of us.

It has frequently struck me as being not a little strange how few first-rate Catholic writers of fiction we have had during the last decade. There certainly have been writers who were more or less generally known to be Catholics; but in so far as their published works are concerned, they might just as well have been Parsees. They have shown no disposition to write about or to put before the world types of character which must have been familiar to them, and about which the world knows all too little. Latterly there would seem to be an improvement in this respect. In fact, during the last few years we have had works from the pens of some of our leading and most popular novelists in which the Catholic faith and Catholic principle have been fairly, and even sympathetically, treated. Amongst other works, I may mention *Helbeck of Bannisdale*, by Mrs. Humphrey Ward, and *The School for Saints*, by John Oliver Hobbs (Mrs. Craigie), who is generally known to be a Catholic. In the pages of these and similar works Catholics will find much to admire, and little, if anything, to censure. Still the general run of writers leave us severely alone. The patronage of such authors as Mr. Hewlett, evidenced by such works as his *Little Novels of Italy*—a book of singular fascination—is but a very qualified advantage.

What is there, I often ask myself, in the priestly character which prevents its being pourtrayed with some show of truth and accuracy? Has any writer ever done for

the Catholic priesthood what Barrie and MacLaren have accomplished on behalf of the Presbyterian ministers of Scotland? If such a one there be, I confess with shame that I know him not; in fact, a highly interesting and amusing article might be written under the heading of the 'Catholic Priest in Fiction.' The vulgar Protestant prejudice of a certain class of writers, who love to pander to the bigotry of a section of our population, need not be taken into serious account. With such we are the living embodiment of all that is deceitful, dishonest, and salacious. Grossly ignorant ourselves, we fatten on the still more abysmal nescience of the creatures to whom we minister. Of gentlemanly conduct we have no concept; personal cleanliness has no attraction for us. In a word, there is no limit to our moral turpitude. The smiling, slippery, unctuous Jesuit, sketched for us by Thackeray, is but a slight remove from the more commonly received type. He may not be deficient in culture, he may even speak in the language of a gentleman; but *au fond* he is a most despicable cad. Lever, and certain other less widely-known Irish writers, have put before the world types of Irish and foreign priests, richly endowed in the matter of animal instincts and earthly inclinations, jovial, punch-drinking fellows, with red faces and bloated stomachs, the living antithesis of all that is spiritual and ghostly. Even writers who may be regarded as more or less favourably disposed towards us fail utterly when they come to depict the clerical character. There would seem to be no golden mean between the extreme of boisterous good nature, speaking in the language of the peasantry, and showing no trace of culture or refinement, and a bloodless, heartless asceticism which can never fail to repel and to disgust. Surely, the vast majority of us do not come under either of these two headings; and is no one to be found to describe for us the priest we all know so well—the man of education and gentle breeding, who has renounced the world, and devoted himself, not unfrequently in the midst of the most depressing surroundings, to ministering to the poor; a man of simple habits, and kind-hearted, large-minded, and tolerant, undemonstrative

in his piety, and ever ready to overlook the faults and the failings of others. Such men—and there are thousands of them—prove to the world, by their example, the living power of the Catholic faith. They are held in reverence and esteem by our bitterest opponents, who must admit that their lives are fully in square with their doctrines. Tennyson wrote of

> The snowy-banded, dilettante
> Delicate-handed priest.

But for such an one there is no place in our system: we know him not.

When Mr. Robert Buchanan sat down to write his *Father Anthony*, no doubt he intended to be very kind and complimentary in his references to the Irish priesthood. He chose two specimens for action in the book. Of these the older, Father John, is more or less drawn after the Lever model; the second, who gives his name to the work, Father Anthony, is one of those spineless, lymphatic individuals who seems too good by far for human nature's daily food. He goes over the hills and moors in his cassock and biretta, till he is mud all over; and is described for us as wearing a chasuble, nothing less, when administering the last Sacraments to a dying peasant in his cabin. And this crazy creature is put before us as an ideal priest by the writer of the story.

Readers of Dr. Barry's recent work, *The Two Standards*, will remember a few glimpses the book furnishes of a white-robed monk, who appears thus attired in the drawing-rooms of the great, and converses very learnedly. However, after a few spasmodic appearances, he disappears altogether.

What I have said concerning the feebleness of Catholic influence in modern literature comes home to one all the more forcibly when he is requested to write out a list of books fit to be read, say by Catholic girls of eighteen or nineteen, who have just left school, and taken their first step, so to speak, out into that great world, successful resistance to whose spirit and allurements demands careful grounding in the principles of solid virtue. Where is one

to draw the line? A too sudden acquaintance with the seamy side of life, with its unspeakable debaucheries and insincerities, is bad; but a complete ignorance of them is still worse, and may place a young girl at a serious disadvantage in the early stages of her journey through life. Our people must read something, and if that something is represented by the majority of the works of fiction given to the world, they gradually come to imbibe the un-Catholic spirit, which only too frequently pervades such publications. Unheeded at first, the subtle poison works its way, until, sooner or later, we feel astounded at the extent to which it has coloured our thoughts and views.

Conscious of these dangers, we should be all the more ready to welcome and to peruse any work coming from a Catholic source, and, more especially, one that claims our attention in virtue of its intrinsic merits, not merely from the fact that its author holds the same religious views as ourselves. Such a book, in my estimation, is Mrs. Wilfrid Ward's *One Poor Scruple*, which, since its publication a few months ago, has attracted a considerable amount of attention in literary circles, and amongst the reading public in general.

The book brings before us the daily life, the habits of mind and thought, the prejudices, likes and dislikes, of that most conservative and exclusive of those venerable institutions which have survived to us from the past, an old English Catholic family. Such were the Riversdales, whose family seat is at Skipton-le-Grange. In the sixteenth century (we read) one Riversdale had been hanged, drawn, and quartered, and a second imprisoned for life in a jail where life could only be of the shortest, for the criminal offences of harbouring priests and having Mass celebrated at Skipton-le-Grange. In the seventeenth century the family had gone through all the ups and downs, all the hopes and disappointments that befell the Catholics of England. They had fought for Charles I., stood by Charles II. But after the *debâcle* in the case of James II., 'the darkness thickened; and the Riversdales, and many other Catholic families with them, became as those who

have no hope in this world.' When the Relief Act of 1778 was passed, it found a young squire, William Riversdale, at Skipton, a high-spirited fellow, who, like most Catholics of those days, had been educated in France, where he had been received at court by Louis XVI., and had moved in the best society. We can imagine the feelings of this young squire when, on the first occasion he attended quarter sessions, he heard the official announce that he had 'made diligent search for Papists.' At a dinner party he attended, the Lord Lieutenant of the county almost left the company when he heard there was a Papist present. But Riversdale's cup of mortification did not quite overflow until he had had a quarrel with an acquaintance on the hunting-field, when the latter reminded him that the magnificent horse he rode was only his on sufferance, and that, as a Catholic, he was bound by law to give the animal to anyone who offered him £5 in exchange. Matters continued thus till Catholic Emancipation was won, when the Catholics of this country took 'their position socially, and in the professions, and were on good terms with their immediate neighbours.'

But the memory of past wrongs is not soon obliterated, and so the Catholics of England were inclined to revert too much to the past. As Mrs. Ward puts it:—

> Their traditions and their way of life bore many traces of their past history. The persecuted had come, in many cases, to idealize the enforced seclusions and inaction of penal days. Politics were too dangerous, and the army and navy soul-imperilling professions. A curious, hardly expressed tradition, regarded idleness even in the younger sons as both virtuous and aristocratic.

George Riversdale, the squire in possession at the time the story opens, is a very noble character. It does not demand much discernment to see the regard Mrs. Ward entertains for his good qualities. Tall, upright, broad-chested, George Riversdale was 'a strong man, strong in will, large in affections, just in personal judgments; a fox-hunter, who made an hour's meditation every morning, and a powerful landlord, who carried soup to bed-ridden old women.' He found it hard to forgive the man that shot a

fox. Then only did he succeed in doing so when he had to prepare for confession: '.and it was felt in the family to be a serious matter if a fox had been shot near the eve of the eight great feast days.'

Mrs. Riversdale, the squire's partner, also came of an old Catholic family. She had all the defects of the good qualities of her class. Confined in her mental outlook she was on several subjects prejudiced, and a trifle contemptuous. A lady to her finger tips, she made no effort to conceal her dislike for people of a lower social scale who would fain consider themselves her equals. Exacting in the regard of others, she was yet strict upon herself. Her heart was in the right place, but the austerity of her manner checked the outward manifestation of her affections. She lectured the wife of her brother-in-law upon the importance of making her morning meditation in the chapel before mass. 'No one,' she declared, 'could do it quite so well after breakfast;' and urged her strongly not to go to confession to Father Newman. 'You know he was a Protestant clergyman, and he can't quite know'

For this couple, devotedly attached to one another, life held many bitter trials and sorrows. The angel of death was most persistent in his visits to the nursery at Skipton. Yet it seemed to the parents that the little ones had not gone far away.

In moments after communion, moments when they knelt together alone before the Blessed Sacrament, they felt that those four boys and girls, and one tiny baby were about them still. Under the chapel in the vault below lay those short coffins, and our Blessed Lady kept their spotless souls ever in her sight.

One son, George, was spared to them. But he came to be a source of anxiety, and, finally, of shame to his parents. The whole story turns, as on a pivot, upon this poor fellow's marriage. When on a visit to Scotland, he met the O'Reillys, a wealthy Liverpool mercantile family of Irish extraction. The second daughter of the family, Madge, was singularly beautiful, *petite* in stature, and had received her educatian in a high-class French convent, where her gifts of beauty and refinement had been carefully developed.

'Her French education,' we read, 'and her Celtic descent combined in perfection, and produced a strange variation in the Liverpool merchant's family.' The charms of Madge O'Reilly proved too overpowering even for the Saxon temperament of George Riversdale, who proposes, and is accepted. His parents are totally opposed to the match, Madge's good looks and large fortune notwithstanding. 'In their eyes the girl was not only without antecedents, but was weak and frivolous.' Mrs. Riversdale, especially, was quite averse to this *mésalliance*, as it seemed to her; and, probably, with the best intentions in the world, made up her mind that 'this unfortunate little O'Reilly girl should live with them as soon as she became Mrs. George, and then she could teach her new daughter-in-law how to be a fervent Catholic and a lady.' This plan, however, was foredoomed to prove a ridiculous failure; for two women more diametrically opposed in mind and character than Madge and her mother-in-law can be imagined only with difficulty. The marriage was a ghastly mis-success. 'Hot love soon colde,' says Heywood; and poor Madge soon discovered that her husband was a brute, and wanting in all the finer instincts to be expected from one of his class. Someone has said, that—

> Love is a burden, which two hearts,
> When equally they bear their parts,
> With pleasure carry; but no one,
> Alas! can bear it long alone.

But Madge had to bear the load as well as her nature would permit whilst she witnessed her husband's ill-conduct; saw him desert her; and, finally, heard of his death in scandalous surroundings without the sacraments, without even one word expressive of sorrow for his misdeeds. The child born of this union died shortly after its birth. Its widowed mother soon severs her connection with Skipton-le-Grange, and takes up her abode in London.

At the time the story opens we find Madge in her town residence, in conversation with Mrs. Hurstmonceaux, a woman of the world, and thorough mistress of all the moods and tenses of that most unsatisfying inheritance.

Mr. and Mrs. Riversdale have sent their daughter-in-law an invitation to come and see them at Skipton, which she feels constrained to accept, not out of any regard she entertains for them, but because her presence is necessary for the settling up of certain business matters. Amongst the other invited guests are Marmaduke Lemarchant, a young and promising officer; Hilda Riversdale, a niece of the squire; and Mark Fieldes, a man of literary instincts, but a suist to the backbone. We now meet for the first time Mary Riversdale, the squire's only surving child, and a girl of rare beauty, sweetness, and charm of manner.

Madge arrives at Skipton, with her French maid and several trunks filled with the most modish costumes in shades the most aggresive permissible to a widow in half mourning. She feels anything but at home. The sight of the austere face of her mother-in-law brings to the front all the worst elements in her character. She feels she cannot fall lower than she has already in the old lady's estimation, so she takes a sort of pleasure in violating all the rules and customs which every member of the Skipton household, visitors included, are expected to observe. As Mrs. Ward puts it, 'to Mrs. Riversdale, Madge was a reminder of facts in the life of the dead son whom she had idolized—facts which she angrily refused to face. For her George's widow was the undying witness to the family tragedy. How, then, could Madge be anything but odious to Mrs. Riversdale?' But, then, how could Madge be other than anathema to her mother-in-law, considering the dresses in which she appeared at dinner, the number of cigarettes she smoked, the French novels she read. Could any woman, the squire's wife asked herself, be either respectable or moral who smoked cigarettes and read those scandalous French novels?

There was something more, however, in Madge than appeared on the surface. The strongest attraction that brought her to Skipton was the hunger of her mother's heart to gaze upon her child's coffin in the vault. She remembered the hour when that sacred deposit had been given into her keeping 'a great secret, clothed in her own flesh. She had looked on her child's face with an immense

surprise. This was not a baby such as her friends had had; this was a human being. This was her best friend, this wise soul in its tiny coverings.' Mary Riversdale, suspecting Madge's desire, had arranged to leave the door of the vault open. Probably there is no finer page in this charming book than that which describes for us the scene outside the vault. Madge 'drew nearer and listened. Not a sound anywhere. She came close to the top of the steps that led down to the heavy oak door.' Then she paused, her heart all a flutter, the tears welling into her eyes, and looks round again to see if anyone is watching her. Horror of horrors! there is the grim countenance of Mrs. Riversdale gazing down upon her from the sacristy window. That was enough for Madge. In an instant all that there was of hatred and *diablerie* in her nature asserted itself.

She did not move forward or go away. She put her hand in her pocket, drew out her cigarette case, and felt for a match in the pocket of her coat. She tried to strike a match, and failed. She threw it down. Then she raised her foot on to the green stone kerb above the steps and struck again, lit her cigarette, threw away the second match blindly, and it fell down the steps. She walked slowly—very slowly—away, puffing delicate wreaths of smoke in front of her.

After this she attends Benediction, and feels the tranquillizing influence of that 'atmosphere of peace and adoration; that indescribable atmosphere made up of the traditions of ages, of the recollections of childhood, the experience of life that clusters round the belief in the Divine Presence.' She feels a longing to go to confession, sets about examining her conscience, and at the last moment fails to kneel before the priest. Early the following morning she quits Skipton. The old squire is waiting to see her off.

'My child,' he says to her, 'wherever you go, whomever you trust, be very sure that you don't deceive yourself. If you choose a life for yourself, make very sure that it is a safe one. If you wont listen to me, go to somebody better, stronger, than I am. But, little Madge (and he put his hand softly on her shoulder), don't go to the world, mind that, child, mind that.'

To the world, howbeit, she flies; to that world where,

in the words of St. Augustine, you can watch 'the unbridled wickedness of pride, the indolent voluptuousness of luxury,' Amongst her friends she numbered a Lord Bellasis, who is described for us as the centre of a clique, 'unmarried, not too young, and uncommonly rich.' As a young man he had a passion, like most Englishmen, for travel. In his wanderings he went through Mexico, and met a beauty of that country in a theatre at Florida, whom he married. This creature proving false to him he divorced her after 'three years of untold misery.' She is still living; and Bellasis is known in fashionable society as an innocent *divorcee*. Round him cluster a group of beautiful, fascinating women, all more or less in love with him. But Bellasis, after a short acquaintance with Madge, seems drawn towards her in preference to all others. In fact, when unbosoming himself to an intimate friend he candidly confesses that he cannot live without her. Yet he feels convinced that Madge as a Catholic cannot marry him.

'Now, do you think I must give up all hope?' he asks the lady friend to whom he has given his confidence. 'For she would have to abandon her religious prejudices for my sake.'

'Oh, no, don't say that,' exclaims the friend; 'surely, surely, something might be arranged. The priests——'

'Impossible, my dear lady,' answered Bellasis, 'they can't do it. History would have been different if they could.'

And so Madge is drawn more and more closely into the circle of Bellasis' immediate friends. She caught the spirit of the *grandes dames* of the clique. 'They told each other, and they told Lord Bellasis, that she was quite charming.' But even noble ladies to all seeming are not destitute of the ignoble vice of hypocrisy. For, as we read:—

In their rooms at night they told each other how her (*i.e.*, Madge's) hands and her feet betrayed the vulgarity of her origin, and that if Lord Bellasis persisted in his new fancy she must be taught a great many things, but that she might eventually become presentable.'

In due course the mutual lady-friend of Bellasis and

Madge came to the latter to make known to her my lord's *status quo*.

'He married,' she says, 'somebody who loved him even as savages love, and no deeper. It seemed to him an idyll in the wilderness. Nobody knew of this marriage in his own land. It was the love of a summer's day, brief as it was fiery. Then came disillusion, disloyalty, a low story.'

Madge is almost petrified as she hears the tale. She knew now that Bellasis loved her; that 'the ideal vision which had haunted her could be realized, and she was, in an instant, brought face to face with the cost which must be counted.' What Browning calls the great beacon light, conscience, which God has set in the bosom of us all, is still a living influence in her regard. 'Oh! Laura!' she exclaims, 'if I didn't believe too much, if I hadn't been brought up by those nuns, if they weren't praying for me now, what a glorious life I could have.'

Madge has only one possible rival in Bellasis' affections, and that is Cecilia Rupert, a hoydenish creature, sensuous and seductive, with the physical grace and development of a statue by Phidias. Must she efface herself, and rest content to see Cecilia carry off the prize? And such a prize! 'Seventy thousand a year, Bellasis castle, an angelic yacht, and a sublime shooting-box, besides the title—older than the deluge, and hardly a relative living nearer than a cousin.' Truly, the temptation is great. Lytton says somewhere that conscience is the most elastic material in the world. To-day you cannot stretch it over a mole-hill, to-morrow it hides a mountain. At all events, it is a decidedly unwelcome guest when you wish to do a wrongful act.

Poor Madge succumbed to the temptation. Bellasis asks her on his knees to be his wife, and she consents. From this moment the thought of her religion seems to irritate her. She complains almost querulously to her suitor that they are sure to be 'worried and teased by the priests' as soon as they find he is not a Catholic. She goes to Farm-street the Sunday following her engagement with the intention of hearing the ten o'clock Mass, but turns

away from the very door of the church without entering with a hard pained look upon her face. She casts her Rosary on the table of her dining-room, telling her French maid to never put them in her pocket again, 'they spoil the set of the skirts.' Then taking up the Rosary, she says :— 'Keep it, Celestine; it is made of real garnets,' adding significantly, 'though garnets are of no value compared to rubies.'

'*Mais pourquoi, madame, n'aurait-elle pas tous les deux?*' asks Celestine. But her mistress vouchsafed no response.

Bellasis wished the marriage to take place on March 25; but Madge, in a revulsion of feeling, remembered that that was the anniversary of the making of her first communion; and insisted on the fixing of Monday, March 27. She is in the midst of her preparations, feverishly anxious that every moment of her time should be taken up so that her mind and her thoughts might be diverted from a certain jarring, irritating anxiety as to the future which dominates her.

In the midst of her pre-occupations Mary Riversdale, her sister-in-law, is announced. This is decidedly awkward at the present junction of her affairs. Mary seems radiantly happy. The wells of light and tenderness in her soft blue eyes never shone more brilliantly than when she informed Madge that, in answer to God's call, she had made up her mind to become a Sister of Charity, and hoped to go to China as the sphere of her activity. Madge plied her with trying, unsympathetic questions, and reluctantly draws from Mary the story of her call to the higher life :—

'It was like dying,' she says. 'It took a week to die.'

'And then?' persisted Madge.

'I suppose one does'nt know what heaven is,' said Mary. 'But one may say it has been heavenly—not that I care one bit less for mother or father, only I seem to be always on the point of meeting all I love in heaven for ever.'

This simple, direct confession of feeling proves too much for Madge. The scales seem to be rudely torn from her eyes; she is shaken with suppressed sobs. She tries to

drive Mary away from her; then calls her back with the request that she will put her arm around her.

'I can't be good,' she cries. 'It is of no use. I can't avoid doing something very wrong. I shall repent some day. I've not lost the faith; I never shall lose it. Mary, I sometimes wish I *could*. O Mary, Mary, go away; I am going mad. Oh, why, why didn't God leave me that baby?'

Awed by these alternate fits of passion and remorse, Mary falls upon her knees, and begins to recite the Rosary aloud. Madge, without knowing why, goes and kneels by her side, answering almost mechanically. In a sort of dream she continued the responses; and, as she uttered the words

She thought she was in the convent chapel at the Sacré Cœur. The girls were singing a *cantique*, and the warm air was scented with lilies and with incense. Then the *cantique* grew fainter, but she was holding up her Rosary to show the others that she was praying too. 'Sainte Marie, mère de Dieu, priez pour nous pauvres pecheurs maintenant et a l'heure de notre mort, ainsi soit-il.'

By the time that Rosary was finished grace had gained the victory in the heart of Madge. Very quietly she but said, 'Will you take me to Skipton for a little while, Mary?'

The scene in which Madge, sustained by the moral influence of Mary's presence, makes known to the society woman, Laura Hurstmonceaux, her determination to break off her engagement with Lord Bellasis is very finely done.

'If you break your word,' says Laura, 'you will rue it o your dying day.'

'But on my dying day itself,' Madge rejoins, 'what of that?' And (pointedly, and not, perhaps, without some suspicion of malice), 'you will have a dying day too, you know, Laura.'

By a curious synchronism Madge's decision to terminate her engagement coincides with the tragic suicide of Cecilia Rupert, who felt that Bellasis was lost to her for ever. This event afforded Bellasis himself an excuse for leaving town after he had heard of the turn of affairs in Madge's regard: and the delights of a yachting tour gradually helped him to forget his disappointment.

And so the book draws to an end—a happy ending. For as Robert Louis Stevenson says in one of his letters, which has just been published, to Mr. J. M. Barrie, the author of that inimitable work, *The Little Minister* :—

> If you are going to make a book end badly, it must end badly from the beginning. Now, your book began to end well; you let yourself fall in love with, and fondle, and smile at your puppets. Once you had done that your honour was committed—at the cost of truth to life you were bound to save them.

Leaving all question of supernatural influences out of sight, 'truth to life' might, perhaps, in the case of Mrs. Ward's book, demand the sacrifice of Madge. Her love for Bellasis, quickened by her ambition, ought naturally (I use this word advisedly) to have carried her to the point of marriage with him. Then we should behold not an unusual spectacle in her sin bringing its own Nemesis in the form of her subsequent sorrow and misery. However, Mrs. Ward evidently loved her creation, and so saved her from the effects of her own folly.

This is a work which we should all not merely read, but welcome. The author of *Robert Elsmere* has just reminded the public, in her excellent introduction to the new and elaborate edition of the works of Charlotte Brontë, that the writing of fiction has grown to the dimensions of a great modern art—an art 'that has commanded the knowledge of a Tolstoy and the mind of a Targuinieff, which is the subtle interpreter, and not the vulgar stage manager of nature.' As in the case of every other art, it is right and fitting that we, as Catholics, should have our own representatives, who will act as the official exponents of Catholic feeling and of Catholic principle. This is a matter of vast importance at the present time; for we can influence thousands by means of our works of fiction who might never hear of our existence otherwise. And naturally the Catholic writer who enjoys the advantage of seeing our system from within will be in a better position than the author who is constrained to view us from the standpoint of an outsider.

I had a few words to say, at the commencement of this paper, as to the *rôle* played by the Catholic priest in fiction.

In Mrs. Ward's book we meet with two clergymen—the Friar, Father Clement, and the Oratorian, Father Gabriel. Both are eminently satisfactory. The picture of Father Gabriel in his confessional, drawing, in his spare moments, a pair of pincers and a roll of wire out of his pocket, on the eve of the Annunciation, that he may complete a nearly-finished Rosary for a little girl who is to make her first communion on the morrow, is very touching. He is perfectly human in every particular, and is evidently drawn from the life. Mrs. Ward tells us that he 'spoke fiercely to himself, and was fond of strong words, and used to say he was sorry "he couldn't help swearing;" yet he was very patient with wrongdoers, and he was noted among the younger fathers for his love of any real big sinner.' For forty years he had sat in the same confessional, and had gained a varied experience. 'He knew of things stranger than any fiction has imagined; he knew of the secret sins of the respectable; he knew the secret remorse of the speculator haunted by his victims; he knew the secrets of women of every kind and sort.' Yet we are told that 'every year of his life he had grown in that confessional to think better, more highly, of human nature.' Who could help loving such a man?

No competent critic can utter an adverse judgment on any portion of this delightful work. We owe our grateful thanks to Mrs. Ward for having given it to us. I am sure there is room for it in every priest's library, in every Catholic home, and in the library of every Catholic guild and confraternity. It leaves behind it a pleasant taste in the mouth, which, I fear, is more than can be said of most other works of fiction one has to review from day to day.

Richard A. O'Gorman.

THE NEW VARIATIONS

I. NEW TESTAMENT CRITICISM

THE principle of private judgment in matters of religion, if it found more thorough and perfect expression in the Reformation than in any previous instance of spiritual revolt, found also in that same movement the supreme test of its validity. Enunciated at a time when the representative of the antagonistic principle of authority had long lost the sympathy, if not the obedience, of large sections of its nominal subjects; insisted on with the utmost determination by men whose conspicuous abilities were exclusively devoted to its development and defence; enforced on whole nations by the strong arm of civil power, it to all appearance possessed every element of success. If anything could, it should have restored to the world that pure religion wherein men enjoy the peace that passeth understanding, and dwell together in the loving unity of Christian brotherhood. But far otherwise is the tale that history tells. The operation of this principle directly resulted in introducing among men a new and permanent source of alienation, entailing 'national hatreds of whole generations and pigmy spites of the village spire.' Within one hundred years the Protestant body, far from being a homogeneous unit, was rent asunder by schism after schism into factions, whose mutual hatred was exceeded only by their common hatred of Rome. The leading Reformers quarrelled unappeasably amongst themselves on such vital points as the nature of the Eucharist, the Canon of Scripture, and the form of Church government. Such a principle forfeits all claims to recognition as an infallible rule of Christian faith and as a trustworthy guide to Christian practice. Immutability is the test of truth; instability is the note of error. And Bossuet showed with deep erudition and invincible logic that the Protestant Reformation was doomed by the Protestant variations.

Rationalism, the great religious revolt of our own day,

has remarkable resemblance to that of the sixteenth century. Both are animated by the same formal principle, the denial of authority and the absolute supremacy of individual reason. Both were affirmed during periods of acute mental unrest, when old ideals had been discredited, and old methods weakened, by the great changes induced in the one case by the Renaissance and the discovery of America, and in the other by the philosophy and the industrial revolution of the eighteenth century. Both addressed themselves to the same task, to bring Christianity up to date, to bring it into harmony with the grander conceptions of a higher civilization, to strip it of the excrescences that had gathered round it during ages of inferior culture, but of gross superstition. Indeed, so much akin are they that one of its most eloquent, effective, and popular advocates, Mrs. Humphrey Ward, has baptized the modern movement as the New Reformation.[1] But if there are points of contact, there are also points of difference. The Reformation stopped short at the Papacy, but Rationalism applied with merciless logic the common principle to the entire body of Christian teaching, destroyed the distinctive tenets of Protestantism, and left no half-way house between unbelief and Catholicism.

Identity of principle leads us to expect identity in result. The history of rationalism fully justifies this expectation; in its evolution the older phenomena reproduce themselves. It shows that its leaders have quarrelled, or are quarrelling, over what they themselves regard as essential, and that there is no definite, organized coherent body of scientific result which can be substituted for the Creed. It shows that *a priori* speculation has usurped the place of history, and that, under the exigencies of debate, positions have been assumed and abandoned, not for intrinsic worth, but for controversial convenience. It shows that theory and conjecture have been put forward with a dogmatism that would neither brook dissent nor tolerate denial, and that when wider research or more accurate investigation had exposed

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889, and October, 1899.

the untenability of these, other conjectures equally hollow were manufactured with the same unblushing effrontery and proclaimed with the same oracular assurance. The tests of Bossuet are emphatically applicable to-day. Error discloses itself in the same way as of old; uncertainty, vacillation, and contradiction again betray its presence. If we have the new Reformation, then, assuredly, we have also the new Variations.

In the two great departments of knowledge in which the spirit of rationalism has pre-eminently manifested itself, and in which it hoped for its most signal victories, in science and criticism these variations are strikingly evident. The recklessness with which the uniformitarian school rolled out its hundreds of millions of years was, of course, warranted by the unquestionable accuracy of the geological calculus,and by the confirmations of astronomy,which assigns twenty millions as the maximum age of the world. The arms of that interesting moneron, the Bathybius Haeckelii, which Professor Huxley offered as a substitute for a superfluous Creator, had only seven years pith when, alas! it sank from the summit of the organic hierarchy to the humble condition of precipitate of lime. In criticism, theories of Old Testament composition succeed one another like the airy phantoms of philosophical construction which are the stuff of the introductory lectures of the German professor. Astruc suggests, and Eichorn, quite independently develops, the documentary theory. Geddes, a Scottish priest, and Vater advocate the fragmentary theory. In due time Reuss and Wellhausen come along with theory of development. In the New Testament the movement has gone on parallel lines. When the scepticism of the eighteenth century had failed, when the sneer of Voltaire and the fatuity of Paulus were alike contemptuously scouted by a world grown serious under the chastening discipline of the vicissitudes of the French Revolution, there arose to meet the demands of a new age a similar series of discordant hypotheses. Each fantastic speculator analyses the problem, and offers his—the only possible—solution. Each takes us behind the scenes, and, like the good cicerone that he is,

explains all the mysteries, shows us the machinery of the illusions which in the drama of Christianity had pleased us by their beauty, or, mayhap, purified us by pity and by terror. Each declares—and his intellectual dependants, the servile, half-educated, unthinking Freethinkers loudly repeat—that he has spoken the last word, and that of the labours of higher criticism we may now say *consummatum est.* Strauss proposes the mythical theory, and with religious earnestness pursues it through fifteen hundred mortal pages of solid German lore. Baur improves on his old pupil with his theory of tendency and his accusations of forgery. Renan will not accept history made in Tübingen, and tells how the origin of Christianity shaped itself in his romantic fancy as he meditated among the ruins of Capharnaum. And thus a parallel series of mutually destructive hypotheses is the main result of all the perverse energy expended in the service of Science and Criticism—the great Twin Brethren to whom the Agnostics pray.

The study of all these variations, though probably an acquired taste, is very interesting, and, properly conducted, most beneficial. Passing by the others, let us follow those which regard the authenticity of the New Testament.

As the Reformers, despite all their differences, had a great bond of union in common opposition to the Papacy, so have the Rationalists in their common rejection of the supernatural. This is the shibboleth which all repeat; this is the formula to which all subscribe. Starting out with this principle their object is to discredit the New Testament, in so far, at least, as it has a supernatural implication.[1] But, as has already been indicated, they are by no means at one as to tactics. Each has his peculiar method. That which commended itself to Strauss was to resolve the Gospel story into myths. David Strauss was born in the kingdom of Würtemberg, in 1808. His early education finished, he entered the seminary at Blaubeuren, where he had his subsequent rival, Baur, as one of his masters. He

[1] Renan, *Life of Jesus*, Eng. Trans., Introduction, viii.

then went to Tübingen University, where he graduated. He underwent a post-graduate course at Berlin, under Hegel and Schleiermacher, both of whom largely contributed to the formation of his opinions. A little while afterwards he was appointed to one of the chairs in his old university. All this time the air was full of mythological theories. By their aid Wolf had decomposed Homer, and Niebuhr had illuminated the dark places of early Roman story.[1] Strauss fell in with the spirit of the age, all the more readily because of the utter absurdity in the current naturalistic explanation as set forth by Paulus of Heidelberg. Paulus admitted the authenticity of the Gospels, but endeavoured to explain away the miraculous element: *e.g.*, our Lord's walking on the sea he explains by saying that He seemed to do so, or that He walked on the shore; and, again, that in the Annunciation the Blessed Mother saw not the Angel Gabriel, but an impostor. The absurdity and inconsistency of such a position was plain to Strauss; so plain, indeed, that he distinctly recognised the impossibility of excluding miracle from the Gospels if we admit that they are the work of contemporaries.[2] He then, in his *Life of Jesus*, published in 1835, boldly denied the historical character of the Gospels, asserting that they were not the work of eye-witnesses, but were merely a collection made in the second or third decades of the second century of the myths and legends then floating about concerning our Lord. Myth, which he made the basis of his theory, is one of the classic terms like poetry and beauty that lend themselves to universal circulation by eluding satisfactory definition. From its prominence in Pagan religions many Christians look upon it as anathema, as something intrinsically evil. But a high degree of natural goodness is not incompatible with the accident of evil associations; one may be in bad company through no fault of his own. It may be defined as the pictorial presentation of early conceptions in ethics, history, and physics. It need scarcely be

[1] Fairbairn, *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology*, p. 241.
[2] See Salmon, *Introduction to New Testament*, p. 10.

said that this definition has no pretensions to finality, and is merely provisional. The different schools of mythologists have their special definitions determined by their peculiar views on the origin of myth. Max Müller, the leader of the etymological school, regards it as a disease of language, due to the influence of language upon thought, so that many of the legends about the gods would be rendered intelligible if we could only find out the original meaning of proper names.[1] That is to say, 'that men at some period spoke in a singular style of coloured and concrete language, and that their children retained the phrases of this language after losing hold of the original meaning.'[2]

Another school founded by the old Sicilian philosopher, Euhemeros, revived in 1739 by Abbé Banier, and which numbers Herbert Spencer among its modern representatives, goes in for naturalistic explanation, and sees in the gods merely heroes raised to a higher power. Another, which finds its instrument in comparative folk-lore, holds 'that myth is a product of the early human fancy working on the most rudimentary knowledge of the outer world;'[3] that is, that men at a time when imagination was active and judgment languid, having busied themselves with certain classes of phenomena, embodied the result of this mental operation in that form of expression which was congenial to their intellectual status, and which was no other than vivid and picturesque narrative. Myth, then, is the inevitable result of certain modes of thought; as in some mental states men see ghosts, in others they build myths. Apart from the local colouring it consists of two elements—the fact which serves as basis, and the superstructure erected by the unconscious elaboration of popular fancy.[4]

These elements enter into every definition of myth; how they are verified in the case of our Saviour is part of the task of Strauss. He tells us that by the term evangelical

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, January, 1882.
[2] Andrew Lang, *Custom and Myth*, 1.
[3] Lang., *l. c.* 23.
[4] Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*, 333.

myth we are to understand a narrative relating directly or indirectly to our Lord, which must be considered not as a plain unvarnished tale or literal description of fact, but as the expression of that fact as understood by His disciples; that is to say, that in it we have moral but not logical truth. Nay, he would seem to go further when he asserts that, in some instances at least, the narrative is a purely subjective creation, called into being to minister to minds diseased. The imaginative element in the Gospel myths comes from two sources, which have contributed in varying proportion to form the story. One source is the Messianic idea as it existed in the Jewish mind, and which is supposed to have operated somewhat after this fashion. The Messiah is to do so and so. Now, Jesus is the Messiah. Out of this were evolved incidents in which our Lord is made to embody various Messianic attributes. The Transfiguration is adduced as an example of this method. The other source is the impression which the personality, actions, and fate of our Lord made on the minds of the disciples. Religious enthusiasm appropriated some individual fact, and so embroidered it with its own fond fancies that it is hidden away like meaner tissues by cloth of gold. In this transmutation of fact imagination is greatly impeded by memory. Clear and distinct recollection destroys even the possibility of fable. Eye-witnesses must pass away, and another generation must arise before the final term of the process is reached. Be the environment ever so favourable, the germ must undergo many different influences, and assume many different forms. Many an æon moulded earth before the descendants of the eohippus were harnessed to the chariots of Pharaoh. Many civilising centuries had rolled away before the rude traditions of wandering herdsmen were shaped into the tragedies of Æschylus. In mythology, as in biology, time is a postulate of evolution. Led by these principles, Strauss, in defiance of all tradition, in defiance of the most convincing historical testimony, was compelled to conclude that the Gospels were not the work of the contemporaries of our Saviour, but a collection of myths made about 120 or 130 A.D.

This grotesque patchwork is one of the most celebrated of those theories of destructive criticism which are supposed to have dissolved the foundations of Christian belief. When first issued, its immediate effect was as if a gage of battle had been thrown between opposing armies. 'To your tents, O Israel,' was the cry on all sides; and with passions roused, men began to gird themselves for the most tremendous conflict which has agitated Europe since Paul thundered from the Areopagus. The issues involved were the most mighty that it can enter into the mind of man to conceive; around it were centered the most sacred interests; upon it hung the highest destinies of humanity. It was to decide whether the chalice would continue to be raised, or whether He, whose saving Name for eighteen hundred years has been lisped with the feeble tongue of infancy, and murmured with the feebler tongue of death, would be dethroned from the Cross and fall far beneath the conception of Arian and Nestorian, to the common level of Confucius, Buddha, or Socrates. To a theory fraught with such momentous consequences, opposition was inevitable. Against its author the University of Zurich closed its gates, and Lacordaire lectured in Notre Dame. And in a little while, when the first heat of the conflict had subsided, criticism equally effective came from his own camp. These criticisms were mainly directed against its historical weakness. It was a typical German theory; it was one of that class which if facts will not square with them—well, so much the worse for facts. The whole method was speculative, *a priori*. There was in it a minimum of history; a minimum, indeed, of literary criticism, says Mrs. Ward.[1] It was, said Baur, a criticism of the Gospel without being the criticism of the Gospels.

The philosophical theories which dominated him rendered it imperative for Strauss to postpone the composition of the Gospels for one hundred years after the events which they narrate had occurred. But long before this date the same story was told in the four greater and unquestionably

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889, 471.

authentic epistles of St. Paul. That it was also told in the Gospel is attested either in quotation or in direct reference by the early fathers; by Clemens Romanus, who occupied the see of Rome during the lifetime of St. John; by Papias, Justin Martyr, Polycarp, and Irenæus. In view of Baur's theories it will be well to bear in mind that, even apart from internal evidence, the testimony of these fathers leaves no doubt as to the existence of at least all the more important books of the New Testament at the end of the first, or very early in the second century; and that their authors were either men who had their information from eye-witnesses or else themselves had been ministers of the Word from the beginning.

'But,' says Mrs. Ward, against Strauss, 'not only orthodoxy, but the spirit of history took alarm, and from the revolt of history against hypothesis began the Tübingen school.' This revolt took the very curious shape of the still more fantastic and baseless tendency-theory of Baur. Ferdinand Christian Baur, founder of the Tübingen school, was born near Stuggart, in 1792. He received his early education from his father, who was a clergyman, and in due time entered the University of Tübingen, where he graduated in 1814. For a little time he taught at Blaubeuren, where, as already said, he counted Strauss among his pupils. In 1826 he was called to the chair of historical theology in his old university, and filled that post till his death, in 1860.[1] On the appearance of Strauss's book he welcomed it for destroying traditional belief in historical accuracy of the Christian records, and so facilitating thorough-going inquiry into what had been more or less untouched, that is, the genesis of the writings. His view is, that most of the New Testament books must be regarded as deliberate forgeries, concocted to induce subsequent generations to believe that the early Church was indeed the temple of the Holy Ghost, built up like the old temple on Mount Sion in silence and peace; whereas, in reality, it was simply a cockpit of contending factions, headed by Peter and Paul; that the

[1] Rev. A. B. Bruce, D.D.; F. C. Baur and his Theory, *vide passim*.

respective opinions of these factions were ventilated in a series of party pamphlets of appropriate bitterness; that out of these pamphlets, by judicious editing, refining here, expanding there, were evolved these documents which are now the objects of such unreasonable veneration. The question Baur put to himself was this:—'How did the Catholic Church, as we find it at the end of the second century, perfect as to-day in its organization, come into existence? The answer was suggested by the Hegelian philosophy of which he was a devoted student. Among the first principles of this philosophy is the law of development by antagonism, which looks for the genesis of institutions in the conflict of opposing tendencies. Applying this principle he imagined that he saw in the Catholic Church of the end of the second century, the result of a compromise between the great parties whose fierce strife in the early days, when men's souls were yet thrilled by the living memory of the Master's voice, had almost wrecked the religion He had founded. The point of contention round which this internecine war had raged was whether the Mosaic Law was still of obligation; and, if so, how far did this obligation extend. Some there were who, claiming Peter and James as their chiefs, maintained in the most absolute manner the obligation of the Law, and denied that its force had been attenuated or its circuit diminished in the slightest degree by the events of Good Friday and of Pentecost. To them the Law was still the source of righteousness; the temple still the sanctuary of Jehovah. Differing from the dominant party among the Jews merely in the belief that the Messias had come, they would jealously restrict the blessings of the Redemption to the seed of Abraham. Emphatically they believed, and everywhere they taught, that unless the brethren were circumcised after the manner of Moses, they could not be saved.[1]

The opposition led by St. Paul fought for the universality of the Church. To the Conservative party, both to those who seemed to be pillars and to their followers, such

[1] Acts xvi.

as certain from James, they stoutly denied the right of imposing burdens which neither the Jews themselves nor their fathers could bear. Nay, not content with claiming for the Gentile converts immunity from legal observances, they went so far as to declare with all solemnity, that if anyone become circumcised, Christ would profit him nothing.[1] In all the Christian societies scattered throughout the Graeco-Roman world, the debate was marked by that almost fiendish hatred, which, unhappily, appears to be a property of acute religious controversy. But the more violent tones of dissension were gradually hushed. When the protagonists had passed away, the lines of demarcation which were wont to be so broad and black, insensibly diminished and assumed a lighter colouring. With the conquests of Titus, and the conversion of numerous pagans, the centre of power in the Church shifted, ever westward, from Jerusalem to Antioch, from Antioch to Rome. When the empire declared inexpiable war against them, the Christians felt the necessity of united action; they ceased to trouble themselves over questions which, in the perspective of history, were dwindling into insignificance. They began to think more of their points of contact; of the Saviour whom they passionately loved, and whose records they dearly cherished; of their community in the great tradition; of all their tender memories, and of all their glorious hopes. And thus the epoch of conciliation set in. When domestic differences had been settled, the united Christians addressed themselves to combat the Gnostic heresies which had become exceedingly virulent. With the disappearance of dissension, the different elements combined to form another and a better organism; a nobler spirit began to animate the entire body, raising it to levels higher than Paul ever reached, inspiring it with visions grander than Peter ever saw.

This is Baur's account of the process by which the Catholic Church was evolved out of the Petrine and Pauline sections. In proof of its accuracy he refers us to the New

[1] Gal. v. 2.

Testament, in which, if we look aright, we can see the various stages of the conflict faithfully reflected. In his revolt against the arbitrary organism of Strauss he invented this standard of authenticity. 'Any document of the New Testament wherein is found no trace of division among the Apostles certainly belongs to the second century, and not to the apostolic times.'[1] In justification of this curious confession we are reminded that the most effective instrument of propaganda is the Press. True, our great modern organs of public opinion existed under the Cæsars only in embryo; but the early Christians, none the less, made the most of these rudimentary news-agencies, and the spirit which animated them, in the varying phases of the schism, found utterance in Epistle and Apocalypse, in the Gospels and in the Acts. And, as every wise Hegelian knows the progress of the struggle as well as—aye, much better than—any contemporary, he can determine with unimpeachable accuracy the date of any particular document by the spirit it embodies, and the tendency it promotes. The law of development by antagonism, about which there can be no question, prescribes the order of events—first, the split, and the wild passions it unchains; then, attempts at reconciliation; next, unity and peace; finally, common action and common purpose. The characteristic tendency, the tone of any document, bespeaks at once its age and origin. Consequently, if any document bearing the impress of one stage of the conflict purports to belong to another stage, it must be set down as a deliberate forgery. The different periods of conflict, reunion, and reconstruction entered in the case of the Church to about one hundred and twenty years, and as they fall into one or other of the periods the books of the New Testament are classified. To the first period belong, on the one side, the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians, and on the other the Apocalypse, which owes this dignity to its assumed anti-Paulinism. The next period embraces, amongst others, the Synoptic Gospels and the Acts. The Fourth Gospel is the outcome of the great

[1] Abbé Picard, *Christianity and Agnosticism*, Eng. Trans., p. 374.

tendencies which unity had developed, and which could have been written only about A.D. 160 or 170.

The genesis of the Synoptics is certainly interesting. The first and third were written in the interests of conciliation by men of opposite parties. Matthew was a Judaist, but wrote our Lord's life in a sense not unacceptable to the Paulinists. Luke was a Paulinist who wrote for an analogous purpose, basing his work on the heretical Gospel used by Marcion. Now, instead of Luke following Marcion, Tertullian distinctly charges Marcion with having corrupted Luke's Gospel, which is identical with the Third Gospel of to-day, which the Church has always attributed to St. Luke, the companion of St. Paul. But, of course, the testimony of such men as Tertullian, Irenæus, and Polycarp, on matters of personal observation, must be swept aside by the *ipse dixit* of a German who lived nearly two thousand years afterwards.

If, as we are told, this theory were introduced as a protest against the historical weakness and undisciplined fancy of Strauss, it looks as if the gift of divination, on which higher critics pride themselves, had crushed out in Baur his sense of the ridiculous. Of the two the tendency theory is undoubtedly the worse, for it is less intrinsically probable, and comes into more flagrant contradiction with historical fact. It is more incredible that the deliberate forgeries of individuals should wear such a striking air of sincerity, and appeal, in the cause of truth, to the most sacred motives and to the most venerable names, than that the halo of irresponsible legends should gather round a great personality. It exemplifies also, in a marked degree, the besetting and apparently incurable vice of the German pedants. Having constructed a system mainly, if not exclusively, out of their own sense of the fitness of things, they offer their handiwork an idolatrous homage which is proof against every method of conviction. With this Procustean bed everything must be fitted, to this Moloch everything must be sacrificed. The destructive analyses of philosophy are contemptuously ignored, while historical arguments are lost in the deafening roar that 'Great is Diana of the

Ephesians.' Great movements, spiritual or political, particular or universal, do not proceed on hard and fast lines; inflexible determination towards a definite end does not exclude opportunism in tactics. But from these iron paths along which Hegelianism directs the development of humanity, no matter who may falter or who may fall, there must be no deviation. Along these iron paths, though the burden be crushing and the bearer weak, humanity must march; the Destinies, whose oracles are at Tübingen, are as inexorable as Jewish hate or Roman justice on another memorable journey. And for ever the cry is on, and on, and on, and each division of the grand army of humanity swings into its allotted place with precision infinitely more marvellous than that of Moltke's legions as they crossed the Rhine. Though we may lay the flattering unction to our souls that we are free, we are but pawns on the board, moved by a hand unseen; and even if we can shape our petty personal ends, we can no more affect the predetermined and inevitable advance of the race than the tiniest bubble can arrest the onward rush of the tide.

Were we to look for examples of euphemism, we could scarcely find one more perfect than that in which Mrs. Ward[1] pronounces her verdict on this revolt from hypothesis. It is that 'history protested.' Yes, when a theory, antecedently improbable, is demonstrated to be utterly destitute of historical foundation; when its positions, once proudly proclaimed impregnable, are abandoned as untenable; when it has forfeited every title to assent and every claim to submission, we must not condemn it as false, impudent, and audacious; we must only gently whisper 'history protests.' This new protest took many a shape, as the erudition, imagination, or humour of the protestant determined. In Germany it went one way with Volkmar, another with Hilgenfeld; in France yet another and more celebrated with Renan. Were we so far under the influence of the new learning as to give, regardless of metre, for the accurate reading of one of Shakespeare's best-known lines,

[1] *L. c.*, p. 472.

'The poet, the philosopher, and the historian are of imagination all compact,' we should be giving only due prominence to the most conspicuous element in many a latter-day sage. Were the wanton exercise of imagination the chief criterion of historical eminence, the ex-student of St. Sulpice would be a very Saul among his brethren. The oft-quoted opinion of Strauss, that it is impossible to admit the authenticity of the Gospel and at the same time exclude miracle, was never better exemplified than in the case of Renan. When he first conceived the idea of a history of Christian origins, he wished to write a history of doctrines in which men and their actions would scarcely have a place; he would show how the ideas which have grown under the name of our Saviour took root and covered the world. But he came to understand that history is not a simple game of abstractions—that men are more than measures.[1] Hence, in the *Life of Jesus*, he gives us the first of a series of volumes which together constitute his great work on the origins of Christianity. He derived his materials from the New Testament, the 'Apocrypha' of the Old Testament, the works of Philo, of Josephus, and the Talmud. Through the study of these books, which, as pieces of literature, reveal or interpret for us the Jewish mind at that momentous epoch, he hoped to get at the conditions which generated Christianity, and to resolve into their primitive elements the thoughts of Him who spoke as man never spoke before. His estimate of the Gospels, as well as his capacity for historical studies, will appear from his own words. He tells us:[2] 'That the Gospels are in part legendary is evident, since they are full of miracle and of the supernatural.' Again:[3] 'Now, it is an absolute rule in criticism to give no place, in historical documents, to miraculous circumstances.' This view, he says, is not the result of a metaphysical system, but simply a matter of observation.

In his anxiety to be scrupulously just he invites the Church, if she wishes to persist in her claims, to perform a

[1] Introduction, Eng. Trans., *Life of Jesus*, p. 31.
[2] *Life of Jesus*, Intro., p. 8.
[3] *The Apostles*, Intro. xxii., Eng. Trans.

miracle before a select committee of Parisian *savants*, who will give the case their most attentive and sympathetic consideration! In him that species of colour blindness which rendered some men incapable of perceiving the veracity of the Gospels was not so malignant as to pervert also his vision of their authenticity. He was well aware of the difficulties that would beset any rationalistic critics who would acknowledge the Catholic tradition on this point, for he tells us[1] that the credibility of the Gospels primarily depends upon their authenticity. And, nevertheless, penetrated as he was with this conviction, well acquainted with every result of the thoroughgoing investigations of a long and able series of German scholars, he arrived at conclusions in the main harmonizing with the Catholic opinion—conclusions which provoked the laughter while they shook the confidence of his coadjutors beyond the Rhine, and to which, despite all their sarcasm as to *littérateurs*, they are now steadily returning. Let him speak for himself. In the Introduction to the *Life of Jesus* he says:—[2]

Each of the four Gospels bears at its head the name of a person known either in the Apostolic history or in the Gospel history itself . . . It is clear that, if these titles are exact, the Gospels, without ceasing to be in part legendary, are of great value, since they enable us to go back to the half century which followed the death of Jesus, and, in two instances, even to the eye-witnesses of His actions. Firstly, as to Luke, doubt is scarcely possible. The Gospel of Luke is a regular composition, founded on anterior documents. It is the work of a man who selects, prunes, and combines. The author of this Gospel is certainly the same as that of the Acts of the Apostles. Now, the author of the Acts is a companion of St. Paul—a title which applies to Luke exactly. I know that more than one objection may be raised against this reasoning; but one thing, at least, is beyond doubt, namely, that the writer of the Third Gospel and of the Acts was a man of the second Apostolic generation, and that is sufficient for our object. The date of the Gospel can, moreover, be determined with much precision by considerations drawn from the book itself. The 21st chapter of St. Luke, inseparable from the rest of the work, was certainly written after the siege of Jerusalem, and but a short time after.

[1] *Life*, Intro., p. 8.

[2] Pages 8, 9.

Renan will not admit prophecy; consequently, our Lord's prediction of the destruction of Jerusalem must be in reality a narrative cast in the shape of prophecy, and which, by a perfectly natural process, as Mrs. Ward would say, is put in the mouth of our Saviour.

Dealing with the objections to which he has referred, he asks, in the Introduction to *The Apostles*,[1] having already stated as unquestionable that the author of the Third Gospel was the same as the author of the Acts, 'Must we be checked by these objections? I think not, and I persist in believing that the person who finally prepared the Acts is really the disciple of St. Paul, who says "we" in the last chapter.' Summing up, he says: 'We think, therefore, that the author of the Acts is really Luke, the disciple of Paul.'[2]

With regard to the other synoptics, he says[3]:—'The Gospels of Matthew and Mark have not nearly the same mark of individuality. . . . But if the Gospel of Luke is dated, those of Matthew and Mark are dated also; for it is certain that the third Gospel is posterior to the first two, and exhibits the character of a much more advanced compilation.'[4]

In dealing with the fourth Gospel he argued as he did in the case of the third. 'The first epistle attributed to St. John is certainly by the author of the fourth Gospel. Now, this epistle is recognised as from John by Polycarp, Papias, and Irenæus.'[5] The many minute details, such as: 'it was the sixth hour,' 'the servant's name was Malchus,' 'the coat was without seam,' all bespeak an eye-witness as the author, and are 'so many inexplicable features on the supposition that this Gospel was a theological thesis without historic value.'[6] Summing up he says: 'On the whole, I admit as authentic the four canonical Gospels. All, in my opinion, date from the first century, and the

[1] Page 5, *et seq.*
[2] *L. c.*, ix.
[3] *Life*, Intro. 9.
[4] See also Dr. Wace's reply to Professor Huxley in *Nineteenth Century*, March, 1889.
[5] *L. c.*, 15.
[6] *L. c.*, 16.

authors are, generally speaking, those to whom they are attributed.'[1] This admission was not accompanied by anything like a full and unqualified acceptance of the veracity of the Gospels. Miracles are not dreamt of in his philosophy; and, consequently, the miraculous incidents which two of the Evangelists, men at least, of common honesty and common intelligence, testify as having happened before their eyes, must be unhistorical. To a mind less expert in the gymnastics of sophistry this would be a position of considerable difficulty; but he experienced no embarrassment in presence of these phenomena.[2] He need feel no embarrassment as long as apostasy is justified by contradiction, bombast, and blasphemy. He regarded our Saviour as the ethical ideal, as the personification of perfection, and yet felt no embarrassment in accusing Him as a probable accomplice in the frauds of His followers. He felt no embarrassment in explaining the restoration of Lazarus as a put up job, and the resurrection as a figment of the heated imagination of Mary Magdalen. He felt no embarrassment in denouncing the miracles as the results of a great spontaneous conspiracy of which our Saviour was the centre, and in asserting that, judged by our standards, He was an impostor and a liar. *Guarda e passa.*

This freedom from embarrassment, but so different in degree as almost to constitute a difference in kind, is also evident in a recent article of Mrs. Humphrey Ward.[3] Amongst others this article has for its object to prove, in opposition to Lord Halifax, that return to the traditional view in all its aspects is not necessitated by the conclusions of Professor Harnach of Berlin. Dr. Harnach, in his late work on the *Chronology of Early Christian Literature*, closely approximates to the Catholic opinion as to the dates of the various books of the New Testament. In his preface, as quoted by Mrs. Ward,[4] he says: 'As regards criticism of the sources for the oldest Christianity, we stand unquestionably in a movement of return towards tradition. The chronological

[1] *L. c.*, 21.
[2] *Life of Jesus*, p. 189.
[3] *Nineteenth Century*, Oct. 1899.
[4] *L. c.*, 658.

framework in which tradition set the earliest documents is to be henceforth accepted in its main outlines. The good faith of early Christianity become more and more evident to us.' He assigns 48 A.D. as the date of the Epistles to the Thessalonians, and 53, 54 as to the dates of the two Epistles to the Corinthians, the Galatians, and Romans. The natural inference is, that within eighteen years of the Crucifixion (and, of course, much earlier since the Epistles were directed to organized churches) all the essential truths of Christianity were preached by St. Paul. But, even though the early traditions, in its main chronological outlines, is thus shown to be more trustworthy than the scholars of the forties and fifties allowed,[1] criticism does not haul down its flag, for chronology is a very minor outpost indeed. 'Questions of date and authorship are now of secondary importance; it is the elucidation of the *historical matter itself* that lies in the scientific foreground.[2] Yes, formerly the be-all and the end-all of all critical effort was to maintain that the books of the New Testament could *not* have been written so early; now, when that is no longer tenable, the position is shifted, and the object is to show that they could *not but* have been so written. The spirit of the great religious movement, initiated by the Baptist, and led by Christ because He was its incarnation, because He more than any other summed up all its various elements—this spirit found in the New Testament its literary expression. As literature it was coloured by the dyes of oriental theosophies in which the writers' thoughts had long been steeped. 'Why,' says Mrs. Ward, quoting Harnach,[3] 'should not thirty to forty years have been sufficient to produce the historical deposit with regard to the words and deeds of Jesus that we find in the Synoptic Gospels? Why should we require sixty to seventy? Why must the height on which the fourth Evangelist stands have been climbed first seventy to eighty years after Paul?' So powerful were the refracting influences that on the very morrow of the events the vigorous, penetrating mind of St. Paul could not

[1] *L. c.* [2] *Ibid.*, 660. [3] *Ibid.*, 658.

see them clearly. When he wrote that if Christ had not risen, then vain was our faith and vain was his preaching; when he wrote that if Christ had not risen, then we were of all men the most miserable, that we were yet in our sins; when he wrote all this he did not mean what he said, he had not the meaning which the Church extracted from his phrases and embodied in her formularies. Even though it is impossible to conceive how he could have expressed that meaning, if he had ever entertained it, in language other than that employed, that does not matter in the least. Miracle must be rejected at all costs, even at the cost of consistency. Though a point of view is never overcome till it is supplanted[1] for the literal interpretation, no substitute is offered except the *possibility* that by the resurrection Paul understood the imperishableness of Christ's life within the life of the world![2] Tradition retained the language, but forgot the thought; and thus, through myth, we come back again to Strauss with whom the weary cycle began.

The object of this paper was not to analyze the various theories which it has presented, but to show how, like certain algebraic quantities, they have cancelled each other. It has endeavoured to show how the spirit of religious error manifests itself to-day in the same way as of old; how, like Arianism and Protestantism, the note of Rationalism is variation. In this connection, at all events, Rationalism has no definite co-ordinated body of knowledge to place in competition with Catholic dogma; it has no fixed principles, no reliable conclusions. Let its advocates talk ever so grandiloquently of the 'great fabric of German learning,' and 'of the critical outpouring of our century which is being incorporated with European thought,' it is steadily losing its influence over men, and drifting away to be numbered with the well-nigh forgotten systems which had their day and ceased to be.

PATRICK F. COAKLEY, O.S.A.

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[1] *L. c.*, 659.

[2] *L. c.*, 664, note.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

THE VOYAGE ON THE MISSISSIPPI.

WITH the certainty of a prophetic instinct, peculiar to inspired souls, the gentle and unassuming priest, whilst his days were passing in the monotonous work of instructing savages, made use of every opportunity to render himself familiar with the topography and ethnology of the North-American Continent, the interior of which was at that time still unknown to the English inhabitants of the Atlantic colonies. The French had made giant strides in advance of them in the exploration of the country. Thirty years after their first settlement in Quebec, and when the white inhabitants of Canada scarcely numbered two thousand, a daring traveller, François Nicolet, had already penetrated into the interior of Wisconsin. The deplorable Iroquois war for a time checked the advance of the Jesuits, as well as of the traders. But a new era in the exploration of the land began with the opening of the mission on the Upper Lake (1680).

Father Marquette made important communications to his superiors, concerning the possibility of reaching the Gulf of Mexico through the great artery of the Continent—the mighty Mississippi. Numbers of people, he had been informed, dwelt along these rivers—'people like the French who live in houses on the waters,' *i.e.*, Spaniards in large ships. These tidings roused the attention of the French Government, and Talon, the Intendant of Canada, received orders to follow the windings of the great river as far as its mouth. The new Governor of Canada (by no means a friend of the Jesuits), while he appointed the Canadian Jolliet, an experienced traveller, leader of the expedition, at the same time expressed desire that he should be accompanied by a father of the Society. The French name had already reached the most remote Indian tribes, but inseparably joined with

it was the still more venerated one of 'the Black Robe who brings peace everywhere.' Without the co-operation of a missioner like Marquette the plan would be impracticable.

In accordance with the wishes of Talon and Frontinac, the superiors' choice fell on our father, who for the last two years had been destined for the southern missions. He had already, while at La Pointe, learned from the Indian youth given to him the Illinois language, the most useful for a Mississippi voyager. Thus, the holy Jesuit, if not the official guide, became the soul of the undertaking. This fact the American people, undeterred by the Jesuit bogie, have now thoroughly grasped, and generously acknowledged.

Jolliet's diary of the journey was lost on his return to Canada, through the sinking of his boat in the neighbourhood of Montreal, and so Father Marquette's map and reports remain to the present day the only written memorial of the great undertaking. On the feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1672—a happy omen in the estimation of Mary's client—Jolliet entered St. Ignace with the superior's orders for Father Marquette.

But the long Canadian winter had already commenced its reign, and it was not until May 17 of the following year that the journey could be undertaken. They availed themselves of this period to make their preparations more complete.

> As we [writes the missioner] had to prepare for unknown regions, so we required the greatest foresight, in order not to render the undertaking—under any circumstances a perilous one—a mad one. We gathered, therefore, all possible information from those Indians who had travelled in that territory; we even drew up, according to their account, a map of the new land, with the rivers on which we were to voyage; the names of the tribes, and places through which we would pass; the course, and our directions for following it. Above all, I recommended our journey to the protection of the Immaculate Virgin, and promised her if we succeeded in discovering the great river to give it the name of the Conception, by which name I also promised to call the first mission I could found among the strange tribes.

The expedition consisted, besides Marquette and Jolliet, of five Frenchmen. They had two canoes of birchbark, large and strong enough to carry mast and sail. The

commander and the priest shared equally with the others in the labour of rowing from morning until night. The most perfect harmony existed between Father Marquette and Jolliet, the latter being an old pupil of the Jesuits. The men chosen to accompany them were neither common hirelings, nor reckless adventurers, but brave spirits, animated with the same piety and spirit of self-sacrifice as filled the leaders of the undertaking. The route led out of Lake Huron, through the Straits of Mackinac, into Lake Michigan, along the well-known, but at that time uninhabited, northern shore. At the mouth of the Minomonee (now the boundary between Wisconsin and Upper Michigan) they met with the Manomini Indians, who had already received a fair amount of instruction, and were partly Christian. These latter, on learning the destination of the voyagers, were horrified.

> What! [they exclaimed] do you know where you are venturing? Are you aware that the Indians of those parts smash the skull of every stranger without a moment's warning? How will you be able to pass with your life through the countless bands of these warriors who are ever roaming about? And the river itself, no one can sail on it; it is too dangerous. Monsters inhabit it, who swallow boats and their crews at one gulp. An evil spirit, whose roaring can be heard a long way off, obstructs the passage, and sinks everyone into the depths who ventures near. The fearful heat on the river alone would kill you.

Father Marquette thanked them for their information, but was nothing daunted by the terrifying prospect held out before him. He told the Indians that he had undertaken the journey to those distant regions solely for the sake of immortal souls, and that he was quite willing to risk his life in the attempt to save them. Moreover, he said, that he hoped to be preserved from every danger, and that he would observe the caution which they recommended. He then prayed with these wanderers, and gave them some instruction. May was drawing to an end when the two canoes passed through the upper end of Greenbay into the St. Francis river, now known as Fox river.

The mission of St. Francis Xavier, founded by Père Allouez, was situated a few miles above the mouth of this

river. Here Father Marquette made a short stay with his brethren whose labours among the surrounding tribes met with great success. The voyagers then resumed their journey up the river. They made the ascent of the rapids most prosperously; sailed through Lake Winnebago, and on the 7th June reached the large village situated west of the lake where the indefatigable Père Allouez was then labouring among the Miami and Kipako Indians. Here also great astonishment and admiration was excited by the daring of the seven white men who, in frail barks, undertook such a journey. With the help of two Miami guides our voyagers succeeded in finding the difficult passage through the upper Fox river and the Lakes formed by it (on one of which the little town of Marquette now stands). They made a portage over a long strip of land, the boundary between the St. Laurence and the Mississippi, in order to reach the river Wisconsin, the navigation of which was very difficult, owing to the numerous sand-banks obstructing its course. At this point the two guides left them. The voyagers once more placed themselves and their journey under the protection of the Immaculate Virgin, exchanged words of good cheer with one another, and again bent to their oars. The journey on the Wisconsin took seven days to perform. During that time they saw no human being. Herds of moose grazed along the banks, but no human voice or foot broke the stillness. At last, on the the 17th of June, they reached the mouth of the Wisconsin, and with feelings not to be described entered the Mississippi.

The 'Great River'—so its name signifies—was discovered or rather rediscovered. Since the bold de Loto, in 1540, first saw the Mississippi, from a little below the mouth of the Arkansas river, and his successor, Muscoso, who three years later from a point above the Arkansas, sailed down the mighty river to the Gulf of Mexico, no European had beheld, or at least recognised, the mighty river.

The two Frenchmen who, in the winter of 1659, travelled through Southern Minnesota, and consequently must have crossed the frozen stream, seemed to have paid no particular attention to the circumstances. Thus it happens that the

names of Jolliet and Marquette are inscribed in the history of North America as the discoverers of the Mississippi, and the 17th June, 1673, as the date of the discovery. For nine days, the two canoes floated down the majestic river without our wanderers seeing an Indian, or even a trace of human beings. Enormous fishes rose to the surface of the waters, and one huge monster dashed itself against the good father's boat as if wanting to destroy it. Once an American tiger-cat swam across the stream. These, no doubt, were the monsters of which the Miami Indians had warned them. Save for these, primeval solitude and silence reigned around. But the voyagers never laid aside their prudence and caution. Every evening they landed, and making a small fire, lest much smoke might betray their presence to an enemy, they prepared their meal. When finished, they pushed out into the river, and spent the night at a good distance from land. As an additional precaution, each one of the party kept watch in turn, until the light of dawn, breaking over the lonely waters, gave the signal for resuming the journey. The party were now passing through the very heart of the Buffalo Prairies, so called from the enormous herds of buffaloes which roamed over them. The Jesuit's diary contains an excellent description of these then almost unknown animals. At length, on the ninth day, traces of human beings were observed. The first meeting with the Indians had better be described in the missioner's own words :—

> At last [he writes] on the 25th June, we noticed footprints along the bank of the river. Following these, we came to a narrow well-trodden path leading away into the lovely prairie land. We examined this carefully, and as we suspected that it led to an Indian village, we resolved to follow it. Leaving the canoes in the care of our people, with many warnings to be on their guard against surprise, Mons. Jolliet and myself set out on the path of exploration, a sufficiently serious undertaking for two men ignorant of what dangers might be before them. We were about to risk our lives among an unknown savage people.
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> Silently we proceeded along the path, and after about two hours' walking we came upon another river on the banks of which we perceived a village, while on a height some distance off, were two others.

Having fervently recommended ourselves to God's protection and implored His divine assistance, we continued to advance unnoticed, until we came so near that we could hear the Indians talking. It was now time to make our presence known, so halting, we gave a loud cry, and breathlessly awaited the result. Instantly the Indians rushed from their huts in the direction of the sound. On seeing us, they paused. They seemed reassured, probably because they recognised us as French, above all, at seeing a black robe; and in any case, they could have no ground for suspicion as we were only two in number, and had given them notice of our approach. After some consultation, four old men came towards us. Two of them carried pipes beautifully decorated with feathers of all colours. They advanced slowly, taking very short steps, and raising the pipes towards the sun, as if about to smoke them, but they uttered no word. The distance between us and the village was but short, yet it took them a considerable time to traverse. When at last, they came near, they stopped and remained for some moments keenly scrutinizing us.

These ceremonies, which the Indians only use towards friends, inspired me with courage and confidence. I was still more cheered on observing that the dress they wore was of woven cloth, from which I concluded that they were allies of the French. I was the first to break the silence, and inquired to what tribe they belonged. They answered that they were Illinois, and in token of peace handed us the pipes to smoke. They then invited us to their village, where all the people were awaiting us impatiently. On reaching the village we were led to a hut, at the door of which an old man was waiting to receive us. The ceremonial used on the arrival of strangers is as follows.

He stood upright, nodded to us, and then held his hands stretched towards the sun, as if trying to shield himself from its rays, which fell on his face through his fingers. As we came near he saluted us in these words:

'How beautifully shines the sun, O ye French, since you come to visit us. Our whole village is waiting for you, and you shall enter our huts in peace.'

Thereupon he led us to his own hut, which was crowded with Indians. All eyes were fixed on us, but silence prevailed, except that occasionally some of them would say in a low voice:

'Well done! well done, brothers, to come to visit us.'

When we had taken our places they paid us the usual honours, and the calumet of peace was handed to us. No one must refuse this, unless he wished to be regarded as an enemy, or, at least, very impolite; but it is sufficient to raise it as if in the act of smoking. While the pipe was handed round to all the elders an invitation was brought us from the chief to meet him in the neighbouring village, as he wished to take counsel with

us. Thither, accordingly, we repaired, accompanied by a numerous escort. Many of this people had never seen a Frenchman before, and were never wearied looking at us. Some were lying in the grass all along the road; others ran on before, and then turned back to look at us again. But all was done quietly, and with every mark of respect.

When we arrived at the village we found the chief standing before his hut between two old men. The three bowed low to us, and raised the calumet towards the sun. The chief then made a short speech, in which he wished us good luck. The peace-pipe was handed to us, and we were obliged to smoke it while entering the hut. Here we were received with the usual tokens of love and friendship. According to custom, I now made them four presents, each of which had a special significance. These presents generally consist of tools, weapons, dress-stuffs, ammunition, and food, but specially of long strings of beads. By the first present I gave them to understand that we were making a friendly journey in order to visit all the tribes who dwelt along the river down to the sea. By the second I told them that the God who created them had had mercy on them, and wished that all those people should know Him; that He had sent me among them for this purpose, and that it now rested with themselves to hear and to obey. In giving the third present, I explained that the great French chief (the Governor of Canada) sent them word that it was He who had made peace everywhere, and had conquered the Iroquois. Finally, when giving the fourth present, we begged of them to tell us all they knew of the river and of the people through whose territories we would pass on our journey. When I had finished speaking, the chief rose, laid his hand on the head of a little slave boy, destined as a present for us, and said, 'I thank you, Black Robe, and you [turning to M. Jolliet] O Frenchman, for having taken so much trouble in coming to visit us. Never was the earth so beautiful; never did the sun shine so brightly as to-day. Never did our stream flow so calmly; never was it so free from obstructions. Your barks in their passage have removed them. Never has our tobacco tasted so well, nor our corn been so flourishing as we now behold it. Here is my boy, I give him to you that you may understand my heart. I beseech you to have compassion on me and on my people. You know the Great Spirit who has made all things. You talk to Him, and hear His word. Beg of Him to grant me life and health. Come and stay with us, that you may teach us to know Him.'

With these words he placed the little slave boy beside us, and made us a second present of a peace-pipe, supposed to be endowed with mysterious properties, of far more value in their eyes than a slave. By this present he showed us how much our words had caused him to respect our Governor. He then handed us a

third present, and begged us in the name of the whole tribe not to pursue our travels further on account of the great dangers to which we would be exposed. I answered that I did not fear death, and knew of no greater happiness than to lose my life for Him who had created us all. These poor creatures could not in the least understand this. The speech-making was followed by a great feast consisting of four courses. We were obliged to partake of each of these in order not to offend our hosts. The first dish was a great bowl of sagamite or Indian corn, cooked in water and mixed with fat. The master of ceremonies gave me three or four spoonfuls, feeding me as if I were a little child. M. Jolliet was helped in the same manner. The second course consisted of three fish served also in a bowl. The master of ceremonies took some pieces of the fish, removed the bones, breathed on them, as if to cool them, and then held them to my mouth, exactly as one would feed a bird. At the third course they brought in a large dog, freshly killed. Among the Indians, the dog while living is a persecuted despised animal, but when slaughtered is the highest sacrifice that can be offered to the sun-god, and the finest dish to place before honoured guests.

But, on our remarking that we did not eat of such, it was at once withdrawn. The fourth and last dish was a piece of buffalo flesh, of which they shoved the fattest morsels into our mouths. When the feast was over, we had to visit the village, which consisted of three hundred huts. As we passed through the streets, an Indian went before us ; the inhabitants, to gratify their curiosity, quietly, so as not to weary us. On all sides we were offered girdles, garters, and such like things, made of buffalo and bearskin, and gaily coloured in red, yellow, and grey. They had no other treasures. As these things were useless to us, we did not burden ourselves w th them.

We passed the night in the chief's hut, and next morning took leave of him, promising to revisit his village on our return after four moons. He accompanied us to our boats with about six hundred people, who watched our embarkation with the greatest interest, and in every possible way manifested their delight at our visit. Before leaving I renewed my promise of returning to them the following year to give them instruction.

On their way from this village called Pewaria, and which was probably situated on the Iowa river, our wanderers met with nothing deserving of narration until they reached the mouth of the Missouri, except at one point where they came on two enormous monsters cut out of stone, and placed high up on the precipitous bank. These were regarded with the utmost terror by the Indians, and even

Marquette admits that the first sight of them caused his companions and himself to shudder. Not long after, as they were calmly gliding down the clear waters of the Mississippi, they all at once heard a far-off sound of rushing, roaring waters. They advanced cautiously, and soon a wonderful sight presented itself to their astonished gaze. A discoloured and rushing flood of waters, bearing on its surface a mass of drift-wood resembling floating islands, was pouring with mighty force into the Mississippi; the seething torrent was the Missouri. The clear waters grew turgid, and heaved and tossed in great waves, threatening to engulf the frail barks, and it was with difficulty our travellers navigated this dangerous spot. The demon so dreaded by the Indians, a strong whirlpool between the mouth of the Missouri and the Ohio, proved powerless to break the journey. But at this point also great skill and caution were necessary.

Want of space obliges us to pass over the many interesting curiosities in natural history which did not escape the missionary's keenly observant eyes, and to hasten to his next meeting with human beings. When the travellers passed the mouth of the Ohio river, they encountered, for the first time on their journey, swarms of mosquitoes, those troublesome blood-suckers.

In order to protect ourselves from their stings, and also from the rays of the sun [writes the father], we erected, with the help of the sail, a kind of hut in the midst of the water. Whilst we thus allowed ourselves to be carried along by the current, we noticed Indians armed with guns standing on the bank watching us intently; I at once showed my decorated pipe, whilst our crew assumed a defensive attitude, ready to fire if the Indians first led the attack. I then spoke to them in the Huron tongue, and they answered with a word which I understood to mean a declaration of war; but, in reality, they were afraid of us, and what we interpreted as a war-cry, was an invitation to approach them, that they might give us food. We, therefore, landed and went to their huts. Each of these large huts contained two fireplaces, and at each fireplace at least two families, each numbering about five persons, cooked their meals. They gave us buffalo meat and bears' fat, with excellent white plums. We found them provided with muskets, axes, hatchets, knives, and they had glass beads, and double-glass flasks, in which they kept their powder.

These Indians, who from their looks and language seemed to be related to the Huron and Iroquois tribes, trafficked with the Spaniards in Florida (probably they were wandering Tuscaroras). They assured our travellers that they were only ten days' journey from the sea. Father Marquette gave them instruction, as well as his knowledge of the language permitted, and distributed medals amongst them. And then with renewed courage the little party once more took to their oars. Was it, indeed, possible that the goal was so near!

The next time the brave little band encountered the natives of these regions, they were threatened by more serious dangers than any of those so happily overcome. The missionary describes the incident as follows:—

We were continuing our journey down stream exactly in 33 degrees S. latitude (it was really 34 degrees). The Jesuits for some unexplained reason make a mistake all through of one degree. Every point on their maps, otherwise marvellously correct, is marked a degree further south than on those of the present day, when we perceived a village lying close to the bank. This village was called Mitchimagea. We fervently called on our Holy Patroness, the Immaculate Virgin, and sorely did we need her assistance. Already we could hear the savages yelling, and inciting one another to attack us. They were armed with bows and arrows, clubs and shields, and were preparing to attack us both by land and water. Numbers embarked in large wooden canoes, some of which were rowed up the stream, and some down, in order to hem us in and completely prevent our escape. Those on shore ran wildly up and down, eager to begin the fray. Some of the young men actually sprang into the water to try to seize my boat, but were driven back by the current. It was in vain that we showed the pipe of peace, and gave them to understand by signs that we had not come with hostile intentions. The uproar continued, and they were preparing to send a shower of arrows into our midst, when suddenly God touched the hearts of the old men who were standing on the bank. Doubtless, moved by the sight of the pipe of peace, which probably at first in the distance they had not recognised, they earnestly set to work to restrain the others from attacking us. Two of these hoary warriors flung their bows and quivers into the canoes at our feet, to reassure us, and then jumping in obliged us to land, which indeed we did with considerable anxiety. At first we had to speak by signs, as no one understood any of the six languages with which I was acquainted. At last an old man was found who could speak Illinois.

Here also the faithful herald of the Gospel did not fail to speak of the one true God, and the things necessary for salvation. In answer to their inquiries regarding their further journey to the sea, they were told that they would receive all needful informatiom at the next village some seven or eight hours' distant. They were then regaled with fish and corn. The travellers passed an anxious sleepless night amongst these savages, though it seems their fears were groundless, as it afterwards transpired that the poor people took considerable trouble to ensure a friendly reception for the Black Robe and his companions in the next village. The father's report runs thus :—

Very early next morning we embarked, our interpreter accompanying us. A boat with ten Indians preceded us the greater part of the way. When we were within an half hour's journey from Akansea, the neighbouring village, we saw two canoes coming towards us. In the foremost one an Indian was standing upright, holding the peace pipe, with which, according to native custom, he made all kinds of significant gestures. When his canoe came alongside of ours, he intoned a very sweet melody, and handed us the pipe which we smoked. He then handed us bread and Indian corn, of which we eat a portion. This done, he rowed swiftly, intimating that we should follow slowly. In the meantime our hosts had prepared a place for us under the scaffold dwelling of their chief, profusely adorned with reed mats. In addition to the usual huts, these Indians constructed scaffolding on which some distance from the ground they laid a plank floor. A fire was lighted on the ground, and the smoke from this, pouring freely through the interstices of the planks, purposely laid rather far apart, kept the mosquitoes at a distance. A bark roof completed these airy dwellings, in which the Indians slept at night and also rested during the heat of the day.

On arriving here we landed and sat down, the elders of the tribe ranging themselves round us; behind these were the warriors and then the common people in great crowds. By good fortune we here found a young man who could speak the Illinois tongue far better than the interpreter we had brought from Mitchigamea. Through him I first addressed the whole assembly as usual, by means of presents. They were astonished at what I told them of God and the mysteries of our holy faith. They were most anxious that I would stay amongst them and thoroughly instruct thm.

We then inquired what they knew of the route to the sea. They replied that we were only ten days' journey from it (we could have done it in five) ; they were not acquainted with the

people who lived near it, because their enemies prevented them from trading with the Europeans who dwelt there. The hatchets, knives, and glass beads we saw with them were brought partly from the people in the East, and partly from a tribe of the Illinois who had a village four days' journey west from there. They also told us that the Indians who had met us with such hostile demonstrations were the enemies who barred the way to sea, and hindered them from making acquaintance with the Europeans and trafficking with them. They warned us that if we continued our journey we would expose ourselves to the greatest danger on account of the perpetual warfare waged by the very strong and warlike tribes who dwelt all along the river, and who were also armed with guns. During this conversation, food was continually brought to us in large wooden spoons. Indian corn, dog's flesh, &c. The whole day was spent in feasting.

After some remarks on the customs, mode of living, dress, &c., of these people, who were probably related to the Mexicans, the missionary continues :—

In the evening, the elders held a secret council, for some amongst them had conceived the idea that it would be well to break our skulls, and so become possessors of our belongings. But the chief put an end to such evil designs. He sent for us, and to show us that we were perfectly safe, he led the calumet dance before us ; and, to remove every vestige of fear from our minds, presented me with the pipe of peace.

The calumet dance, which is danced by the men while the women sing, consists in raising the pipe continually towards the sun, handing it round to be smoked, and other rythmical movements performed to continual singing, winding up with a sham fight, the movements of which also take place to a kind of dance time, and in which the pipe also plays a part. The chief dancer and pipe-bearer then makes a speech, in which he recounts his exploits and adventures. At the end, the latter receives a present; the calumet again goes round, and is at last presented to the guests in token of inviolable fidelity. A red sandstone quarry in south-west Minnesota supplied the favourite and much-sought material for the making of the bowl of the calumet. Marquette now took counsel with Jolliet on the all-important question as to whether they should continue their journey or remain satisfied with their actual discoveries.

They had now reached the mouth of the Arkansas river. Only a few days' journey lay between them and the unknown which they were seeking. The temptation to pursue their journey was great. On the other hand, they had to consider the countless Indians they would encounter on the Lower Mississippi, who were accustomed to the use of firearms, and who were also allies of the Spaniards, at that time enemies of France—fearful foes these for a few Frenchmen to contend against. Even if they succeeded in reaching the mouth of the river, a meeting with the Spaniards would inevitably result in a long captivity, or perhaps more. The chief object of the expedition had been gained. According to the exact reckoning of Jolliet, and Marquette, there could be no doubt that the newly-discovered stream emptied itself into the Gulf of Mexico, and not into the Gulf of California, as was hitherto considered probable. Should they hazard the risk of the knowledge of this fact and the other important incidents of the voyage of discovery being lost to the Government which had commissioned Jolliet, and to the Order which had sent forth Père Marquette? These and similar considerations induced the leaders of the expedition to relinquish the idea of proceeding further.

It seems incredible that after two months' journey over one thousand six hundred, or one thousand seven hundred miles through countless heathen tribes, that now, the fear of meeting with Europeans, with Christians, brethren in the faith, should put a stop to the great voyage of discovery. In fact, of all the difficulties which hindered the speedy and lasting conversion of the Indians from the mouth of the St. Lawrence river to the Gulf of Mexico, in the seventeenth and eighteenth century, none were so great as the wars of France in Europe.

After resting a day in Akansea, the daring voyagers embarked again, and cheerily rowed against the stream. What difficulties our Mississippi voyagers met with on the voyage up the river in the broiling rays of the summer sun; with what dangers they were threatened, or with what Indian tribes they came in contact; of all this we

are told nothing in the brief ending of Father Marquette's account of his journey. But he gives a short account of their voyage on the River Illinois, for they chose the latter (no doubt on the advice of the Indians) as a shorter and pleasanter way to Lake Michigan :—

We have [he writes] seen nothing comparable to this river, with regard to the fertility of the country, the beauty of the forests and prairies, the countless buffaloes, deer, racoons, wild geese, swans, ducks, parrots, and even beavers. There is a number of small lakes and rivers. That (the Illinois) on which we voyaged, is broad and deep, and has a calm current. During sixty-five hours, it is only necessary, in spring and part of summer, to make one short portage. We found on the banks of this river an Illinois village, Kas-kas-kia (not to be confounded with the present Kas-kas-kia on the Mississippi). The inhabitants received us very well, and exacted from me a promise to return and instruct them.

Probably on this same river, or, perhaps, on the Mississippi, but far below their earlier halting-place, Father Marquette met the Illinois Indians of Pewaria, the same whom he had promised to visit on the return journey. What happiness for him! Truly a great happiness for such a faithful servant of the Lord. This he expresses in the following words :—

If this journey resulted in the eternal salvation of only one soul, I should consider this a rich reward for all my labours ; and that such was the case, I have good grounds for believing. On our return voyage, we met the Illinois Indians of Pewaria, and for three days I went from hut to hut, inquiring as to their faith. On the third day, just as we were about to embark, a dying child was brought to me. I baptized it, and in a few minutes afterwards it expired. Marvellous providence of God for the salvation of that child's soul. A chief of the Kaskaskia Indians and some of his young men formed an escort for Father Marquette, and accompanied him to Lake Michigan, as far as where Chicago now stands, a distance of about one hundred miles. Thence the voyagers steered along the west shore of the lake ; journeyed through Sturgeon Bay to Green Bay, and at last reached the mission of St. Francis Xavier, towards the end of September, four months after they left it on their long and perilous journey. Needless to say how warmly they were welcomed.

The expedition occupied one hundred and thirty days, and the travellers voyaged over two thousand eight hundred

miles. During this time Father Marquette passed every night in the open air, and from early morning until late at night, he shared unceasingly in the labour of rowing. In the full vigour of early manhood, having only reached his thirty-sixth year, the heroic missionary broke down, utterly worn out by the terrible fatigues and privations he had undergone. It was soon evident to all that the life of one of the explorers would be exacted as the price of the discoveries which they had made. It is doubtful if the father ever again visited his beloved children at the mission of St. Ignatius. During the whole summer of 1674, he lay ill at St. Francis Xavier's, and only in the autumn, had he so far recovered as to be able to gratify the one desire of his soul, and obey his superior's directions by undertaking a second journey to the Illinois Indians.

To be continued.

E. LEAHY.

INFIDELITY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: VOLTAIRISM

FROM the fourth to the eighteenth century infidelity was little known to the religious world. Christianity had not yet been questioned by any nation that once was Christian. When unbelief disappeared it went out with paganism; when it returned it came under the name, and in the guise, of philosophy; the name has often been usurped for doctrine which is neither true or wise. Philosophy in its best sense is to be found in the lofty speculations of the scholastics who flourished under the influence of the Church before the revolt of Protestantism; since then the chief occupation of the Church, and her scholars, has been to define and to defend. The sublime spirit of inquiry with which she inspired her children, which has filled the archives of her schools with volumes of profoundest wisdom, and adorned every period of her history with so many bright names, was protected from error; for it was

a search for truth, with reverence for dogmas already defined, and in harmony with the revelation that God has given us. And yet how often have we heard of the untold blessings which Protestant liberty of thought brought to the world; how the bonds that had fettered human genius, and the despotism that had hated the light, were cast off, and how intellectual independence brought forth enlightenment which crowned it with suitable honours. This intellectual independence did more than throw off allegiance to the Church; it subordinated divine revelation to human reason, prejudiced by human passions; it brought men into hidden depths over which eternal mysteries hung, without a divine guide to lead them; then with eyes of flesh they saw not, they could not find the Christian God, and we hear of a new philosophy—infidelity.

Protestantism was the illigitimate offspring of private judgment, and the natural parent of infidelity. In the sixteenth century Protestantism sprang suddenly into existence. It arose in opposition to, and lived on hatred of, the teaching Church endowed with divine assistance. By deceit it seduced, by force it carried away, great numbers from the fold of the Church, promising them all the blessings, and releasing them from many of the duties, of the faith they were leaving. But the seed that was sown in the rejection of an infallible teaching authority brought forth fruit according to its kind. In the seventeenth century unbelief, as a matter of opinion, without openly assailing Christianity, began to grow from the principle of private judgment. On this principle Protestantism had declared war against the Church; on the same principle unbelief declared war on Christ Himself. And in the eighteenth century it was formulated into a potent, violent, anti-religious movement. The task it set itself was no small one; it was no less than to sweep from the world the whole Christian revelation, together with the divine nature and divine authority of Christ Himself, and stretch out between man and his Creator, a deep eternal chasm, dark and silent. The world was startled when Christianity, which had formed, civilized, and guided nations for so many centuries, which

had made the family sacred, and inspired men to heroic deeds of charity, that seemed superhuman; when the Christianity that had bound man to man in the brotherhood of faith, and man to God in the duties of divine worship, had to struggle for its very existence, against Voltairism in France, and Deism in England, clasping hands in unholy compact 'against the Lord and against His Christ.' Never was the wise test of Gamaliel more true of that religion: 'If this council, or this work, be of men, it will come to nought; but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it.'

It is easy to trace the steps that lead from Protestantism to Deism, from Deism to Voltairism. During the hundred years that followed the birth of Protestantism, the religious struggle was confined, for the most part, between the Church and the sects that had left her guidance. During that time and long after, English Protestantism, that it might show, forsooth, its love for liberity of conscience, would hear of no truce, no tolerance, but exerted itself with all its power, and exhausted all its cruelties, sometimes refined, and sometimes brutal, to stamp out every vestige of Catholicity; and the expiring agony, or despairing appeal for mercy, could be heard from the persecuted Church in every part of the kingdom. When Elizabeth died, triumphant Protestantism was all-powerful; the teachers of the old faith, like the prophets of the Old Testament, had fled to the caves of the earth. But the cry of internal troubles was soon mingled with the triumph. There was no fixity, no certainty of doctrine; dissension appeared in the household of the new religion, and the Protestantism of the Tudors was scourged almost to death by Puritanism under the Stuarts. Private judgment had not yet completed its work; there were whispers of other doctrines. Herbert had his doubts about the necessity of revelation; or whether, if it existed, it could be proved. Hobbes saw no authority, no inspiration from God to man, except in the monarch or the sovereign assembly; he would even allow the Christian to deny Christ at his sovereign's bidding. They did not formally renounce Christianity, but in them we get the first glimpses of the naked form of Deism, through the thin threadbare vesture of Protestantism

It was not till the great literary period, commencing in the reign of Queen Anne, that Deism came forth into the open, and laid the foundations of unbelief, which has ever since, in one shape or other, sapped the influence of English Protestantism. In that period there was a new destructive movement in religious thought; the leaders of the movement by agreement, or by choice, divided their task. Collins was their champion against prophecy; Woolston against miracles, which he styles 'Gulliverian tales of persons and things;' Tindal against all other light than that of nature; Chubb against Christian morality, and Morgan against the Old Testament; whilst Dodwell and Bolingbroke are connecting links between them and the later scepticism of Hume and Gibbon. But they were theorists rather than propagandists; they attacked principles rather than persons, and the elasticity of Protestantism was little shocked by the onslaught, and treated it as a matter for table controversialists.

In this movement infidelity, for the first time since the extinction of civilized paganism, had to be treated as a serious danger to Christianity. There were earlier instances of unbelieving individuals, even in Catholic atmospheres; not to mention others, there were the well-known Giordano Bruno, and Vanini, disciples of the Italian Renaissance; but they flickered out unseen by the world at large, and left no successors to propagate their doctrine. It was not till the eighteenth century, and it was first by the English deists, the rejection of Christianity was formed into a system. But the attack, which was begun in Protestant England, was soon to be made on a sterner foe in the Catholic Church, whose authority and existence were pledged in the minutest article of her creed. France was the chosen battlefield, Voltairism we shall call the enemy, and England was the training school, where the enemy received his weapons and learned to use them.

At the time when literary and deistical activity had reached its zenith in 1726, there came to England a foreign refugee, who was soon in sympathy with his surroundings. He studiously admired whatever was subversive in Locke,

he was the *protégé* of Bolingbroke; he equipped himself with the weapons of Collins, Woolston, and Tindal, and sharpened them with his own peculiar talent, for the destruction of the Old and New Testaments, especially the prophecies and miracles. His name was François Marie Arouet; but he is better known to the world as Voltaire. We have no conclusive proof that he was not a Christian believer when he came to England: he was an infidel when he left it, and all his enmity was concentrated against the Catholic Church of his native France. He expressed the feelings of his heart and the purpose of his life in his well-known motto, '*Ecrassez l'Infâme*,' 'the Church was the infamous one.' 'I am weary,' he once said, 'of hearing them repeat that twelve men were enough to establish Christianity, and I long to prove to them that it needs but one man to destroy it.' Needless to say, he failed; he inflicted a wound where he would have inflicted death; he shook society to the foundation, and the Church to the very rock on which she stood; for he and Rousseau, his disciple, and afterwards his rival, had the largest share in bringing about that blackest crime in the world's history, that stigma on human nature, the French Revolution. It was the outcome of the philosophy they had inaugurated; it spared neither right nor innocence, it blazed into a war that spread terror and death through the world for more than twenty years—it took oceans of the best blood of Europe to extinguish it. Voltaire was the founder and ablest leader of the anti-religious movement in France, and Villemain truly observes that there is not one of Voltaire's works that does not bear the mark of his sojourn in England. The infidelity of France was the deism of England, taking its peculiar flavour from the minds of those through whom it was propagated.

The time, the latter half of the eighteenth century, and the place, France, were ripe for the success of their designs. The influence of Protestantism had weakened the hold of religion on the minds of many. The infidel Frederic at Berlin, the infidel Catherine at St. Petersburg, the English deists, and even the English Protestants, when the struggle was against the Catholic Church, were ready to receive and

fête the new philosophers, in honourable exile, while they incurred the displeasure of the Government of France. But better still for their purpose, France itself was corrupt and decadent. The glory of the long reign of Louis XIV. flattered the pride of the people, and covered the multitude of the monarch's sins. His famous maxim, '*L'ètat c'est moi*,' showed how the mind of the nation was moulded in the mind of the King. The Church, too, had her giants in those days; Bossuet, Fenelon, Massillon, and Bourdaloue—names that have seldom been equalled in one century, and never by contemporaries in one nation—adorned his reign with their eloquence. But it required all the ability of Louis XIV., and all the glitter of his military greatness, to reconcile the people to the undoubted despotism with which they were governed. He was succeeded by the most worthless of monarchs, his great-grandson, Louis XV. He had none of the brilliant qualities and more than all the vices of his great predecessor. The profligacy of his court has seldom been equalled; he ruled for his own pleasure and not for the benefit of France; he ruled on the principle that he was born to be a king; he used to say that the monarchy was certain to last till his death. Millions of the public money were squandered in the debaucheries of the court, whilst the lives and the liberties of the people who paid it were in the hands of those who pandered to or shared in the ignominious pleasures of the King. He sowed the wind, but it was his grandson, Louis XVI., who reaped the whirlwind. When he came to the throne he had a difficult task for any monarch to perform, one impossible for him. He was virtuous but weak, none of the licentiousness that disgraced the court of his predecessors attaches to his name. But the nation he was called to rule was seething in discontent, the taxes were heavy, the treasury was depleted, the philosophers were undermining Church and throne. He was too weak a pilot, and too unskilled to steer the barque that had rotted in the iniquities of his fathers, through the storm that was gathering round him.

The discontent which was widespread arose from the oppression and poverty under which the people groaned,

and those who could afford to pay the taxes found it difficult to bear the contempt with which they were treated by the haughty seigneurs. The nobles were exempt from direct taxation; a title of nobility could be obtained by purchase; the wealthy merchants frequently bought a title, and with it the privilege of exemption. Those exemptions increased the burden of taxation on the lower orders. There was, besides, the odious corvée, which compelled the people to make the roads and bridges at their own expense; three hundred farmers were reduced to beggary in one year, in filling up a single valley in Lorraine. Even the salt, so essential to the poor, was taxed. The oppressive burdens weighed heaviest on the peasantry; the poorer amongst them were saved from starvation only by the most servile and constant drudgery; and they knew not when the very fruits of their toil, which stood between them and the fiend of hunger, should be taken from them. Let La Bruyere describe the picture of horror as he saw it: 'Certain wild animals, male and female, scattered over the fields; black, livid, all burnt with the sun, bound to the earth they dig, work with unconquerable pertinacity; they have a sort of articulate voice, and when they rise to their feet they show a human face; in fact, are men.'

It is generally safe to oppress an ignorant peasantry, if there is not someone they respect to remind them of their manhood. But the Bourgeoisie and professional classes were not so easily reconciled to their grievances. They had wealth and talent, yet they were debarred from the higher offices and honours of the state. Those positions had long been the monopoly of the nobility. The nobles were once the flower of national valour, they were the military bulwark of the nation; but they had degenerated, their prestige had paled, the days had come when tact was more essential than valour in warfare, and there was no longer the love or the need for the chivalry of the feudal knight. They had in many instances squandered their estates, and too often were distinguished by nothing, except the title they inherited and the most shameful excesses. The old nobility despised those who were nobles by purchase or promotion, whilst all

treated the masses of the people with the utmost contempt. This, then, is the France of the eighteenth century: a haughty nobility, impoverished and immoral; proud mercantile and professional classes, often in affluence, always in contempt; a peasantry groaning beneath the burden of excessive taxation. The nobles, with the monarch, held the reins of government; the others, ignorant of their power, born to obedience, lay chafing beneath their yoke, fearing to strike, lest the hand of tyranny, already so heavy, should crush out the very life that was left in them. These were dangerous elements for a throne to rest upon, the embers of a revolution were but thinly covered with the ashes of traditional obedience; it needed but a breath to fan them to flames, and the poisonous breath of the new philosophers did it.

The philosophers breathed out a new literature on those elements, and their purpose—they did not conceal it—was to destroy the Catholic Church. Voltaire and Rousseau set themselves the task of tearing from the nation the bonds of society, by tearing from the hearts of the people the bonds of religion, which hold the human soul in continence and order. But others went further still, and stretched forth impious hands, in futile effort, to drag down God Omnipotent from His throne in heaven. When David Hume, the father of English scepticism, was invited to meet eighteen of the most celebrated literary men of Paris, he was surprised to find himself the least sceptical of the party. He tells us he was the only one present who admitted even the probability of a Supreme Being. It is generally safe to judge the prevailing social and religious condition of a country by its literature. The French philosophers first created a morbid taste, and then pandered to it. The infidelity, the materialism, and scandalously immoral productions which flowed so frequently and eloquently from the pens of Voltaire and his helpers, were the running sores of the national malady the new philosophy had engendered in the hearts of the people. Their works were devoured by numerous admirers as they came from the press. They were sometimes suppressed, but the suppression was a mere

comedy of appearances, except where offence was given to the monarch or his favourities. The attacks on the constitution were under the disguise of theories, but their hostility to the Church wore no mask, and spared no means to bring about her destruction. Their popularity knew no bounds; they were invited to adorn the parties of noble seigneurs, while their gospel was welcomed with applause by the lower orders, who built upon it the horrors of the Revolution. Many from all grades of society read, with undisguised pleasure, the witty sarcasms, and bitter calumnies of Voltaire against the Church, who, still as ever, pointed to the hand of God stretched out in justice above the conscience of the sinner. There were many, like Philip of Orleans, whose guilty consciences were pained by the light of religion, who rejoiced at any pretext that could screen them from it; even though it were by pulling down the Victim of the cross, the noblest, the only hope of man. 'Impiety,' said the clergy in the General Assembly of 1770, 'has passed from the capital to the provinces; it is found under the roof of the artisan and in the cottage of the peasant; it misleads alike their ignorance and simplicity. Impiety is making inroads alike on God and man; it will never be satisfied till it has destroyed every power, divine and human.'

The Church alone foresaw, and honestly opposed, as in duty bound, the consequences of the new movement. The philosophers, knowing this, knew also that their success in pleading for the liberty of passion, would be impossible, unless they could destroy the influence of religion. It is false to say, as has often been said, that there was universal corruption in the Church of France in those days; that the Church, like the State, was but the corpse of her former self. The State, still wearing the glitter of her ancient lustre on the surface, was rotten to the core; the Church was sound at heart, with, it must be admitted, some blemishes on the fair face that should have neither spot nor wrinkle. There is always a danger to the Church when her relations with the State are too intimate, especially when, as in France in the eighteenth century, the State is morally corrupt. Each has its own sphere, each its own duty, in providing for the

welfare of the many ; and when they come in contact, as they must, it should be in friendly alliance, the State assisting the Church, the Church inspiring rulers with justice, and the people with obedience, adding eternal hopes to their temporal-welfare. But here is a difficulty: there never yet has been a model union of Church and State. The secular arm is jealous of the spiritual power; the secular eye looks greedily on the possessions of the Church. There is not a period in the history of the Church in which she has not had to struggle to keep together her universal spiritual kingdom, free in all its parts from servitude to temporal rulers. She has succeeded, under the providence of God, only by the invincible courage of the Hildebrands, and the blood of the Becketts.

But there is another and a greater danger in this intimacy between Church and State : the priests may be inspired by secular ambitions, and put on secular manners, that are ill becoming their sacred character. This was the case in France in the eighteenth century, and contributed largely to the success of infidelity. There were men who took upon themselves the priesthood, because they felt they were taking a worldly honour; their vocation was from temporal motives and not from God. They looked for preferment to the influence of some courtier not always of spotless character. The emoluments and the honours became the ideal of success to those whose duty was to offer sacrifice, to bring souls to God, and to dispense through sinless hands the graces sent down from God to man. It was on this account a Chateneuf, a Dubois, a Raynal, a Tallyrand, and the others who lost their savour, were found in the Church. But they were comparatively few amongst the eighty thousand ecclesiastics then in France. It is an old device of the enemies of the Church to select her unfaithful ministers, and hold them up to the world, with all their faults and crimes exaggerated, declaring that such is the Church which claims to be holy, such are her ministers. This libel has often been uttered against the Church of France ; but when the day came to try the faith that was in her ministers they were found to be true disciples of their Divine Master. Rather than deny

the doctrine they had preached, they went forth in thousands to every civilized country in the world, taking nothing with them but their lives, their faith, their virtue. And what nobler example of heroism for the sake of truth does the world's history record than that of the priests in the September massacres? In the prison of the Abbaye twenty-four were slaughtered because they preferred their priestly duty to their lives. In the prison of Carmes, the saintly Archbishop of Arles, with two bishops, and two hundred priests, met a similar fate. They would not take the oath of the civil constitution; for although it was not directly opposed to any dogma of the Church, it would claim from them allegiance that would give to Cæsar the dues of Christ. They are asked whether they will take the oath; a 'Yes' will save them; they answer 'No,' and die, for to yield would compromise them in their duty as pastors of their flocks.

The vast majority of the people did not hate the Church: she alone had sympathy with their grievances; she alone raised her voice against the disgraceful vices of the court; but many were educated into hating her by Voltaire and his associates, whose motive was not to benefit the people, but to destroy the Church. Therefore, those men and their methods claim our attention in treating the question of infidelity. The character of Voltaire is black as pen can paint it. He was a man without principle, without truth, without gratitude. Had he a single virtue? He was not a great philosopher, or a profound thinker; he had accumulated a vast store of information, which he had no scruple in distorting, and then applied it to his subject with his own peculiar powers. He had no reverence for the most sacred truths, and it is difficult to say whether he had any for God Himself; for he was above all things else a hypocrite. He poured out falsehoods, pointed with sarcasm on his enemies with singular effect. His attractiveness consisted in the licence, pleasing to human passion, hateful to religion, for which he pleaded, gilding its shame with wit. He sought for popularity, and succeeded in winning it; he proclaimed himself the friend of the people, the hater of the priests; whilst sinning against the nation's laws and the law of God, he

captivated the indecent tendency of the nation's heart. He propounded no system, civil or religious; his idea was to destroy the Church, and leave human passions to seek their gratification in the chaos of infidelity. It is impossible to determine for certain whether he really believed in God. He built a church at Ferney, and had placed on it the inscription 'Deo erexit Voltaire;' and on one occasion he said, 'If God did not exist it would be necessary to invent His being.' But perhaps the following incident would help us to interpret what he meant by those professions. He was present at a discussion amongst the philosophers, as to whether God existed, and when the negative side was strongly urged, he ordered the servants to leave the room, and locked the door. 'Gentlemen,' he explained, 'I do not want my valet to cut my throat to-morrow morning.' He wore the habit of a Capuchin at Ferney; he demanded Holy Communion with a threat of legal proceedings; he lived the outward life of a Catholic, whilst in his heart, he regarded all the doctrines of the Church as inventions of men, and all her ceremonies as empty mockery. This pretended Catholicity, he tells us, was to save him from the disgrace of being deprived of Christian burial.

He has not left a single argument against the truths of Christianity which needs a refutation at the present day. He was an adept in throwing out witty ridicule on the Scriptures, in lampooning priests, and in drawing pictures, from the study of his own animosity, to show the tyranny of the Church. Let us take a few specimens. He asks whether Christianity consists in throwing water, with a little salt in it, on the head? He starts, in all his arguments against Christianity, by begging the question, in rejecting the supernatural. What a difference it makes when we know that 'putting water with a little salt in it on the head,' is a sign divinely ordained, that God might raise us up to the adoption of children; that at, or through, that sign of baptism, grace from heaven, mysterious in its method, supernatural in its effects, flows into the soul of man? He rails at the providence of God, and mocks at His goodness, because the dancing-houses of Paris were undisturbed

whilst thousands of innocent victims were swallowed up in the great earthquake of Lisbon. His poem on this subject drew a dignified and powerful reply from De Maistre. But time has answered it. It is not yet one hundred and fifty years since the calamity occurred. And what does it matter now to the victims, whether they died in the earthquake or lived a few years longer, to moan out their souls on a bed of sickness? Why should God stretch forth a hand to stay the laws of nature when nature in another form should soon demand her debt? Voltaire, more foolish than the child, who thought to empty the ocean with a shell, would try with his puny reason to measure God, who measures man, and life, and all things, by infinity and eternity. He worked himself into a frenzy, as he always does when there is an opportunity of calumniating the Church, over the death of Calas. Calas was a Toulouse Huguenot, and his son, wishing to become a Catholic, was murdered. The father was accused of the crime, convicted, and executed. There may have been a miscarriage of justice through religious excitement; but if there was a fault, it should be attributed to a civil tribunal. It was enough, however, for Voltaire, that the question of religion was connected with the trial. He remembers, too, that Sirven and La Barre were put to death for insulting religion. His soul is wroth over the tyranny of the Church. He stands forth as the champion of humanity. His tender heart could stand this cruelty no longer. But listen: 'They write me,' he says, 'that three Jesuits have at last been burned at Lisbon. This is most consoling intelligence.' And again: 'It is said that Father Maligrida has been broken on the wheel. God be thanked.' The hypocrisy of his life went down with him to the grave. In his last illness he made the following confession of faith: 'I die in the Holy Catholic religion in which I was born, hoping that God in His mercy will pardon my faults; and if I have ever scandalized the Church, I ask pardon for it from God and from her.' If we can believe Strauss, whilst he gave this to the priest, he had a contradictory confession beneath his pillow, for his infidel attendant. At any rate, when the priest asked him to

profess his belief in the divinity of Jesus Christ, his dying testimony was: 'In the name of God, sir, speak no more to me of that man; let me die in peace.' A worthy end of an unworthy life.

His ablest lieutenant in the war against religion was Rousseau; but like Voltaire, his character cannot bear the light. A Protestant in his youth at Geneva, he changed his religion in Savoy for a good dinner. Speaking of the occasion when the priest obtained his consent to become a Catholic, he says, 'I was too good a guest to be a good theologian; and his Frangi wine, which struck me as excellent, was such a triumphant argument on his side, that I should have blushed to oppose so capital a host. He returned to Protestantism again at Geneva, that he might have the rights of a citizen. The truth is, he was a deist. He detested atheism; he longed for Christianity, but its maxims were too pure for his sensual heart. 'If Fenelon were alive you would be a Catholic,' said St. Pierre to him. 'Ah!' said Rousseau, with tears in his eyes, 'if Fenelon were alive I would seek to be his lackey.' And on the same occasion he said with emotion, 'Ah! how happy is the man who can believe.' He was more opposed to the moral than the dogmatic teaching of the Church, except, perhaps, the dogma which declared that retribution for a guilty life should be exacted in eternal punishment. He rejected the divine authority of revealed religion, and enunciated a form of naturalism to suit and justify his own desires. God was to be supreme in heaven, and man on earth inasmuch as he had no positive law from God. He was dependent on God for existence and immortality; but whatever could afford gratification to the passions was in keeping with his natural creed. His theory was built on human perfectibility: there was no evil in man except from without. Nature only wanted liberty to form the perfect man, and man only wanted liberty to form the perfect nation. In *Emilius* he delineated the method of evolving perfectibility of the child. He sends his own five children, without name or parentage, to the foundling hospital. In his youth he accused a fellow-servant of a theft he himself committed.

He leaves his friend lying helpless in the street. He betrayed, and afterwards abandoned, Theresa Vasseur. His glaring sensualities must be passed over in silence. If we judge this apostle, who sat in judgment on the Church, by the facts of his life, he presents himself to us as an eloquent, ungrateful vagabond, without either honour or morals. What he might have been, had he followed the light of religion, and co-operated with the grace of God, instead of his foolish theory of human perfectibility, appears in his frequent outbursts about things divine, not unworthy of a father of the Church. What could be grander than those words which he puts in the mouth of the Savoyard Vicar, to express, we may presume, the feelings of his own heart?—'I avow to you that the holiness of the Gospel is an argument that speaks to my heart, and to which I should even regret to find any good reply. See the books of philosophers, with all their pomp, how little they are beside this? Can a book at once, so sublime and simple, be the work of men? Is it possible that He, whose history it is, can be a man Himself?' And yet this same Rousseau is an avowed enemy of Christianity. For his perfectibility of human nature, alas! The highest degree of perfection he ever reached was in the days before passion dragged down the innocence of his childhood to the basest crimes of man. We can ask for no more trenchant refutation of his theory, for no more convincing proof of the fall of human nature, and its effects, as revealed through inspired writers, than the spasmodic struggles of Rousseau, always admiring, often teaching virtue; but never practising it. The law of his members had captived him in the law of sin; his life gave the lie to his gospel, till eventually he retreated from the world, probably by suicide, leaving behind him a name that has long since been discredited and disgraced.

Of the other leaders little may be said. Holbach was the host of the philosophers, at whose house they met to exchange ideas. His best-known work is his *System of Nature*. He, together with Diderot and D'Alembert, the editors of the *Encyclopædia*, were the representatives of materialism. They had nothing new or more startling to

present us with than the mysterious atoms of Democritus remodelled by Lucretius, with their impossible existence and impossible works. Whence have we motion? whence have we life? whence our cunningly organized earth, and the multitude of worlds that, like living things, move and sparkle in the heavens above us? From lifeless, inert atoms? If it were so, the mystery were not merely beyond our reason, but against it, and infinitely deeper than all the mysteries of faith. Let us turn from the philosophers to the Catholic child. What says he? 'It was God who spoke; and made them.'

Those, then, were the makers of French infidelity; their doctrines were read by the educated and preached by the demagogues. An anti-religious movement seldom becomes formidable unless it is also political. But what was the note that stirred the heart of France? Liberty, equality, fraternity: no more nobles exclusive and haughty; no monarch to sweep away the liberty of his subjects by a word; a France in which all should be brothers, and none should be oppressed and none despised, in which the sovereign people alone should be obeyed. It seemed like a dream before minds of the people that never could be realized; but had not the eloquent, world-famous philosophers proclaimed that it was the inalienable right of the sovereign people to realize it? Let them rise and claim their own; let existing institutions be torn down, if necessary by violence. But this can be done only by injustice, by murder, and plunder; reform is possible; but this sweeping change, in which the higher social grades are to be levelled down to that of their meaner brethren, in which all rights, all property, are to be melted down into communism, by the sovereign people, is opposed to religion, to the teaching of the Catholic Church. Here is the opportunity of infidelity—religion stands in the way of politics. The philosophers have their own grievance against that Church. Does she not actually teach that the souls, sin-stained as theirs are, that the teachers of the licentiousness they have been teaching, shall change God's blessing to a curse, and expiate their crimes in eternal hell? This is the tyranny they dread most. They point to the

slavery in which millions of the human race are held by Buddhism and Mohammedanism, and then to Catholicism as the slavery of France.

These lessons at last produced their effect on the minds of the discontented elements, especially in the cities. They had heard the pleading against God, against virtue; their passions had slipped from the hold of religion; they were carried down to the depths where human nature is brutal. No longer did their souls throb with aspirations of eternal hopes; no longer did their hearts soar up on the wings of love to the great infinite God, who breathed on the clay to make the living man. The sovereign people rose and triumphed, and the frenzied godless mobs eat human flesh, not in figure, but in savage reality, in the streets of Paris. France that was disappeared, its monarch, its nobles, its political institutions; the France of a thousand years went down in the whirlpool of the Revolution to rise no more. Liberty, equality, fraternity, no justice, no mercy, no humanity, were the cries of the sovereign people as they raised their hands, made red with the blood of priests, to worship the *être Suprême*. But even God Himself must go from regenerated France, as the multitudes bow down in worship to the goddess of reason, sending up their incense to an idol placed on the altar of Notre Dame. It is not a lifeless idol, it is the goddess of the new philosophy—a living harlot, borne in triumph from the streets. The Catholic Church seemed for a while as if she were about to sink for ever before the attack of infidelity. 'The rain fell, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and they beat upon that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock.' She lost many of her members, but they were corrupt, and less noxious as open enemies without than as hidden traitors within her fold. The pomp, the wealth, the gilding of worldly honours she also lost; they were the gifts of men. But one particle of doctrine revealed to her, the smallest duty to her spouse, she could not yield; they were the same to her as life.

Her ordeal was a dreadful one. Whilst the terrors of the Revolution lasted nothing could be heard in France but

the crash of the falling nation and the blasphemies of the sovereign mobs, intoxicated with their revolting orgies. But when those terrors abated, men found they still had a conscience; they found a craving of the soul to be satisfied, a problem of life to be solved. Voltairism had no happiness to offer but sin; saw nothing in life but men plodding on, each with his own burden of miseries, to the grave.

> We ask in vain what we are [said Voltaire], where we are, whither we go, whence we came. We are tormented atoms on a clod of earth, whom death at last swallows up, and with whom destiny meanwhile makes cruel sport. The past is only a disheartening memory, and if the tomb destroys the thinking creature, how frightful is the present?

In this doctrine there was no comfort for the honest souls; they sought another teacher, and they found him. There is still one name in France that millions of her race will die for—the name infidelity would destroy—the name of Jesus Christ. He came on the earth to speak of eternity at the end of life, of happiness after sorrow. He came with the power of God; was it to save or to deceive us? He could not, and why should the founder of our faith deceive us? He had no interest to serve in humbling Himself, except to show His love for man. To him our souls go out in hope, to that gentle form the brother of our flesh, except in sin, the substance of our God. He stood a Mediator between heaven and earth, a Peacemaker between man and God, with a hand to God for mercy, a hand to man in hope. He spoke as man had never spoken; He did what man had never done; He passed from life to death; He rose from death to life; He went in triumph, leading captivity captive, with a human body through the gates of heaven. From His eternal triumph He sends down a message to the human race—'Follow Me.' It is not surprising that a Huysmans, a Brunetière, a Coppée, should shake off their infidelity, and come to Him, saying, 'We believe, we follow.' Infidelity can never satisfy the truth-seeking soul whilst there is such a Teacher to believe in. There is no other that man can follow, since He alone has the words of eternal life.

M. Ryan.

AUSTRALIA AND ITS RELIGIONS

THE course of history reveals to us the strange fact of the westward journey of the human race. Like the sun, man seems to come forth out of the east, and move along in his eventful journey to the west. Up to the eighteenth century the march of civilization bore this out pretty fully. Eastern nations were gradually seen to decay, and the wild countries to the west to rise up on their ruins. The great tide ever seemed to move on in its destined course from the shores of that ocean that washes the 'land of the rising sun,' on toward that desert land that looks out on the western Pacific. Was there a law regulating the course of human progress, and thus directing it? Was human glory to rise like the sun in the east, and move gloriously on to the western world? As I say, so it seemed, and so wrote historians and poets: 'Westward the course of empire holds its sway.' But recent developments have modified, if not completely altered this philosophy. The discovery and population, and marvellous growth of the new lands away to the east, in the southern hemisphere, point conclusively to the fact, that not necessarily does the course of empire hold its way westward, but that the east, when occasion offers, can be its equally congenial home. America is a land of progress, and has a great future before it, but Australia and New Zealand are countries possessing a vigorous population that give all the evidence of future greatness likewise. Australia is certainly a land of the future, with possibilities of development simply immense, fitted by nature to be the home of millions and millions. And not only has it possibilities, but it bids fair to realize these possibilities. A marvellous expansion is taking place in it yearly. Population is advancing by millions. Industries are being developed. Commerce is flourishing to an extraordinary extent. Ships innumerable are daily ploughing those seas that a century back were lonely as the grave. Cities are rising, as if by magic, in those plains that only

recently were clothed with virgin forests. Even the inland rivers are crowded with busy craft. The country is throbbing with a young life that will in time arrive at splendid maturity. How far distant that time is none can say, but certainly it is safe to predict, that the day will come when with the central countries of the globe in decay or in ruins prosperous nations will arise at the ends of the earth, and join hands in friendship or in conflict over the powerless and sluggish peoples of the intervening continents.

Australia, then, looked at simply with reference to its future, is an interesting country. But it is doubly interesting on account of the romance that hangs about its early history. Though that history is not lit up with such adventures as enliven the pages of Prescott, still it has an attraction of its own, and the reader who has followed the eventful career of the Aztec Empress will find a new interest in reading of those days when the aboriginals held their 'corroborees' by the banks of the Murray, and 'bush-rangers' swooped down from their fastnesses on the unhappy traveller. It is not our intention, however, to unravel any of the romances, or to speculate about the material greatness the future has in store for Australia. Australia is interesting to us simply because of its connection with the Catholic Church, and we propose to ourselves merely to take an intelligent glance at the position of Catholicism there at present, and its prospects in the future. What is its status there at present? Does it give promise of progress or retrogression? What is the prevailing religion in Australia at present? Judging externally, at least, it may be said that it is decidedly a Protestant country. It may be said, also, that the tone of public life is decidedly Protestant; that public opinion is decidedly under Protestant direction; that the Government is decidedly Protestant in its tendencies. But we say externally, for Protestantism, in so far as it is opposed to Catholicism, may be very rampant indeed; whilst regarded in itself it may have no vigour or life at all.

Now in Australia, Protestantism, as opposed to Catholicism, is very strong; but viewed in itself it dwindles into

'thin air,' has very little reality, and is fast resolving itself into infidelity, whether total or partial. With many of the Australian people hell is simply a name. They laugh at the punishment of the next life; and hence if they profess any belief at all, it is not in the Christian religion, for Christianity without hell is not Christianity at all. The real belief of many of the Australian people, if you judge them by their acts, is that which prompts them to amass money, build luxurious houses, and live comfortably in this life. If they succeed in this they would in most cases 'jump the life to come.' In other words, Australian Protestantism is moving on rapidly to its inevitable goal—infidelity. Occasionally there is a check to this movement, and a flash of religious enthusiasm may result in the formation of some new sect, such as the Salvation Army, which is sustained only by the frenzy or fanaticism of the members. But all this is momentary and trifling. The great tide moves on with irresistible force to its destined end. It is only when we consider this obscuring of the unseen world by the world around us—its gold, and its pleasures, that we can realize what our Saviour meant by the 'world,' and why He uttered such imprecations against it. The world is the direct and complete antithesis of religion, puts itself between us and the life to come, and hides the latter completely from our gaze. Protestantism is unable to cope with the attacks of the world. There in only one religion in Australia that makes any resistance to it, and that is the religion that holds forth prominently the life to come, and especially the terror of its punishments. The Catholic religion is alone an effectual barrier to this ally of infidelity. But even the Catholic religion feels its attacks. The work of the priest in many instances is not so much to insist on the individual truths of the Catholic religion as to make his people interested at all in the subject. Hence his time is more successfully employed with many people in putting before them motives for practising their religion than in explaining to them what that religion is. At least his first and most arduous task is to influence them with these motives. If he succeeds in this initial step his complete success is insured.

And if it is thus with Catholics it is quite evident that conversions from Protestantism are with great difficulty brought about; in fact, it can only be the result of divine grace. How convince a Protestant that the supremacy of the Pope is a truth of faith, when he cares little about faith at all. If he were without prejudice it would be impossible to make an impression on him; but when to this cold indifference is added deep prejudice, efforts are entirely lost on him. Let no one hope, then, for any rapid growth of the Catholic Church in Australia. Its expansion must be internal, unfolding itself like the bud, and increasing itself out of its own resources without any external accretions. The Catholic population will have its natural increase, and it will be well if that increase is preserved intact, and none is lost. Protestants do occasionally, and will in the future, join the Church; but their gains may be largely discounted, for they occur because of marriage, or some altogether not transparent motive. Unless divine grace will intervene the Protestant Church will decay year by year, till, like some time-worn edifice, it falls to ruin on the ground. Hence, as regards any material influence it will have on the expansion of the Church we may disregard it, for it will go its own way, and the Church will go hers.

But how stands it with the Church? As we said, it cannot look complacently or hopefully on her neighbour. She can't gain it. Does she suffer anything from it? Decidedly, and unless she is specially guarded on this point would suffer most disastrously. The atmosphere of infidelity that pervades Protestantism seeks to insinuate itself into the Church, and it is only by constant vigilance that the evil is prevented from working serious injury. Too often are to be found Catholics who think one religion as good as another, who next think that after all if a man lives well there is no need of any religion; and, finally, who comes to the conclusion that religion is all a matter of fancy.

This is the dark side of the picture, the presence of the huge inert mass of Protestantism, with its multitude of sects, casting like the Upas tree its baneful shadow on the Church. The Church cannot benefit materially from it; the Church

can suffer much from it: and altogether she would flourish better, and put forth her branches more luxuriantly if she did not exist beside such a neighbour. There is no doubt but the one great danger that menaces the Church in Australia is the danger of imbibing this evil influence.

But, on the other hand, there are light sides to the picture. Protestantism, though on the whole an undesirable neighbour, is of some advantage. It is an incontestible fact that religion finds its most congenial home amid persecution, and amid enemies. Sacred writers tell us of the disastrous effects a long period of toleration had on the early Christians, and how on the breaking out of persecution after this period of peace many denied the faith. Who can doubt too that Ireland owes the transparent purity of her faith to the persecution she has so long endured. Religion exists purer and stronger when it exists amid enemies. Hence, the staunchest Catholics, the holiest men, are to be found in Protestant communities. There seems to be no medium in these cases—it is zeal or coldness; the spirit of a confessor, or the perfidy of a traitor. Hence, Protestantism may serve to brighten, purify, strengthen the faith of Catholics; and it certainly has this effect in Australia. You may meet apostates—an O'Reilly, who is a Presbyterian, an O'Kelly, who is a Wesleyan, but you will meet multitudes brimful of faith and zeal. And you will meet these especially in the neighbourhood of a bigoted Protestant community. In fact, it is to be doubted, for this reason, if a bigoted Protestant community is not to be preferred to one that is liberal in its views; for the former throws the Catholic back on himself, makes him rely on himself, and puts him into a position of hostility to Protestantism, whereas the latter has quite the opposite tendency. Anyone who witnesses the material advance of religion within comparatively few years; who knows the sacrifices Catholics have made, and are making; who sees how freely they contribute to all sacred purposes, cannot fail to be struck with the depth of such faith that prompts to such sacrifices. The man who gives his money, it has been remarked, is sincere in his belief; and his money the Australian Catholic has generously given. He has

raised churches, and presbyteries that would contrast favourably with the fruits of centuries in old countries. He has built schools for his children rather than use those an unbelieving state has supplied to him. At present he will give anything he has at the call of the priest. The typical Australian Catholic has brought his faith from a pure source in his native Ireland—for to Ireland the Church in Australia almost exclusively owes her existence—but he has made it still purer in the country of his adoption, so that he is the Irishman more enlightened, more generous, more chivalrous in his devotion to the Church and her ministers.

A Catholic minority can, therefore, derive advantages as well as disadvantages, from a Protestant community. The disadvantages, no doubt, more than counterbalance the advantages; for, though there are some whom temptations strengthen, there are far too many who succumb to them. But the advantages or disadvantages must not be overrated. It may happen that there is little intercommunion between members of different religions. Often, like two elements that refuse to mingle, they hold themselve scrupulously apart, and each section lives and moves in a circle of its own. Now, though it cannot be said that Catholics and Protestants live in strict alienation one from the other, it is nevertheless true that there is a distinct line of separation between them. There is a Catholic society and a Protestant society, a Catholic public opinion and a Protestant public opinion. Thus a man may be regarded as a moving spirit among Catholics, whilst his name or fame would never enter the Protestant circle. Again, a religious scandal might never travel outside the religion of the perpetrator. Hence, to a large extent, both communities flourish side by side, one little interfering with the other. It would not be an unapt comparison to liken the Catholic Church in Australia to an oasis in a desert, surrounded by Protestantism, yet not mingling with, simply touching it. As a consequence of this relation there is very little reference made by one to the other. The 'let-alone' principle is much in vogue. An aggressive preacher is generally unpopular. Many congregations of Protestants would not

tolerate an attack by their minister on Catholicism, and in such cases it is more discreet for a Catholic to let controversy slumber. No good would arise from it, no conversions would follow, and it would serve only to arouse angry feelings. Of course, what I say holds generally, not universally. There are many Protestants filled with bitterness against all things Catholic, and bad men—such as ex-priests Chiniquy and Slattery—are not wanting to take advantage of this, and make rabid attacks on Catholicism; but respectable Protestants, for the most part, discountenance these attacks, so that Catholics can with wisdom disregard them.

All this militates against conversions, were they otherwise practicable. The force of example is lost in such a state of things. St. Ignatius or St. Francis of Assissi would find few admirers of their sanctity among such Protestants. So far from being impressed by the holiness of their lives, Protestants of this class would scarcely regard them at all. For such Protestants they would be 'born to blush unseen, and waste their sweetness on the desert air.'

Thus we have in Australia, at present, the Catholic Church and the various Protestant sects existing side by side, with very little interference one with the other; yet, notwithstanding this, by the necessity of the case, each exerting a silent influence on the other. Will this state of things continue? Will there be no gain on one side, and loss on the other? There will certainly be no material loss on the part of Catholicism. Indefectibility, indeed, is a prerogative not of any particular, but of the Universal Church; still no one will doubt but the Holy Ghost resides in some way in particular Churches, aiding them and maintaining their life, if the members, by their unworthiness, do not forfeit His help. We may hope, then, that this divine influence will preserve the life of the Catholic Church in Australia. But, apart from this, we can confidently affirm that the Catholic Church in Australia will never bend before her rival. Inertness, sluggishness, are the characteristics of Australian Protestantism at present, whilst Catholicism is full of life and activity. Protestantism is in a decadent state; Catholicism is sending its roots deep down into the

land, and gives promise of flourishing in future years ; not, indeed, of flourishing at the expense of Protestantism, flourishing rather by developing the powers that lie hidden within it. Protestantism will fall, and its members will become the sport of every belief, and no belief; but, unless the Almighty will interfere, there is not much hope that they will return to the true fold. They will end in infidelity, and whether they will make that their last resting-place none can tell.

Paganism fell rapidly before Christianity in the beginning; but these men had not tried Christianity, and rejected it. It was new to them. It is quite a different thing to win back from infidelity those who had previously fallen from Christianity. It would be a 'second spring,' the bringing back of the past, the raising of the dead. Such a moral miracle, however, is hoped for by many in England, and less sanguinely in America. If England ever again embraces the Catholic faith, then it is most likely that America and Australia will follow her. England will lead the way, and Australia will only join the true fold last. And why? Because Australia at present is too much engaged in the pursuit of the goods of this world, too eagerly rushing after gold, and caring too much for it to exchange it for the 'hidden pearl.' Such a tendency is directly opposed to the disposition necessary for the reception of God's gifts. God has cursed the world; the worship of the world is idolatry; and when men turn their back on the true God, and make for themselves idols, punishment only is in store for them. England, though running after the goods of this world also, is not quite as devoted to the search as America and Australia. In England there are as yet other things not so base as wealth admired and sought; but in America, and especially in Australia, the wealthy man is the real hero, the lord of the hour, the ruler with power in his sphere as absolute as is that of the Czar of Russia.

The nation as well as the individual devoted to wealth can never be devoted to God. It may achieve material triumphs—triumphs in letters, in arts, in mechanics ; it may run thousands and thousands of miles of railroads,

send multitudes of ships through the ocean, rear magnificent cities; but it will never be God's chosen people; it will never achieve triumphs in the spiritual order; it will run its usual course, 'founded, flourish, and decay,' and then vanish ingloriously from the scene. 'All this,' said Satan to the Lord, when the countries of the world spread out before them, 'I will give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me.' The temptation to which our Lord was subjected on this occasion was typical of what happened from the beginning, and will in all probability happen to the end of time. The votaries of the world, the idolaters of the wealth and glory of this world, will, in the designs of Providence, often get the worthless rewards they desire. In the past they have got them, and in the present we see the same thing occurring in the case of the two great English-speaking nations who have attained to such material greatness. They desired wealth; they valued it above all things; and now their ships plough every sea, bearing their commerce to and from every port of the world. They boast of their proficiency in the arts and sciences. What they call civilization—that is, railroads, steam-engines, mechanical inventions, luxurious mansions, soft living, and lax morality—they possess in abundance; and they look complacently on their unenviable eminence, and point to their heavy treasures as an evidence of their superiority to the other people of the earth. Nay, they go so far as to point to them as a conclusive proof that the religion professed by such a mighty people must be the true one. In their self-glorification they look on themselves as leading the van of human progress, and they regard whatever they possess as superior to what their neighbours own. Spain has fewer ships, fewer factories, fewer mansions, fewer wealthy men. She is a decadent nation. So is Italy, so is Austria, and France is beginning to feel the effects of its bad religion. Catholicism acts as a blight on human industry and human progress, and is from below. It stunts the faculties, obscures the intellect, restricts man's liberty. Thus they argue, or rather declaim; and all this time they forget that the sages of heathen Greece and Rome could,

with much more reason, declaim in the same way. They forget the words of Scripture: 'All this I will give Thee if, falling down, Thou wilt adore me.' They forget that Catholic nations have not so much heavy, gross civilization, simply because they do not adore it, and run after it so eagerly as the Englishman. Wealth is an ignoble thing to fix the heart on; it is as dangerous for a nation as for an individual if pursued to the exclusion of all other things. And, if so pursued, it too often happens that Providence allows the idolater his idol, and recedes away. But woe to the nation which puts wealth in the place of God. The prospect before such a nation must be dark, indeed. Hence dark forebodings must fill the mind when we peer into the future of the young nations who are making such giant strides on the road to material success. Religion, it is to be feared, will fade away by degrees, and soon depart altogether, to be followed by a night of darkness, darker than ever darkened over the heathen world in pre-Christian times.

Descent is much more natural to fallen man than ascent; and history, with unmistakable voice, tells us that man, when not guided and sustained by special intervention of Divine Providence, will descend swiftly in the scale of morality. He may, at the same time, rise in the scale of worldly greatness, as happened in the case of the great heathen empires of antiquity. Egypt, Babylon, Greece, and Rome possessed wonderful power—a power which, when we consider the age of the world when they flourished, throws into the shade the mightiest of our modern empires; but coincident with this power we find a low state of morality, and a religion worse than infidelity. History repeats itself. The same passions and the same causes are at work now that were at work in past ages, and the same results will, doubtless, be achieved if things follow their natural course. Hence, in the far Southern Sea, under semi-tropical skies, in distant ages, it is more than probable that grand empires will arise, and stretch forth their grasping hands; that the flowery islands of the Pacific will resound with a life busier than ever animated the 'cluster-

ing Cyclades' in the hey-dey of Grecian glory; that man will enact anew the drama he had often repeated in northern lands. But, at the same time, with the exception of God's chosen few, it is equally probable that the faith will die out, and that, if the Son of Man comes then, He will hardly 'find faith on the earth.' But we make an exception of God's chosen few; for even then, with triumphant certainty, we can say that the indefectible Church will still exist; even then, in those ages far away in the dim future, when the 'New Zealand traveller' will roam by the banks of the Thames, among the ruins of England's greatness.

JOHN MURPHY.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

SODALITY OF THE CHILDREN OF MARY

Rev. Dear Sir,—Will you kindly answer the following questions, with special reference to the archdiocese of Dublin?

(1) When a sodality of the Children of Mary is established in a parish, and duly affiliated to the *prima primaria* in Rome, who appoints its Director, and his successors?

(2) The statutes of the sodality direct that new sodalists should be received by the Director; who may, for a reasonable cause, appoint another priest to take his place (R. S. C. Ind. 23 June, 1885). If a priest who is not the Director, or authorized by him, receives new sodalists, is the reception valid; and what should be done under the circumstances?

Sacerdos.

We are not familiar with the organisation of the Sodality of the Children of Mary in the diocese of Dublin, nor with the special rules, if any, which the members are expected to observe. We may, however, confidently assume that this Sodality in the diocese of Dublin differs in no substantial manner, either as to organisation or rules, from similar sodalities elsewhere. Having made this very legitimate assumption, we are justified in concluding that, with regard to the two points raised by our esteemed correspondent in his questions, there can be nothing peculiar to sodalities of the Children of Mary in the diocese of Dublin. For each of these points is fundamental, and belongs to the very essence of all confraternities, and of many sodalities, among which is that of the Children of Mary. There cannot, therefore, be any doubt as to the reply which must be given to our correspondent's questions.

1. The bishop, and the bishop alone, has authority to appoint a director to the Sodality of the Children of Mary, or to any other sodality or confraternity into which the members must be formally received, and have their names

entered in a register. This is true whether the bishop himself has authority to confer canonical erection, and enrich the sodality with all the indulgences granted to it by the Holy See; or whether the diploma of erection, together with the faculty for the members of gaining the indulgences, has to be sought for from the general of a religious order.

As a rule, when the director of a sodality or confraternity is removed by death or otherwise the bishop formally appoints another director. The new director may be either the successor of the former director in the office which the latter had held in the parish, or he may be any other priest whom the bishop thinks fit to select. This we have just said is the general mode of procedure when a director has been removed. But bishops can appoint directors of sodalities, confraternities, &c., in such a way that when one is removed his successor in the parish succeeds *eo ipso* to the vacant directorship of the sodality or confraternity. That this authority belongs to bishops was formally recognised by Pius IX. in a decree issued on January 8, 1861, and was confirmed by the Congregation of Indulgences in a decree having the approval of Leo XIII., and issued July 16, 1887.

2. The fact, which we learn from the decree referred to by our correspondent, that it is only when a reasonable cause exists that the director can delegate another to take his place, should be sufficient proof that, if a priest has no delegation at all, he cannot validly receive members into the Sodality of the Children of Mary. The receptions, then, to which our correspondent refers were all invalid, and can be made valid only by the director performing again the ceremony of reception, and enrolling once more the names of the members in the register of the sodality. From time to time the Holy See revalidates invalid receptions; but a director would act both deceitfully and unkindly towards members, whom he knows to have been invalidly received, did he not take the earliest opportunity of constituting them real members of the sodality.

D. O'Loan.

DOCUMENTS

CONSTITUTION OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. EXTENDING THE PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE OF 1900

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII. CONSTITUTIO QUA INDULGENTIAE IUBILAEI ANNI MDCCCC CONCEDUNTUR MONIALIBUS, OBLATIS, TERTIARIIS ALIISQUE SIVE PUELLIS SIVE MULIERIBUS IN MONASTERIIS PIISUE COMMUNITATIBUS DEGENTIBUS EREMITIS, INFIRMIS, CARCERE AUT CAPTIVITATE DETENTIS CUM OPPORTUNIS FACULTATIBUS CIRCA ABSOLUTIONES ET VOTORUM COMMUTATIONES

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD FUTURAM REI MEMORIAM

Aeterni Pastoris infinitam caritatem animo reputantes, qui *proprias oves vocat nominatim*,[1] *ut vitam habeant et abundantius habeant*,[2] quique ipsarum adventum ad sui gremium non modo expectat, sed ipse saepe praevertit, consilium agitavimus de Apostolicae liberalitatis thesauro recludendo in proximum annum Iubilaei iis etiam, quibus sua conditio non sinit ut praescriptam peregrinationem ad almam hanc Urbem et ad beatorum Apostolorum limina suscipiant. Placuit igitur fructu vacuam non redire multorum fidem ac pietatem, qui huiusmodi iter summo cum studio essent aggressuri, nisi eos aut septa monasterii, aut ineluctabilis captivitas, aut corporis infirmitas impediret. Quae quidem relaxatio atque benignitas non istorum tantum necessitati aut utilitati prospiciet, sed in communem omnium salutem redundabit. Coniunctis enim tot hominum precibus et lacrimis, quos vel vitae innocentia et religionis ardor, vel poenitentia, vel calamitas segregavit a ceteris, divinae misericordiae placandae spem licebit multo validiorem fovere. Quamobrem vi praesentium litterarum opportunas rationes describere decrevimus, quibus quum viri tum mulieres in eremis, monasteriis et religiosis domibus assidue vitam degentes, vel custodiis et carceribus detenti, vel morbis aut infirmitatibus impediti quominus veneranda Apostolorum sepulcra et Patriarchales Urbis Basilicas adeant, permissarum absolutionum concessique plenarii Iubilaei fieri participes valeant.

[1] Io. x, 3. [2] *Ibid.* 10.

Qui autem sub hac providentia comprehenduntur, hi sunt:—

I. Moniales omnes, quotquot solemnia vota religionis ediderunt et in monasteriis degunt sub claustri perpetui disciplina-item quae tyrocinium exercent, quaeve in monasteriis, aut educationis aut alia de causa legitima, commorantur. Pariter Monasteriorum huiusmodi Moniales, quae stipis colligendae gratia septa religiosa egrediuntur:

II. Oblatae, vitae societate coniunctae, quarum Instituta fuerint ab Apostolica Sede vel ratione stabili, vel ad experimentum probata, una cum suis novitiis atque educandis puellis aliisque communi cum ipsis contubernio utentibus, quamquam severiori claustri lege non adstringantur:

III. Tertiariae sub uno eodemque tecto communiter viventes cum suis pariter novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque cum ipsis una degentibus, etsi severiore claustri lege minime teneantur, earumque Institutum nec unquam ad hunc diem ab Apostolica Sede approbatum fuerit, nec ut approbatum in posterum haberi debeat vi praesentis concessionis:

IV. Puellae ac mulieres in gynaeceis seu Conservatoriis degentes, quamvis nec Moniales, nec Oblatae, nec Tertiariae, nullisque claustri legibus obnoxiae sint. Has omnes, quas diximus, tam in Urbe quam extra, ubique locorum et gentium degentes, praesentis concessionis gratia et privilegio frui posse decernimus ac declaramus.

V. Idem concedimus Anachoretis atque Eremitis, non quidem eis qui nullis clausurae legibus adstricti vel in collegio et societate, vel solitarii sub Ordinariorum regimine certisque legibus aut regulis obtemperantes vivunt: sed eis qui in continua licet non omnimode perpetua clausura et solitudine deditam contemplationi vitam agunt, etiamsi monasticum aut regularem Ordinem profiteantur, ut Cistercienses aliquot, Chartusienses, Monachi et Eremitae sancti Romualdi solent.

VI. Ad utriusque sexus Christifideles eamdem concessionis gratiam extendimus, qui captivi in hostium potestate versantur, ad eosque ubique locorum, qui ex civilibus aut criminalibus causis in carcere detinentur; item qui exilii poenam aut deportationis luunt; qui in triremibus aut alibi ad opus damnati reperiuntur; denique ad religiosos viros qui suis in coenobiis sub custodia retinentur vel qui ex rectorum praecepto certam habent sedem, quasi exilii aut deportationis loco assignatam.

VII. Eamdem concessionem communem esse pariter volumus

utriusque sexus infirmis cuiusvis ordinis et conditionis, vel qui iam extra Urbem in morbum aliquem inciderint, cuius causa, intra Iubilaei annum, Urbem adire, medici iudicio, non possint, vel qui, licet convaluerint, non sine tamen gravi incommodo romanum iter aggredi possint, vel qui omnino dare se in iter imbecilla ex habitu valetudine prohibeantur. Horum denique numero senes haberi volumus, qui septuagesimum aetatis suae annum excesserint.

Itaque istos omnes et singulos monemus, hortamur et obsecramus in Domino, ut peccata sua *in amaritudine animae* recolentes eademque intimo animi sensu detestantes, saluberrimo Poenitentiae sacramento et congruis satisfactionibus suam quisque conscientiam expiare curent ; tum ad caeleste Convivium ea, qua par est, fide, reverentia, caritate, accedant, Deumque optimum maximum, per Unigenitum Filium eius ac per merita augustissimae Virginis Mariae et beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli omniumque Sanctorum, iuxta Nostram Ecclesiaeque mentem enixis precibus orent pro sanctae Ecclesiae prosperitate atque incremento, pro extirpandis erroribus, pro catholicorum principum concordia, totiusque christiani populi tranquillitate et salute ; in eumque finem visitationi quatuor Urbis Basilicarum, alia religionis, pietatis, caritatis opera devote sufficiant, quum voluntaria, tum praesertim a delectis sacri ordinis viris auctoritate Nostra iniungenda, prout infra edicitur.

Scilicet volumus ac iubemus ut venerabiles fratres Episcopi aliique locorum Ordinarii Monialibus, Oblatis, Tertiariis, aliisque superius memoratis sive puellis, sive mulieribus, Anachoretis, Eremitis, in carcere detentis, aegrotantibus et septuagenario maioribus, statuant ac praescribant sive per se, sive per prudentes Confessarios, congrua religionis ac pietatis opera iuxta singulorum statum, conditionem et valetudinem ac loci et temporis rationes : quorum perfunctionem operum pro visitatione quatuor Urbis Basilicarum valere volumus ac decerniomus. Eamdem commutandorum operum facultatem concedimus Praelatis Regularibus videlicet utendam erga Instituta et personas singulas quae in ipsorum iurisdictione sint. Eodem genere personis quae in Urbe degant, designari opera sufficienda volumus per dilectum Filium Nostrum S. R. E. Cardinalem Vicarium eiusque vices gerentem, sive per se ipsos sive per prudentes Confessarios.

Itaque Omnipotentis Dei misericordia et Beatorum Apostolo-

rum Petri et Pauli auctoritate confisi, iis omnibus et singulis, quos supra memoravimus, vere poenitentibus et intra praesentem Iubilaei annum rite confessis ac sacra Communione refectis, Deumque, ut supra dictum est, orantibus, omnia denique implentibus alia iniungenda opera in locum visitationum, ac, vel inchoatis tantum iisdem operibus, si morbus periculosus oppresserit, plenissimam omnium peccatorum indulgentiam, veniam et remissionem, etiam duplici vice intra anni sancti decursum si iniuncta opera iteraverint, haud secus ac si praescripta communiter ceteris omnibus expleverint, de Apostolicae liberalitatis amplitudine largimur atque concedimus.

Monialibus earumque novitiis licere volumus, at prima dumtaxat vice, sumere sibi ex alterutro Cleri ordine Confessarios, qui tamen sint ad audiendas Monialium confessiones rite approbati. Anachoretis atque Eremitis supra dictis, itemque Oblatis, Tertiariis, puellis ac mulieribus in monasteriis piisque domibus vitam communem agentibus, quibus forte ordinario tempore eligendi sibi Confessarii libera facultas non sit, similiterque Christifidelibus captivitate, carcere aut custodia, infirmitate aut senectute impeditis, fas esse iubemus eligere sibi prima vice dumtaxat Confessarios quoscumque, dummodo ad confessiones personarum saecularium probati rite sint. Idem eisdem conditionibus liceat viris religiosis ex quolibet Ordine aut Congregatione vel Instituto. Confessariis sic electis concedimus et tribuimus ut personas supra dictas, auditis earum confessionibus, absolvere possint a quibusvis peccatis, etiam apostolicae Sedi speciali forma reservatis, excepto casu haeresis formalis et externae, imposita poenitentia salutari aliisque iuxta canonicas sanctiones rectaeque disciplinae regulas iniungendis. Praeterea confessariis, quos moniales sibi elegerint, facultatem facimus dispensandi super vota quaelibet ab ipsis post solemnem professionem facta, quae regulari observantiae minime adversentur. Simili modo Confessarios supra memoratos etiam dispensando commutare posse volumus omnia vota, quibus Oblatae Novitiae, Tertiariae- puellae et mulieres in communibus domibus agentes sese obstrinxerint, exceptis iis, quae Nobis et apostolicae Sedi reservata sint : factaque commutatione, a votorum etiam iuratorum observantia absolvere.

Hortamur autem Venerabiles Fratres Episcopos aliosque locorum Ordinarios, ut, Apostolicae Nostrae benignitatis exemplo, eligendis ad praesentium effectum Confessariis impertiri ne

recusent facultatem absolvendi a casibus qui ipsis Ordinariis reservati sint.

Volumus denique ut praesentium trasumptis sive exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici et sigillo viri in sacri ordinis dignitate constituti munitis, eadem ab omnibus adiungatur fides, quae ipsis praesentibus adhiberetur, si exhibitae forent vel ostensae. Ceterum harum decreta et iussa Litterarum rata, valida, firma in omnes partes esse et fore decernimus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrae declarationis, hortationis, concessionis, derogationis, decreti et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire ; si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Calend. Novembris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. Aloisi Masella, *Pro-Dat.*
A. Card. Macchi.

Visa
De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.

Loco ✠ Plumbi
Reg. in Secret. Brevium

I. Cugnonuis.

SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR

SUSPENSIO INDULGENTIARUM ET FACULTATUM VERTENTE ANNO UNIVERSALIS IUBILAEI MILLESIMO NONINGENTESIMO

LEO EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Quod Pontificum maximorum sanxit auctoritas, ut Anni sacri solemnia Romae potissimum agerentur, id quidem cum provisa divinitus dignitate et grandioribus muneribus almae Urbis est admodum congruens. Haec enim omnium, quotquot ubique sunt, christianorum patria communis : haec sedes sacrae potestatis princeps, eademque traditae a Deo doctrinae custos sempiterna : hinc ut ab unico augustissimoque capite in omnes christianae reipublicae venas perenni communicatione vita propagatur. Nihil ergo tam consentaneum, quam catholicos homines

vocatu Sedis Apostolicae huc certa per intervalla temporum convenire, ut scilicet una simul et remedia expiandis animis in Urbe reperiant et romanam auctoritatem praesentes agnoscant. Quod cum tam salutare ac frugiferum appareat, sane cupimus ut urbs Roma toto anno proximo maiore qua fieri potest frequentia mortalium celebretur : ob eamque rem peregrinationis romanae cupidis velut stimulos addituri, admissorum expiandorum privilegia, quae liberalitate indulgentiaque Ecclesiae passim concessa sunt, intermitti volumus : videlicet, quod plures decessores Nostri in caussis similibus consuevere, Indulgentias usitatas apostolica auctoritate ad totum Annum sacrum suspendimus : verumtamen prudenti quadam temperatione modoque adhibito, ut infra scriptum est.

Integras atque immutatas permanere volumus et decernimus

I. Indulgentias *in articulo mortis* concessas :

II. Eam, qua fruuntur ex auctoritate Benedicti XIII decessoris Nostri, quotquot ad sacri aeris pulsum de genu vel stantes *Salutationem angelicam*, aliamve pro temporis ratione precationem recitaverint :

III. Indulgentiam decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum Pii IX auctoritate an. MDCCCLXXVI iis tributam qui pie templa visitent in quibus Sacramentum augustum quadraginta horarum spatio adorandum proponitur :

IV. Illas item Innocentii XI et Innocentii XII decessorum Nostrorum decreto iis constitutas, qui Sacramentum augustum, cum ad aegrotos defertur, comitentur, vel cereum aut facem per alios deferendam ea occasione mittant :

V. Indulgentiam alias concessam adeuntibus pietatis causa templum sanctae Mariae Angelorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum extra Assisii moenia a vesperis Calendarum Augusti ad solis occasum diei insequentis :

VI. Indulgentias, quas S. R. E. Cardinales Legati a latere, apostolicae Sedis Nuntii, item Episcopi in usu Pontificalium aut impertienda benedictione aliave forma consueta largiri solent ;

VII. Indulgentias Altarium Privilegiatorum pro fidelibus defunctis, aliasque eodem modo pro solis defunctis concessas : item quaecumque vivis quidem concessae sint, sed hac duntaxat causa ut defunctis per modum suffragii directe applicari valeant. Quas omnes et singulas volumus non prodesse vivis, prodesse defunctis.

De facultatibus vero haec constituimus et sancimus, quae sequuntur.

I. Rata firmaque sit facultas Episcopis aliisque locorum Ordinariis impertiendi indulgentias *in articulo mortis* eamdemque communicandi secundum Litteras a Benedicto XIV decessore Nostro datas Nonis Aprilis An. MDCCXLVII:

II. Item ratae firmaeque sint facultates Tribunalis Officii Inquisitionis adversus haereticam pravitatem, eiusque Officialium: Missionariorum quoque et Ministrorum qui vel ab eodem Tribunali, vel a Congregatione S. R. E. Cardinalium negotiis propagandae Fidei praeposita, vel alias ab apostolica Sede ad id deputati fuerint: nominatim facultas absolvendi ab haeresi eos, qui, eiurato errore, ad fidem redierint:

III. Ratae firmaeque sint facultates, quas Officium Poenitentiariae Nostrae apostolicae Missionariis, in locis Missionum earumque occasione exercendas, concesserit:

IV. Item facultates Episcoporum aliorumque sacrorum Antistitum circa dispensationes et absolutiones suorum subditorum in casibus occultis etiam Sedi apostolicae reservatis, quemadmodum ipsis a sacra Tridentina Synodo, seu alias, etiam in publicis casibus, a iure communi ecclesiastico et ab apostolica Sede pro certis personis et casibus permissae dignoscuntur. Idem statuimus de facultatibus Antistitum Ordinum religiosorum, quaecumque ipsis in Regulares sibi subiectos ab apostolica Sede tributae sint.

Iis exceptis, de quibus supra memoravimus, ceteras omnes et singulas Indulgentias tam plenarias, etiam ad instar Iubilaei concessas, quam non plenarias, suspendimus ac nullas iubemus esse. Similique ratione facultates et indulta absolvendi etiam a casibus Nobis et apostolicae Sedi reservatis, relaxandi censuras, commutandi vota, dispensandi etiam super irregularitatibus et impedimentis cuilibet quoquo modo concessa, suspendimus ac nulli suffragari volumus ac decernimus. Quocirca praesentium auctoritate Litterarum praecipimus ac mandamus, ut, praeter Indulgentias Iubilaei, easque, quas supra nominatim excepimus, nullae praeterea aliae uspiam, sub poena excommunicationis eo ipso incurrendae aliisque poenis arbitrio Ordinariorum infligendis, publicentur, indicantur, vel in usum demandentur.

Quaecumque autem his Litteris decreta continentur, omnia ea stabilia, rata, valida esse volumus et iubemus, contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Earum vero exemplis aut transumptis, etiam impressis, Notarii publici manu et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate

constitutae munitis, eamdem volumus haberi fidem, quae haberetur praesentibus si essent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat hanc paginam Nostrae suspensionis, decreti, declarationis, voluntatis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contra ire; si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei ac beatorum Apostolorum Petrie et Pauli se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono Pridie Cal. Octobris, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

C. Card. Aloisi Masella, *Pro-Dat.*
A. Card. Macchi.
Visa
De Curia I. De Aquila e Vicecomitibus.
Loco ✠ Plumbi.
Reg. in Secret. Brevium.
I. Cugnonius.

DECREE 'URBIS ET ORBIS'

DECRETUM URBIS ET ORBIS

Anni sacri a Beatissimo Patre et Domino Nostro Leone XIII. feliciter indicti, proxime celebraturos initia, summopere decet nocte surgentes adire saeculi Auctorem, ad eius aras provolvi, acceptissimam offerri Hostiam, divinum scilicet Agnum, sacro convivio interesse, ut opportuno maxime tempore liceat auxilium, gratiam, misericordiam invenire: 'Nunc enim propior est salus. Ecce nunc tempus acceptabile: ecce nunc dies salutis.' Quod si regnum caelorum, id est praesentis temporis Ecclesia, simile esse perhibetur decem virginibus sponso de nocte occurrentibus, hac potissimum solemni faustitate licet unicuique mentem accuratius in sacra illa verba intendere: 'aptata vestras lampades: ecce sponsus venit exite obviam ei.'

Cum insuper media nocte postremae diei mensis Decembris futuri anni praesens absolvatur saeculum novumque habeat initium; valde congruum est, ut pio quodam ac solemni ritu Deo gratiae agantur pro acceptis huius decursi saeculi beneficiis, et potiora impetrentur, urgente praesertim necessitate temporum, ad novum saeculum auspicato ineundum.

Itaque ut imminens annus MCM ab implorata Dei ope Eiusque Unigeniti Filii Servatoris nostri sumat auspicia idemque prospero

cursu finiatur, longe felicius, uti sperare fas est, allaturus aevum; SSmus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII benigne concedit ut die 31 mensis Decembris, tum labentis, tum adventuri anni, media nocte in templis ac sacellis ubi SSma Eucharistia rite adservatur, iuxta prudens arbitrium Ordinarii, sui cuiusque loci, exponi possit adorandum idem Augustissimum Sacramentum: facta potestate legendi vel canendi eadem hora coram Illo unicam missam de festo in Circumcisione Domini et Octava Nativitatis: fidelibus autem sive infra sive extra Sacrificii actionem, de speciali gratia, sacram synaxim recipiendi: servatis ceterum servandis.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 13 Novembris, anno 1899.

C. Episcopus Praenestinus Card. MAZZELLA,
S. R. C. Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

D. PANICI, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

THE NEW DIOCESE OF GERALDTON IN AUSTRALIA

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE DE ERECTIONE NOVAE DIOECESIS GERALDTONENSIS IN AUSTRALIA

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Cum ex Apostolico munere quo fungimur ecclesiarum omnium cura Nobis sit divinitus commissa, quae catholico nomini aeternaeque fidelium saluti bene, prospere, ac feliciter eveniant sedulo studio praestare satagimus, et novas pro re ac tempore dioeceses erigimus, ut, aucto pastorum numero, promptius ac commodius christiani gregis bono consulamus. Iamvero cum in regionibus septentrionalibus Australiae occidentalis auctus nuper incolarum numerus novum videretur exigere ecclesiasticae jurisdictionis centrum, ut uberiori modo religionis catholicae beneficia in ipsos promanarent, et Venerabiles Fratres Antistites Australiani in plenaria Synodo iam inde ab anno MDCCCLXXXXV coadunati novam Sedem Episcopalem erigendam proposuerint in urbe vulgo *Geraldton* cui nomen factum, dismembrandam ab amplissima dioecesi Perthensi provinciae ecclesiasticae Adelaidensis; Nos omnibus rei momentis attente perpensis cum VV. FF. NN.

S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositis de Fratrum eorumdem consilio, ad maius religionis incrementum ac fidelium commoditatem, eorumdem Australiae Antistitum votis annuendum existimavimus. Quare omnes et singulos, quibus Nostrae hae litterae favent, ab quibusvis excommunicationis et interdicti, aliisque ecclesiasticis sententiis, censuris et poenis, si quas forte incurrerint, huius tantum rei gratia absolventes, et absolutos fore censentes, Motu proprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris Perthensem dioecesim in provincia ecclesiastica Adelaidensi dismembramus, atque exinde Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, praesentium vi, novam dioecesim Geraldtonensem cum sequentibus confiniis erigimus. Nimirum ad Septentrionem novae huius dioecesis territorium terminabitur linea parallela 19° 30° latitudinis australis ; ad Orientem definietur limitibus Coloniae Australiae Meridionalis ; ad Meridiem limes novae dioecesis sequetur lineam parallelam 29° latitudinis australis inde a finibus Australiae Meridionalis usque ad gradum 119^{m} longitudinis orientalis a Greenvich, inde limes descendet per hunc longitudinis arcum usque ad gradum 30^{m} latitudinis australis, et hanc latitudinis lineam percurret usque ad Oceanum Indicum, a quo dioecesis Geraldtonensis ad Occidentem adluetur. Insuper de Apostolicae similiter Nostrae potestatis plenitudine decernimus, ut Vicariatus de Kimberley anno MDCCCLXXXVII erectus, qui extenditur per extremam plagam borealem Australiae Occidentalis ad Septentrionem gradus 19 30^{i} latitudinis australis adnexus interim remaneat dioecesi noviter erectae. Decernentes praesentes litteras firmas, validas et efficaces existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et spectare poterit in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicarii et definiri debere atque irritum et inane si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter, contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die XXX Ianuarii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

A. Card. Macchi.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE LEO XIII. TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE CONFERENCE OF ST. VINCENT DE PAUL

EPISTOLA DILECTO FILIO A. PAGES PRAESIDI CONSOCIATIONIS SANCTI VINCENTII A PAULO—PARISIOS

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Vincentianam consociationem, quippe quae natura atque legibus tota est in aerumnis miserorum levandis, quaeque inexplebilem Christi caritatem summo studio curaque imitari atque exprimere adlaborat, amantissima semper prosequuti sumus ac prosequimur voluntate. Id autem est caussae, cur lubenti animo litteras accipiamus, quibus in annos singulos observantiam erga Nos vestram denuo testatam vultis, deque incrementis refertis, quibus, Deo benignissime opitulante, coepta vestra perpetuo increscunt. Quod vero iucundius solito datam nuper epistolam perlegerimus, duo praecipue effecerunt quae Nobis maxime cordi esse perspicuum est. Enimvero amplificari inter Anglos institutum vestrum cognovimus, vosque operam conferre plurimam ad miserae plebis conditionem meliorem faciendam operariorum coetibus ad se mutuo iuvandos constitutis. Id autem utrumque est, unde optima ominari licet; ex altero nimirum eorum qui a Nobis dissident, animos percelli validi usque incitari ad coniunctionem maturandam: ex altero periculum propulsari, quod propius in dies praepostera socialistarum placita civitati conflant. Gratias igitur Deo agimus quod consiliis industriisque vestris tam large obsecundet: vobis vero et promeritam tribuimus laudem et stimulos hortatione adiicimus ad ampliora prosequenda. Benevolentiae demum Nostrae testem ac munerum divinorum auspicem, Apostolicam benedictionem, tibi, dilecte fili, viris egregiis, qui tibi a consilio sunt in Vincentiana consociatione moderanda universisque sociis peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die X Februarii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo.

LEO PP. XIII.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

PRAELECTIONES DE DEO UNO AD MODUM COMMENTARII IN SUMMAM THEOLOGICAM DIVI AQUINATIS. Habebat in Collegio S. Anselmi De Urbe L. Janssens, O.S.B., S.T.D. Romae: Desclée, Lefebore & Co.

WE have great pleasure in bringing these two volumes of Father Janssens under the notice of the readers of the I. E. RECORD. As a commentary on St. Thomas it excels most of the works that have appeared during recent years. Many theologians who have written commentaries on St. Thomas have merely explained the teaching of the angelic master. So far their works can be truly called commentaries. Father Janssens, however, does more than explain the teaching of St. Thomas. He first gives the 'Status Quaestionis,' and in doing so is thoroughly up to date. He then takes up the text of the *Summa*, and explains its meaning to his readers. His work is, therefore, a commentary on St. Thomas in the fullest sense of the word. He deserves our gratitude for the excellent manner in which he carries out his purpose.

Father Janssens takes it for granted that his readers study St. Thomas under the guidance of his able commentary. We fear, however, that sometimes this idea prevents him from doing full justice to his own powers. In discussing the difficulties raised by St. Thomas, Father Janssens points out the errors that are contained in them. He does not state the difficulties themselves. We regret that he omits to do this. No doubt, the work would thereby be made much longer; still, we think, the gain to students would counterbalance this inconvenience. Moreover, it sometimes happens that the words of our author are not sufficiently clear. In fact, we have frequently found St. Thomas a very useful commentary on the work of Father Janssens. This, of course, is not a fault peculiar to Father Janssens. It is a difficulty in which many commentators find themselves involved.

We feel bound to say a word in praise of the impartiality displayed in these volumes. Their freedom from bias enables

the author to follow the dictates of his intellect in discussing the many controversial matters that arise. His freedom from prejudice permits him, for instance, to maintain that it is the argument of St. Anselm for the existence of God which St. Thomas refutes. It also allows him to follow St. Thomas in the rejection of the argument as invalid. Father Janssens, also, in the vexed question on the divine foreknowledge of future contingent actions, deals out even-handed justice to both Thomists and Molinists. He shows plainly the difficulties in which both schools are entangled. We do not think him so successful, however, when he proposes his own view for our acceptance.

In fine, we express our desire that a complete commentary on the *Summa* may gradually appear from the pen of the able Benedictine. He has already promised a volume on the tract *De Deo Trino*. We hope that it will not be his last work in the cause of Thomistic theology.

J. M. H.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS, SYNOPSIS THEOLOGIAE DOGMATICAE SPECIALIS. Auctore A. Tanquerey, S.S. New York: Benziger Brothers.

IN three volumes Father Tanquerey has given a complete course of dogmatic theology for the use of seminaries. Their worth can be judged from the fact that new editions have been called for in an incredibly short space of time. *Theologia Fundamentalis* is a second edition, and *Synopsis Theologiae Dogmaticae Specialis* is a third edition. The previous editions had a priority of little more than a year. Though published primarily for America it is not America alone that has given these volumes the fame which they now so deservedly enjoy. A demand for them has gone forth from every country in Europe, so that now we can scarcely find a bookseller who does not give them a prominent place in his list of theological works.

An internal examination of the work will not interfere with the good opinion thus formed of its merits. On the contrary, it will tend to give a higher estimation of its value. The work is remarkable for its clearness of style and variety of information. Containing, as it does, a full course of dogma, it is surprising how on so many subjects so much useful information has been collected. This is especially remarkable in the volume on

Fundamental Theology. There is scarcely a book of any pretentions, Catholic or non-Catholic, English, French, German, or Latin, which the author has not read and turned to good account.

If there be any fault at all in the work, it arises from an over-supply of modern controversial knowledge which now and again prevents the author from giving due prominence to some tracts to which modern writers do not devote particular attention. The Grace tract is one of these. No doubt the essential portions of the tract are well discussed, but its treatment as a whole is relatively meagre. The same is true of the *Sacraments in General*. These tracts are very important from a Catholic point of view. They have an importance which is altogether above modern controversy. Hence it is desirable to devote particular attention to them independently of modern controversy.

In criticising a work which contains a complete course of dogmatic theology, especially when it has passed its first edition, it would be out of place to discuss particular doctrines unless the author puts forward some strange views. Father Tanquerey, though ever fresh in his style, and ever great in his method of argument, does not propound any strange theories; so we shall rest content with this general description of an able work.

J. M. H.

THE VERY EASIEST ACCOMPANIMENT OF THE ORDINARIUM MISSAE FOR ORGAN OR HARMONIUM. By Joseph Schildknecht, O.P. 34. Ratisbon: A. Coppenrath.

THERE is no scarcity of organ accompaniments to the Ordinary of the Mass. But most of them are found to be rather difficult for prayers of moderate acquirements. For this reason the late Professor Schildknecht set about writing an accompaniment that would be as easy as possible. This he has succeeded in doing admirably, giving an accompaniment that presents no difficulty to any player, and, at the same time, is not devoid of artistic perfection. We can, therefore, give the work our best recommendation. A great addition to the accompaniments are a few Preludes and Postludes added to some pieces, and composed so as to form a suitable introduction or continuation of them. The melodies of the *Ite, missa est* and the Responses at Mass are given in various transpositions so as to meet all requirements. There are appended the Hymns *Pange lingua*, *O Salutaris*,

Ave verum, Veni Creator and *Te Deum*, as well as the Antiphons *Adjuva nos* and *Pro pace*. The author recommends the use of a soft 16′ stop for the accompaniments, so as to get some fulness of tone, notwithstanding the fact that the accompaniment is throughout only in three parts.

H. B.

RESPONSORUM: ECCE SACERDOS MAGNUS. Ad quatuor voces mixtas organo comitante auctore I. Singenberger. Ratisbon: Pustet. Score and Parts.

A FAIRLY easy and very effective setting of the *Ecce Sacerdos Magnus* for four mixed voices and organ.

H. B.

LITANIAE LAURETANAE pro Canto et Alto, Organo comitante, auctore Ludovico Hoffmann. Ratisbon: Martin Cohen. Score and Parts.

A VERY simple setting of the Litany of the Blessed Virgin for soprano and set with organ accompaniment. The accompaniment can be played on a harmonium also. The various melodies used are so simple and natural as not to become tedious by their frequent repetition. The setting will be welcome to female choirs of moderate attainments.

H. B.



OXFORD UNIVERSITY[1]

THE river Thames, after flowing through some of the most picturesque places in the English Midlands, past many a cosy farm-house and lazy mill-wheel, is met, some fifty miles above London, by the little river Cherwell. At their junction stands the old City of Oxford. A lovelier site could not have been chosen for a university: the spirit of the stream seems to vie with the spirit of the hills, and the tired student may well feel embarrassed between the rival attractions of the pleasant cool of shady banks and the fresh breezes of the uplands. The soil, too, is sandy, so that during the greater part of the year the roads dry up within two or three hours after rain has ceased, thus making cycling possible at all times. Standing on the hill of Shotover, or on the white brow of the Cumner range, on some bright day in summer, we see the city beneath us in its river-valley, looking not like a city of houses, but like a city of churches, with spires and towers. And when we get down into the streets we find that this is almost literally the case. The churches that we saw are really colleges, museums, or libraries, and the spires belong, in most

[1] Paper read at the meeting of the Total Abstinence Society, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth, on the 8th December, 1899. I gratefully acknowledge my indebtedness to three of the contributors to *Oxford and Oxford Life* for much valuable information on the development, constitution, and examination system of the University. In some few instances I quote them *verbatim*.

instances, to the College chapels. You will understand, therefore, that the University of Oxford is not a single building, but that it consists of a number of separate colleges—twenty-one in all—scattered here and there through the city. Most of these colleges were founded during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and bear about them an air of venerable antiquity. When one looks at the walls of crumbling stone, black or grey with age, at the antique statue or mouldering cornice, and then at the gay flowers on the window-sills outside each student's room, one cannot help feeling impressed by the contrast between the fleeting gifts of nature and the abiding work of man.

The tradition which ascribed the founding of Oxford University to King Alfred the Great has in these days of enlightened research and painstaking criticism, been consigned to the realm of myth, and is now known as the Aluredian Fiction. All authorities are agreed that the University of Oxford, like similar institutions abroad, had its origin in the spirit of combination which prevailed during the Middle Ages. In those days men banded themselves together to form religious orders, orders of chivalry, municipal corporations, and trade guilds. And just as the carpenters or masons, for instance, of some great city formed themselves into a union together with their apprentices, so too masters and scholars formed themselves into a scholastic guild or university. And just as the apprentice, when he had served his time, received a certificate of competency to set up as a tradesman, so too the scholar at the end of his course received his degree as master, or, in other words, a licence to teach. The advantages of thus combining for teaching and for learning are, of course, obvious. Teachers and scholars learned much from one another, and were stimulated by healthy rivalry to greater effort. The greatest freedom of thought was allowed, and doctrines of all kinds were tried by the natural test of success in the schools.

In those early days the scholars lived in private lodgings as they do now in the German universities. After a time

they realised that living would be much cheaper if they formed themselves into groups and rented houses of their own. These houses were known as halls or inns. Soon after they began to be established, charitable people bequeathed sums of money for the founding of similar institutions for poor scholars, in which they would have to pay no rent, but merely the cost of their maintenance. In the year 1249 a further advance was made by William of Durham, who left a large sum for the erection of a house in which masters and students might live together, and in which lectures might be delivered. This was the first College. Other benefactors followed this example, and within twenty years three colleges were established. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries nine more were added, and yet another nine in the centuries following; making a total, as I said before, of twenty-one. Each of these colleges is quite distinct from every other. It has its own professors and its own president, who, however, is in some colleges called Master, Provost, Dean, or Gerent. It has also, what is more important still, its own private property. Every student to be a student of the University must be a student of some college. The University is, therefore, nothing more than a combination of all the colleges.

The government of the University rests ultimately with all M A.'s who, by a yearly subscription of £1, have kept their names on the books; no change can be made until it first receive their approval. These M.A.'s are divided into two bodies: one called *congregation*, consisting of those living in Oxford; the other called *convocation*, consisting of those living elsewhere. To each of these bodies a proposed change is submitted, and, as might be expected, the non-resident element is often less desirous of change than the resident, and sometimes overrides the wishes of the latter. But a still greater obstacle to change is found in another part of the constitution; namely, the Hebdomadal Council, so called because it meets once a week. This council consists of eighteen elected and three official members, and without its consent no new measure can be even discussed

by the larger bodies. Since two-thirds of its members must be selected from the heads of houses and professors, *i.e.*, from men, in all probability, of some considerable age who very often confound timidity with prudence; and since every member retains his seat for six years, it is some time before any movement for change in Oxford can so far assert itself as to come within the range of possibility.

The Head of the University or President of the University, as we should feel inclined to call him, is the Vice-Chancellor. This office is held in rotation for periods of four years by the heads of the various colleges. He is a magistrate of the city, and is empowered to try students, arrested by the police for disturbance, if they choose to appeal to him from the ordinary civil tribunal. They very seldom do appeal, however, as the Vice-Chancellor is, as a rule, harder on them than the magistrates. The Vice-Chancellor has also power to prevent, if he so wishes, the exhibition of any play or the holding of any circus or similar entertainment within the city bounds or in the immediate neighbourhood. He is assisted in the discharge of his duties by two Proctors, who correspond to our deans. They hold office only for a year, and are elected by the heads of the various colleges. Their robes or gowns, unlike those of the other professors, are richly adorned with velvet, a distinction which was evidently intended to assist the students in recognising them at a safe distance. Each proctor when making his rounds is attended by two servants who go by the suggestive name of bull-dogs. The principal qualifications required in the bull-dog are—first, a personal knowledge of all the students of the University—no easy matter, as every year there are about seven hundred freshmen, and the entire number of students totals nearly three thousand; second, powerful muscular development; and third, fleetness of foot.

The College discipline cannot be considered very strict. The following is a rough summary of the more important rules:—

1st.—Students must present themselves in chapel at eight o'clock four or five times a week, the number of attendances

varying in the different colleges; if the student is not a Protestant, it will be sufficient for him to give his name to the porter at the college gate.

2nd.—He must be in college, not necessarily in his rooms, before midnight.

3rd—When attending lectures, and also in the street after nine o'clock at night, he must wear his cap and gown.

4th.—No student is allowed to smoke when wearing cap and gown, although he may ride a bicycle.

5th.—No student is allowed to enter any publichouse in the city,[1] although he may go to a hotel if he likes.

6th.—Every student must dine in college five or six times a week. Dinner is at seven o'clock, and is the only meal in common.

The gown to which I have referred is something like our soprano, but is just about half as long, and has no coloured bands. If the undergraduate, as the student who has not taken his degrees is called, has won a scholarship, he must wear a longer gown, with sleeves. Wearing one's gown simply means carrying it about with one in such a way that it can be easily seen. On cold days it is commonly worn as a muffler round the neck. The non-observance of this cap-and-gown rule opens up a wide field for the activity of the Proctor. At about half-past nine of an evening one may see him walking rather briskly along the street. A portly old gentleman he very often is, looking very stately with his velvet sleeves. Suddenly one of the bull-dogs who follow at his heels spies a suspicious-looking young man, without cap or gown, at the other side of the street, and is directed by the Proctor to interview him. The bull-dog addresses him:—

'Are you a student of this University, sir?'

'Yes.'

'Mr. So-and-so, the Proctor wishes to speak to you. Will you kindly step over to the other side of the street?'

'Certainly.'

The Proctor then asks the student for his name, and the name of his college. The student, in reply, hands him his

[1] So stands the law in the old Statutes. It does not appear to be very strictly enforced at the present day.

card, and promises to present himself the following morning before the University tribunal. Next day he appears as directed; is asked if he admits the charge; answers in the affirmative, as a matter of course; is fined five shillings, and bids a cordial 'Good morning' to the authorities. The fine for repeated offences is larger; but what the maximum is, I am not in a position to state. If a system of this kind were introduced amongst ourselves, it would probably be attended with very useful results, and we should very soon have accumulated funds sufficiently large for the erection of a great establishment on the coast, to which all the students might retire during the summer vacation, and not, as at present, be under the disagreeable necessity of going to their respective homes.

The principal subjects taught in Oxford are, beyond question, the Ancient Classics; not that a student cannot take his degree in other subjects; but that, as a fact, most degrees are taken in classics, or in groups of subjects in which classics occupy a prominent place. In the olden times Oxford was, in a sense, a theological university, and all students were 'clerks;' *i.e.*, they had received tonsure. This, in fact, was the origin of the Vice-Chancellor's jurisdiction, as the civil tribunals were not allowed to try ecclesiastics. Now-a-days, however, theology is a very secondary subject. In addition to the degrees of Bachelor and Master in Arts and in Divinity, Oxford confers similar degrees in Music, Medicine, and Civil Law. As most of the work of the University is a preparation for the degrees in Arts, for the B.A. and M.A., I will briefly describe it.

Candidates for the B.A. must pass four examinations. The first examination, the entrance examination, is, strictly speaking, not a university examination at all; *i.e.*, it is not conducted by a board of examiners appointed by the Council of the University; it is conducted by the professors of the particular college which the student wishes to join. The standard is, therefore, not by any means uniform. A student, for instance, who passes for Exeter College, might not be accepted in Balliol, and another, who fails in Exeter, may

be admitted to Pembroke. Curiously enough, a candidate's record as an athlete very often tells in his favour. I met a would-be freshman who was trying for admission to Oriel College,

'Things look a bit black,' said he. 'My classics are awfully bad; but, against that, my Rugger is clinking.'

'Your what!'

'My Rugger. Don't you know what that means?'

'Yes, it means Rugby football.'

'Precisely. Well, you see the Oriel Rugger team is rather weak this year, and the dons would like to see their college coming out strong; so they'll let me in if they can.'

They did not let him in, however, possibly because they considered that his proficiency at Rugger was more than counterbalanced by his inefficiency in the Ancient Classics. At all events he got into Pembroke shortly after, and if he has not done much for the scholastic reputation of his college, he has succeeded in winning fame for it in the football field, and, I believe, on the river also.

The second examination which is really the first university examination, is known to the officials as Responsions, to undergraduates as Smalls or Little-Go. After being admitted to one of the colleges the student may stand this examination as soon as he pleases. No qualification of residence is, therefore, required. It is considered quite a simple affair for men of ordinary ability and ordinary application. It would correspond to the Matriculation in the Royal University. Simple as it is, however, I fear that our Rugger friend will find it too difficult, and will probably have to return again to the bosom of his family. Different courses may be selected by the candidates, but Greek is a subject in all courses, even in Law and Medicine. Hence, Responsions has been called the narrow gate through which all Oxonians, whether they be Arts students or not, must pass, and where Greek is unrelentingly demanded as part of the toll.

The third examination, or second university examination, unlike Responsions, is held partly in public, and is conducted by boards of examiners, called Moderators. Hence

the examination is called Moderations, or amongst the undergraduates 'Mods.' Candidates are admitted after a year's residence. Honour courses may be selected in Mathematics and Classics. The results are published on the greenboards, the successful candidates being arranged according to merit in three classes, the names in each class being placed in alphabetical order. Occasionally a student stands both in Honour Classics and Honour Mathematics, and if he succeeds in getting into the first group in each list he is said to have won a double-first. A double-first at Oxford, therefore, does not mean first in Classics and first in Mathematics at the final examination, but at the second university examination called Moderations. Nor does it mean that the student is the best man of his year in each of these subjects; it simply means that he is among the first in each subject. As I said a moment ago, the names in each group are published alphabetically; the precise order of merit is, therefore, unknown. The examination is both oral and written. Visitors are admitted to the oral examinations, it being understood, however, that no one will enter the hall whilst a student is under actual examination. One thing which impressed me very much at these examinations was the courtesy of the examiners. No matter how poorly the candidate acquitted himself, the professor who had examined him always said 'Thank you' at the end. They seemed to be masters of the art of examining, and perfect gentlemen besides. One might be disposed to make unpleasant comparisons, but one should remember that in Oxford the professors who examine are not the professors who teach. But even though they were, I should say, from what I saw of them, that no amount of bad answering would raise a ripple on the summer sea of their serene politeness.

In the final examination, *i. e.*, the examination for the degree of B.A., to which candidates are admitted after three years' residence, honours are conferred in all courses. Of the many examinations by which the B.A. can be taken, that known in the University as *Litterae Humaniores*, to the students as Litt. Hum. or Greats, is considered the

most difficult of all because of its wide range of subjects. It blends together Classics, Philosophy, and Ancient History. Of its influence, broadly speaking, on the mass of men who enter for it, there can hardly be two opinions. The breadth of mental view and impartiality of judgment which are characteristic of the best Oxford scholars are largely due to this examination. Besides the *Litterae Humaniores* there are, of course, several other groups of subjects, and also single subjects in which candidates for B.A. may be examined. But the impossibility of giving a summary description of the various ways of proceeding to the B.A., can be realized from the statement that the number of ways is over four thousand. As to the M.A. degree very little need be said. Just as in Cambridge, it is got without examination. All B.A.'s who keep their names on the books of their college, *i.e.*, all who pay their college an annual subscription of one pound for four years, receive the M.A. as a matter of course.

A curious relic of the old ecclesiastical days is to be noticed in connection with the examinations. Candidates are expected to dress in black, and to wear white ties. This must be trying to the average Oxfordman, as he is rather vain about his clothes, particularly about his waistcoats. Red and yellow waistcoats, waistcoats of all the brighter shades in the spectrum, are to be seen in Oxford. Besides, they occasionally wear loose coats of light material and flaming colours, which go by the appropriate name of blazers, and which make their wearers more like tropical birds than human beings.

Amongst the many stories about the examinations, there is one in which Gladstone is the central figure. In one of the public examinations he was asked by the examiner if there was any particular Greek author in whose works he would prefer to be examined. Gladstone replied that all Greek was easy to him, and that the examiner might set him any passage he pleased. The old professor went to one of the book-shelves in the room, brought back a fragment of some obscure Greek play, opened it at one of the choruses, and awaited events with a grim smile. Gladstone,

it is said, was never so eloquently silent as on that occasion. He stared in blank wonderment at the passage for some minutes; and then the examiner probably said, 'Thank you,' if he did not say, 'Go down.'

There are four terms in the University year: Michaelmas term, which lasts from October 10 to December 17; Hilary or Lent, from January 14 to the day before Palm Sunday; Easter term, from the Wednesday after Easter to the Friday before Whit Sunday; and Trinity term, from the day before Whit Sunday to the Saturday after the first Tuesday of July. The last two terms are, therefore, practically one. The academic year is, roughly speaking, a period of thirty-two weeks; that is, there are twenty weeks' vacation. A student's time at the University is not, however, reckoned by years, but by terms. Thus, in speaking of the examinations, I said just for the sake of clearness that a student is admitted as candidate for the B.A. after three years; that really meant twelve terms, and the terms need not be consecutive. Further, a term is kept by residing in college during the greater part of it—the Michaelmas and Hilary terms are kept by six weeks' residence in each, the Easter and Trinity either by three weeks' residence in each or by forty-eight days in both jointly; that is to say, a student at Oxford may keep his four terms or, as we say, may get his year by twenty-four weeks' residence, with twenty-eight weeks' vacation. It would be a mistake to suppose that this privilege is abused. On the contrary, some of the students work during a great portion of the long summer vacation.

The teaching staff in Oxford may be divided into two classes—private tutors and public lecturers. Each student is directed by his college authorities to attach himself to a certain tutor, and to attend the public lectures which are considered useful for him. The tutors are those professors who take charge of a certain number of students of their own college. The number is always small, never many more than six or seven, so that the professor can pay a great deal of attention to each. The students meet him in his room. He corrects their written work, and talks with them just as if he were one of themselves. In the begin-

ning they may have something of a shy, school-boy feeling towards him, but the barrier soon breaks down, and the relations become quite unrestrained. The benefit thus derived is often incalculable. The undergraduate finds himself admitted to terms of friendship, and even familiarity, while the reverence for what may be a celebrated name merges in a personal liking. How well all who have enjoyed this privilege, says a distinguished Oxfordman, remember the familar nickname which somehow did not detract from the respect really felt; the cheerful half-hours which were looked forward to as a pleasure, not as a toil; the wit and learning that were then shown to us; the kindly criticism and encouragement. Many an old Oxfordman will treasure up these things as among his most precious memories, and many a one, when he leaves Oxford, has gained in his tutor a true friend, whose advice, guiding hand, and ready help will be of use to him all his life.

The public lecturers are the professors belonging to the various colleges whose lectures are open to all the students of the University. Formerly the students attended lectures only in their own colleges; but, now-a-days, they go whithersoever they please. The Oxford Lecture Hall presents a very striking contrast to the class-halls in Maynooth. The walls are hung with oil paintings; the floor is carpeted. sometimes richly carpeted; the students sit at tables covered with green baize, and are provided with pens, ink, paper, and blotter; the professor *never* calls anyone. His lecture is delivered in a cold, unimpassioned style, and every sentence is neat and clear-cut. Occasionally there appears a faint gleam of humour, like a struggling sunbeam on a winter morning; but, as a rule, the audience is too much astonished to show its appreciation. One of the lecturers had a rather amusing habit of appealing, every now and then, to one of the students named Brown. 'Do you understand that, Mr. Brown?' Of course, Mr. Brown always replied with alacrity that he did, and the professor gravely proceeded with his lecture. Some of the students seemed to know when the question was coming. Just an instant before the psychological moment, a whisper would run

through the hall, audible to everybody but the professor himself: 'Do you understand that, Mr. Brown?'

Examinations, tutors, and lecturers may be termed the official sources of influence on the undergraduate mind. The unofficial sources of influence are, however, scarcely less important—I mean the influence exerted on the undergraduate by his companions. When he comes up to the University, he is only a schoolboy who has taken all his opinions on authority. He finds at Oxford a spirit of free discussion which quite bewilders him. Opinions which he considers certain are called into question; beliefs he regards as sacred are made matter for argument; all his intellectual stock-in-trade, in fact, is sadly depreciated in value. He finds himself easily worsted when he tries to maintain his own opinions, and he feels that he must think and reason for himself. Oxford is, therefore, a home of free-thought in the better sense of the word. Abuses, no doubt, occur; but still all will admit that, since the work of the University is to educate, and since the highest form of education is the training of the pupil to think for himself, Oxford deserves no small meed of praise for helping to develop in her children the noblest faculty with which man has been endowed.

There is another advantage resulting from the intercourse of the young undergraduate with his older fellows. When he first comes to Oxford, his stock of information about English literature is often rather scanty. But, by joining one of the many societies which are a prominent feature of undergraduate life, he listens to a number of papers on literary themes, written very often in a good English style, and by men who have carefully thought out their subjects. After a time he musters up courage to join in the discussion which follows. I must say, however, that very little courage is needed, because the spirit of the society is not a spirit of hypercriticism, but a spirit of indulgence, which listens sympathetically to the efforts of the poorest speaker. There is one society which is an exception to the rule. I refer to the 'Union.' This is really a little parliament in which no speaker will be heard who cannot combine

an impressive delivery with a witty, epigrammatic style of oratory.

Now, just a word about the expenses of Oxford life. We may divide them, just as we divided the intellectual influences, into two classes—official and non-official. Under the former are included all an undergraduate's payments to the College to which he belongs for room rent, tuition, food, &c.; under the latter come his expenses for clothes (especially waistcoats), amusements, tobacco, travelling, and other things which a man living by himself finds necessary, or thinks that he finds necessary. With regard to these latter no fixed estimate can be given; they depend on the man himself, and vary indefinitely. With regard to the official charges in college, these, too of course, are a somewhat uncertain quantity. One man, for instance, is always entertaining his friends, and makes constant demands on the College kitchen; another likes to be as much alone as possible. However, it has been calculated that a student's 'battels,' as all payments to the College are called, average about £120 a-year. Striking a very rough estimate for the non-official expenses, we might put them down at £50, making a total of £170. This is certainly not a very low figure, considering that there are only thirty-two weeks in the academical year. But, on the other hand, we must remember that the students are provided with every comfort, a trained servant waits on every five or six, the rooms are lit with electric light, and the food is such as one might get in the best hotels. I must say that one occasionally notices what must be termed expensive vulgarity. This, however, is not confined to the undergraduates, but extends sometimes to the relatives at home. I heard of an undergraduate who sent his father the year's bills, amounting in all to £250. The father was quite indignant, and said that if he did not spend more than that he would not allow him to remain at the University, and that he did not believe a man could live respectably at Oxford for anything less than £500 a-year.

There is a feature of Oxford life, the love of athletics, which makes an unfavourable impression on the casual

visitor. So potent is this spirit of athleticism, as we may call it, that to the outsider, at all events, it seems to overmaster all others. One hears of the best oarsmen, the best football players, the best batsmen, and so on; but never does one hear the name of the undergraduates distinguished in the schools. The men who row in the annual boat race against Cambridge are looked upon as superior beings. Everyone of the crew is called a 'rowing blue,' and keeps his oar as a trophy. Visitors to Father Clarke's Hall in Oxford will see a very large and rather unsightly oar in the diningroom. He was a University blue, or 'Varsity blue, in his day, and that is the oar with which he helped to row his boat to victory. This honouring of athletic prowess is not peculiar to Oxford, it is really a feature of modern English life. I have been told that when the public schools in England are appointing a new teacher, if they have a choice between a man who is a first-rate scholar, but no athlete, and a 'blue' who is only a second-rate scholar, they will always select the latter. The excitement in Oxford during the week in which the various colleges engage in rowing contests with one another passes all bounds. These races of college against college are known as the 'bump' races. The boats are stationed one behind the other at short intervals. All start together. The first boat tries to keep its lead, and each of the other boats tries to touch or bump the boat in front of it. The banks are crowded with undergraduates rushing along, each college opposite its own boat, shouting themselves hoarse, and quite frantic with excitement. The next day the boats are arranged along the river in the same manner as before; but a boat which has bumped the one in front of it, is now stationed above it. And so the races continue on for seven days. The boat in the foremost place on the last day is said to be at the head of the river. When a college boat makes a bump, the joy of the undergraduates usually finds expression in what is termed a bump-supper, which I could not describe for blushing in such a sober assembly as this.

There is, perhaps, not quite so much excitement about

football as there is about rowing. Still it is just as popular, and the first-class football players are thought just as much of as the best oarsmen.

No paper on Oxford would be complete without a reference to the famous riots between the undergraduates and the citizens—the riots between town and gown. In the earlier days of the University, as I said already, the undergraduates used to lodge in rooms hired from the townfolk. These latter fleeced the students, and the students retaliated. Hence heartburnings and riots. Then, again, in addition to this question of rent, there was the question of jurisdiction. The University, as already mentioned, was essentially ecclesiastical. The students were all clerks or clerics, and as such, claimed exemption from the ordinary tribunals. This exemption was intolerable to the townspeople, who suspected, not unnaturally, that the riotous student would find more lenient treatment in the court of the Chancellor than in the court of the mayor.

In the year 1208 there broke out in Oxford a famous disturbance which at one time threatened the very existence of the University. A certain clerk accidentally killed a woman and fled. The mayor and townsfolk found the corpse, and at once instituted an inquiry as to the author of the outrage. They succeeded in discovering his name and residence. It appeared that he occupied a house in conjunction with two companions. Thither the mayor and his followers proceeded, and when they could not find the guilty clerk, seized his two guiltless companions and hanged them. The consternation amongst the students was immense. 'When this deed was done,' says the old chronicler, 'the masters and their disciples to the number of three thousand clerks, departed forthwith from Oxford, so that not one out of the whole University remained.' The citizens had triumphed for the moment, but with victory came repentance. They had veritably 'slain the goose which laid the golden eggs.' Without the scholars 'the hope of their gains was gone.' They made haste to solicit the return of the exiles. But that was not easy to

secure, for the scholars were incensed, and demanded hard terms. Years passed before the final settlement could be arranged. At last, however, the papal legate, Nicholas of Tusculum, dictated the terms on which the citizens should be admitted to pardon and the University return to Oxford. The townsmen who let halls to students 'were to remit half of the rent for two years; to pay a sum of fifty-two shillings every year to be expended on poor scholars; to feast a hundred poor scholars every year on St. Nicholas' Day on bread, beer, potage, and one dish of fish or flesh; to swear that they would sell provisions to the students at a reasonable price, and to surrender any clerks whom they might have occasion to arrest to the University authorities.' These were hard terms, and fell with equal severity on guilty and innocent alike. A further condition was added to mark the distinction between them. 'Let all those of you,' says the Cardinal, 'who have confessed and been convicted of hanging the clerks, come at the bidding of the bishop, as soon as the interdict is released, with bare feet, without cloaks and bareheaded, the whole commonalty following you, and take up their bodies, and bury them in the cemetery where the clergy shall appoint.' This sentence of the Cardinal may be said to have founded the jurisdiction of the Chancellor, which has ever since been admitted to extend over the members of the University. In the years that followed, down even to the present day, there have been affrays between town and gown, but never of a very serious character.

But the contests which the students waged against the townsfolk, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, were not comparable in violence and pertinacity with those which they waged against one another. They were divided into two factions—the Northerns and Southerns—the latter including the Welsh and Irish students. Endless turmoil disturbed the quiet of university life, and bloodshed was frequent. Needless to observe, not a single vestige of faction lingers in the Oxford of to-day; it has all disappeared, there as elsewhere, with the disappearance of mediæval barbarism. Occasionally, of course, there is a little rowdyism, not

always of a very mild type. On festive occasions they sometimes consider that a supper is not a sufficient outlet for hilarity. They then indulge in what they call a 'rag.' They light a huge bonfire in the College square, sometimes taking the doors off their hinges to serve as fuel; they fire sky-rockets at the windows of unsympathetic students, break the glass, and set the curtains ablaze. Not rarely they screw up the doors of obnoxious professors, and listen with good-humoured satisfaction to their appeals and threats. One night I saw about twenty undergraduates in the High-street, who had evidently been to a 'bump' supper, with linked arms, stretching across the whole width of the street, moving along in a wavy line, proclaiming to all the sleeping world around them that they had not the least intention of 'going home until morning, till daylight should appear.' Suddenly the Proctor appeared, and they disappeared, with the bull-dogs at their heels.

Before concluding, I must tell you something about the undergraduate at home. In the first place we must put out of our heads altogether such things as long corridors. The buildings, generally speaking, are arranged on an entirely different plan. Just to give an idea, suppose the following. Suppose that in the Logic House, for instance, there is a door between every two windows on the ground floor, and that when you open the door you find a room to the right and a room to the left. Conceive a staircase going up to the first storey from this point, and that on the landing there are again two doors, and that the same is repeated for the other storeys, and you will have some conception of the situation of the Oxford student's room. The entire length of the building is, as it were, pierced by a number of staircases. Let us now go to the undergraduate's room. We find there is a double door, the outer door of massive oak. When he wishes to be alone he closes this, and is said, in University slang, to sport his oak. But let us suppose that he is in the humour for receiving visitors, and gives us admittance. We are struck with the luxurious style of everything—rich carpets and hangings, several easy chairs, flowers in a costly vase, a

goodly collection of books in a handsome case; the walls are hung with paintings and engravings, betraying the taste of the occupant, and the bed-room, opening off from the sitting-room, is in keeping with its companion. He never calls them bed-room and sitting-room, but 'bedder' and 'sitter.' This is the tendency of Oxford slang, to make 'er' a universal termination. Football is 'Footer,' Rugby, 'Rugger;' Association, 'Socker.' A similar violence is done to men's names. An undergraduate, whose name is Brownrigg, was at first called Brownrigger, later B-rigger, and now Brigger. But to return to our friend. He gets up most mornings at a quarter to eight—*i.e.*, if he means to keep his chapel—and breakfasts at nine in his room. He considers this the principal meal of the day, and he does his best to make it so. He begins, by way of preliminary skirmish, with several slices of toast. Then he proceeds to a pitched battle with one or two chops and some eggs; drinks two or three cups of tea or coffee, which he has brewed himself, and *always* concludes with a liberal supply of bread and marmalade, to serve as a cavalry charge to complete the rout of hunger pangs. At ten o'clock he goes off to his tutor, or to his lecture, and returns at one o'clock, at which time his day's class is ended. He then takes a light luncheon, usually nothing more than a few slices of bread and butter, and goes to the football field; or, if it be summer, and if he be not one of the rowing set, he takes a punt and spends a quiet hour or two amidst the water-lilies of the Cherwell. At five o'clock he drinks tea in his rooms, often entertaining visitors, although he invites them to breakfast by preference, He then studies until seven o'clock, at which hour he dines in hall with the other students. After dinner he goes to the common-room, as the students' parlour is called, for a smoke and a chat with his companions, or he may go to the meeting of some society, or, perhaps, he goes to his room and studies. If he be a fairly diligent man, he manages to study between three and four hours a day. You must not think him an idler, however, because he keeps up this rate of work during a considerable portion of his vacations. Besides it is well to remember that of the entire number

of students who present themselves for examination, more than half are awarded honours, although the standard for honours is very high. There is no curfew law in Oxford, and our friend retires to rest at any time between eleven o'clock at night and three in the morning.

Oxford has been well termed one of the glories of England. With its love for manly out-door sports, its love for independent thought and practical wisdom, it is the reflex of all that is best in English life. But it is more than a reflex: it has striven, and is ever striving, to enlarge all that is noble, to lessen all that is base in the national character. The guardian of traditions that have come down from the remote years when her towers and her spires, now hoary with antiquity, were yet unthought of, well may she impress the youthful mind with her fitness to develop in him the gifts that God has given him—she, the *Alma Mater* of so many men whose fame is in every land, and whose fame is hers. And let us hope that, if the day ever comes when a university shall be established in this country, it too will reflect all that is noble in Irish life; that it will raise the nation's ideals, kill the spirit of faction and the unreasonable sensitiveness to honest criticism; and that it will close up the daily widening cleavage between the past and the present, and be a perpetual bulwark against the influence of the foreigner.

M. Sheehan.

CATHOLICS AND COMMERCE

AS the present state of the University question affords even to the most sanguine but little hope of an immediate settlement, it may not be inopportune to invite attention to a subject which suggests itself in connection with that much-debated question. The justice of the demand for a university for Catholics in Ireland has almost passed out of the region of controversy. Besides being backed by the entire Irish Catholic body, it has received the support of Englishmen of all shades of political and religious opinions, many of them occupying positions and exerting an influence which give weight to their utterances, and whose well-known bias on other important Irish questions saves them from the note of partiality on this. The expediency of establishing a university on the lines approved of by the bishops is all but as generally admitted. In a word, it might be said that a proposal to deal with the Catholic demand in a generous spirit would meet with no serious opposition except from those non-Catholic Irishmen who have been and are gainers by ancient injustice, who are jealously careful of their ill-gotten advantages, and who by a long course of ascendancy and favouritism have been rendered emasculate of every idea of political right and wrong. It is not, therefore, the intention of the writer to attempt to detract in the least degree from the force of the claims put forward so strenuously by the bishops, or to minimize the importance of an early settlement of the great question. It is rather to suggest that while the establishment of a university is of supreme moment, it is at the same time of vital importance to Irish Catholics that they should endeavour to place themselves in such a position as would enable them to realize to the full extent the advantages which a university would confer.

In the consideration of the Irish education question

one cannot help the reflection that there must be an immense number of young Irishmen who are but partially educated. It seems to be one of the most obvious results of the Intermediate system that the country is filled with men who having drunk sparingly of the Pierian spring, are now trying to live down in more or less obscure positions the memories of their efforts to negotiate the famous grades. It is only a favoured few whose Intermediate training has led them to the learned professions or to public employment. The break in the educational career of so many young Irishmen is, of course, an argument for the founding of a university suited to their requirements. In the absence of such a university, or even on the hypothesis that a university existed, I claim, with all deference that a mistake is made by many Catholic parents in preferring to give a liberal education to their sons instead of placing them in the world of commerce where, although the prizes may not be so ornate, nor the distinctions so attractive as those contended for in the professional arena, they are none the less substantial and honourable.

It will be admitted, I think, that it is a matter of universal regret that Catholics in Ireland have not acquired the commercial status to which they are entitled by their abilities, their industry, and their just desire of advancement. Apart from agriculture and the licensed trade, there is no industry or branch of commerce in which they have attained success or over which they exercise control. The explanation of this unnatural state of affairs need not be insisted on in this paper ; most students of Irish history will have no hesitation in assigning the causes. But it may be asked if it is not time that an effort was made to direct the energies of our Catholic youth to commercial enterprise, and to speak plainly, to combat as far as may be judicious the desire, laudable in itself, but sometimes unduly indulged in, to be represented in the professions which is so universal in well-to-do Catholic families. I must explain that no reference is made here to the generosity and affection for holy Church with which Irish Catholic parents devote their

sons to its service. The hopes involved in such a dedication have no point of contact with the ambition which prompts the choice in the matter of a secular career.

Want of capital cannot be adduced as a reason for our lack of commercial enterprise. From the returns made by Irish banking companies it is clearly shown that a vast amount of money is placed in their hands by depositors, the same money being in turn invested in English and foreign securities, and benefiting all others concerned in greater degree than it does the owners. Again, in the case of an individual family of several brothers, the money that is spent in the endeavour to make one of them a lawyer or a doctor would go a long way towards procuring for the others, or such of them as desired it, a good commercial training in a business house.

It is a matter of observation that in Ireland one or two members of the family are educated and started in life in a style out of proportion to the lot of the other members, so that parents in straining their means in this way prejudice the chances of their less favoured children, and the country is deprived of the services of men who, had they received a commercial training, might have increased the national wealth and promoted the general prosperity.

That there are difficulties in the way of Catholic boys engaging in business is undoubted. In places remote from large towns it means sending the youth a long distance from home and its influences. To acquire, for example, a knowledge of the linen trade, or of any of the numerous and important trades connected with it, such as dyeing, bleaching, printing, &c., a boy would be apprenticed in a firm, the heads of which are almost infallibly non-Catholics. The same may be said of shipbuilding, of woollen, silk and cotton manufactures, mechanical engineering, of the iron industry, and of every trade almost which requires a long and arduous training. In the wholesale trade, by which I mean trade of any kind whatsoever in the hands of warehousemen and importers, the Catholic interest is also lamentably small. A considerable reluctance might, therefore, be expected on the part of heads of firms to admit Catholic boys to their

employment. On the other hand, Catholics exercise a great influence on the retail branch of many trades, and non-Catholic firms might find it advantageous to defer in this matter to the wishes of their customers, and of the vast number of Catholics for whose wants they cater. The position of the boys themselves, placed in the midst of anti-Catholic influences in the busy centres of trade and population, would be a matter of serious moment. That the priests under whose supervision they would happen to come would look upon the work of safeguarding them against the temptations to which they might be exposed as a labour of love is a truism. If it is desirable that Catholic interests should be strengthened in business centres, the risks and difficulties must be faced by the youth of one generation, who having attained, each according to his merits and opportunities a measure of success, will, in turn, smooth the path for generations to follow.

We are very often reminded of the comparative prosperity of the North of Ireland. It is a subject of which most Irishmen are thoroughly tired. The causes of the prosperity which, undoubtedly, exists, are many and varied, and in the minds of some never to be sufficiently recapitulated. There is one, however, which is sometimes omitted, but which I submit produces an effect out of all proportion to its seeming significance. It is the universal custom of well-to-do Presbyterian parents of apprenticing their sons in the largest and most eminent business firms into which they can procure an introduction. Northern Presbyterians entertain no exaggerated ideas about the desirability of professional life, and openings in trade are eagerly sought after for those boys who show a talent for money getting. We have, too, the example of the great Continental nations. In London, Liverpool, Manchester, Belfast, Leeds, Bradford, to mention a few places, we may find young Frenchmen, Spaniards, Germans, and Italians who have been sent over to learn the methods of British trade, and to establish British connection. Of such importance is a thorough training deemed that our public schools often include among their pupils foreigners intended for a mercantile

career. Why, then, should not Irish parents follow on similar lines, *mutatis mutandis*, and give their sons a chance of obtaining in fair competition the spoils so earnestly contended for and so carefully guarded by our neighbours. Until there are found Irishmen who have undergone the severe preparation which a successful merchant requires, we may despair of ever hearing in Celtic Ireland, the click of machinery and the hum of industry, nor may we expect to see our ports busy with the comings and goings of national trade, and we may constantly expect to see the earnings of the Irish labourer and artisan and farmer directed to the coffers of the merchants of the north-east to England, Scotland, Germany, and anywhere but to their natural destination.

The close connection between this and the University question is evident. A poor nation cannot avail itself fully of the advantages of a university. So many of its sons are obliged to earn their bread in the sweat of their brows that the number having the means and leisure to devote to a university training must be comparatively small. I am not unmindful of the glorious examples in Scotch university life of the sons of poor parents who have attained hardly-won eminence; but, these notwithstanding, it must be admitted that the great majority of the members of a university must be drawn from the comparatively wealthy classes. That the proposed university in Ireland should in course of time take befitting rank as one of the foremost educational institutions in Europe, it would require as its base of operations, so to speak, a class endowed with such a sufficiency of worldly goods as would enable its representatives in the halls of learning to give their time and abilities to literary culture, scientific and historical research, and philosophic thought undeterred by the lurking cares of poverty, and with minds free from the contraction inseparable from the pursuit of gain.

I feel that I ought to apologize for the Philistine tone of this paper. But it must be remembered that if it is urged that the present generation of young Irishmen should turn aside from the race of professional honours, it is in part that

succeeding generations may be better equipped for the intellectual struggle, and that in after years the relations between trade and learning may be such as to form a common source of national honour; that trade may furnish materials on which may rise, as on a solid and lasting foundation, a nobly proportioned seat of learning, and that the lamp of learning may in turn shed a refining and ennobling influence over those pursuits whose followers are denied access to the shrine of the jealous and exacting goddess. It might be said with almost literal truth that America owes the very existence of her splendid universities to the generosity of her successful business men; and in this connection one is reminded of the munificent assistance given to art and letters by the merchant princes of the Republics of the middle ages, whose vessels crowded every port in the Mediterranean, and whose markets were coterminous with the known world.

Leaving the matter of university education out of the question, how important is it on other grounds that Catholics should bear a part in the development of the country's resources. Granted the most satisfactory solution possible of the land question, there still remains the necessity of an outlet for the surplus energy of the population, and there still remains the necessity of some means of investing in native industrial concerns the savings of the agriculturist and the artisan. We will look in vain to English governments for the extension of Irish trade, we may wait *in æternum* for the English capitalist, we may be entertained meantime by well-meant but inadequate attempts to deal with the industries which are always languishing, and the poverty which is always robust; but if it is desirable to make a change in the economic aspect of Irish affairs, if it is desirable to add to the wealth-producing capacity of the people, Irishmen trained in the best schools and with native capital at their command, must undertake the work.

May I, in conclusion, venture to express the modest hope that the suggestion made in this paper will receive the attention of some of those among the clergy whose assistance

is so often required, and whose advice is of so much weight in the selection of a career for the boys of their parishes. Its practical value, if it possesses any, can readily be tested by a few pertinent inquiries as to the conditions under which boys might be placed in business, and their opportunities of success therein, together with a little consideration of the effect which a movement in the direction indicated might produce on the social and material progress of our people.

THOMAS M'CALL.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

SOME RECENT VIEWS

IN my last article on the subject of St. Patrick's birthplace, I summed up my review of the attempts in favour of France by remarking: 'The French theory is dead: it died of an incurable disease, congenital asthenia.'[1] Let me now add that the epitaph for the defunct French hypothesis has been penned in various forms, and by abler hands than mine. Here are a few examples, taken from the words of recent scholars. And it may be noted that these expressions of opinion do not dispose of the French theory only: they do the same for every other conjectural view, and leave the traditional belief in favour of Scotland without a rival, and undisputed master of the field. If these other views are not expressly noticed by recent scholarship, it is because they are obviously deemed unworthy of comment: they are completely excluded, because they are entirely ignored.

I.—THE VERDICT OF SCHOLARSHIP

The authority of Cardinal Moran in the present question has been already appealed to; but it may not be out of place to begin my list of citations with two significant extracts from his memorable article in the *Dublin Review*.[2]

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[1] I. E. RECORD, Dec., 1899, p. 521,

[2] *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, pp. 293 and 314.

He first refers to the Scottish view as the opinion held by Ireland's greatest scholars in the past :—

The opinion generally held for the past by those who had devoted their lives to illustrate the antiquities and the literature of Ireland. Colgan, in the seventeenth century, the golden age of Celtic studies, pointed to North Britain as the country hallowed by our apostle's birth ; and he declared this to be the common opinion of all who hitherto had written on the subject. A century later the illustrious Innes was able to assert that : 'the learnedest of the Irish and other foreign writers' were agreed in assigning Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, as the precise place where St. Patrick was born ; and Petrie and O'Donovan and O'Curry, the great masters of Irish literature in our own days, have adopted the same opinion.

And, after reviewing the evidence from history and tradition, the Cardinal thus concludes :—

I have thus endeavoured, as far as our limits would permit, to illustrate in detail the various places named in the ancient records in connection with the birthplace of our apostle. They all lead us to the valley of the Clyde, and I have no hesitation in accepting the tradition of the Scottish Church, which, from time immemorial, has marked out Old Kilpatrick as the hallowed spot in which St. Patrick was born.

The above opinion was expressed some twenty years ago, but the lapse of time has not lessened its significance. My next witness shall be of a much more recent date, and one whose judgment must necessarily have the greatest influence with everyone capable of recognising and appreciating the highest type of Irish scholarship. Dr. Healy, the erudite Bishop of Clonfert, writes of St. Patrick :—

It is clear from his own *Confession* that Britain (*Britanniae*) was his native country (*patria*); but Britain then included *Scotland*. His father, Calphurnius, was a decurio, that is, the head of a local municipium, most *probably on the banks of the Clyde* in North Britain. The life (*i.e.*, the *Tripartite*), or homily, next states explicitly that Patrick was by origin of the Britons of Ail-Cluade—the Rock of the Clyde—now Dumbarton, *a statement in which we entirely concur.*'[1]

The late Professor Gilmartin of Maynooth, a writer who

[1] *Insula Sanctorum et Doctorum ;* or, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 3rd edit., 1897, p. 43, note ; p. 44, and p. 88.

has earned the gratitude of all students of Church history,[1] thus expresses himself:—

> According to what appears to be the *most generally received opinion*, St. Patrick was a native of Scotland, and was born probably at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, about the year 372.

In the footnotes to pp. 322-323, Father Gilmartin gives a sketch of the history of the controversy; and, having quoted the well-known passage of the *Confession* in which the saint refers to Britanniae, adds:—

> This latter passage appears very strong *against his Gallican origin*, for in it he speaks of Britain as his own country. Dr. Lanigan's contention, that the North of France was then known as Britain, is *at most very doubtful;* and there is no evidence whatever to show that the term Britanniae, used in the *Confession*, was ever applied to that district.[1]

Such is the opinion of three specialists, themselves members of the Irish priesthood, and surely most competent to be the guides and moulders of the opinion of the Irish clerical body. We cannot do better than appeal, in the next place, to the judgment of the clerical body in England and Wales. If this judgment is expressed in less decided language, it is, at the same time, all the more significant, as showing that South Britain, whether Cymric or Saxon, does not seriously claim to be the birthplace of St. Patrick. *The Menology of England and Wales* bears on its title-page the intimation that it was 'compiled by order of the Cardinal Archbishop and the bishops of the province of Westminster' (in which—it is hardly necessary to add—Wales was included and represented). The compiler is Father Richard Stanton of the London Oratory, and here is what we are told at date of 17th of March:—[2]

> St. Patrick has himself recorded that he was born in Britain, and appears to be of mixed Roman and British parentage. Whether the place of his birth was in Great Britain or in

[1] *Manual of Church History*, 2nd edit., vol. i., ch. xxiv., p. 322.

[2] Page 120. After the *Nihil obstat* prefixed to the work, it is amusing to read among the names of the *Censores Deputati* that of *Gulielmus B. Morris*. How far he is responsible for the consideration shown to the French view may be left to the judgment of the reader. The work is dated 1892.

Continental Britain remains an unsettled point of controversy; but the *prevailing opinion* seems to be, that it was Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, in what was then the British territory of Strathclyde.

Let me here add a specimen of American opinion. Father J. A. Birkhaeuser, in his excellent text-book, the *History of the Church*,[1] says:—

On the authority of our saint's own Confession, and the traditions of the Scottish Church, Dr. Moran, now Cardinal Archbishop of Sydney, has *clearly shown* that the apostle of Ireland was born at Old-Kilpatrick, between Alcuaid, now called Dumbarton, and Glasgow. Other accounts make him a native Armoric Gaul, &c.

After these witnesses from the ranks of the priesthood, I will now quote the opinion of two representative lay writers. The first shall be Dr. P. W. Joyce, a man whose services to the cause of Irish scholarship are so well and widely known. In his *Short History of Ireland*,[2] we read:—

It is pretty certain that Patrick was born either in Scotland or in Armoric Gaul; the *weight of authority* tends to the neighbourhood of Dumbarton, in Scotland.

The above is repeated word for word in the same writer's *Concise History of Ireland*.[3] And again in his *Child's History of Ireland*, he says:—[4]

We do not know for certain his birthplace; but *the best authorities* believe he was born near Dumbarton, in Alban or Scotland, though others think in the west of Gaul.

Happy school-children of Erin at the present day, who are no longer robbed of the belief of their ancestors: who are no longer taught to scoff at the truth as transmitted by tradition, and received by the most eminent scholars! In my own school-days I was much less fortunate; and I suppose that my experience is representative of that of the average Irish priest. As a pupil of the Christian Brothers

[1] Fifth edition, 1896, Sect. xlvi., p. 135.
[2] Second edition, 1895, p. 143.
[3] Sixth edition, 1897, pp. 44-45.
[4] Third edition, 1898, p. 67.

in Dublin, I was taught to repeat, as a matter of dogmatic certainty, that 'St. Patrick was born at Boulogne-sur-Mer.' Occasionally the Scottish view was named, but always to the accompaniment of derisive laughter. And the final result of this presentment of the matter was to give one the impression, that to say St. Patrick was born in Scotland was tantamount to asserting that he was a Scotch Presbyterian. 'Tempora mutantur'—times have changed, in this regard, very much for the better: 'nos et *mutemur* in illis.' let the children of St. Patrick take care not to be behind the times on the subject of their apostle's birthplace.[1]

Happily, the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the truth about our apostle's birthplace is now within the reach of every Irishman. This is sufficiently evident from passages already quoted from the histories of Dr. Joyce. But I shall add a last extract taken from the sketch of the *History of Ireland*, which appears in the series known as the *Story of the Nations*. In the volume dealing with Ireland, the Hon. Emily Lawless, writes as follows:[2] 'According to the account now generally accepted, he (St. Patrick) . . . was a native, not as formerly believed of Gaul, but of Dumbarton upon the Clyde.'

I have by no means exhausted the number of witnesses that might be cited; but, perhaps, enough has been done for the present. Meantime, I would point out a few conclusions which obviously flow from the above testimony. (1) In the

[1] The Brothers of the Christian Schools need no tribute of admiration from me; but gratitude prompts me to say how much I appreciate the efficiency of their teaching, and how sensible I am of the advantages which I have derived from it. At the same time, on this one question I feel bound to write as I have done above. It is necessary to bring home to many of my clerical friends the true nature of the view which they hold: the first step towards being disabused of prejudice is to become aware of its existence. With regard to St. Patrick's birthplace, that which often passes for 'the opinion of the Irish priesthood' is simply the view which was put before us in such a prejudiced form by the lay instructors of our youth, and which still continues to sway our judgment. The real 'clerical opinion' of Ireland is, surely, that which is based upon an impartial consideration of the evidence available, and which is moulded by the best and most learned teachers among the clerical body. I have some right to speak on this point; for, as intimated above, I myself have had to overcome that very feeling of prejudice which still influences the minds of so many of my countrymen, both at home and abroad.

[2] Sixth edition, 1898, p. 33.

first place, the view that St. Patrick was born in Scotland, near Dumbarton, enjoys an indisputable pre-eminence over every rival opinion; it is supported by the best authorities; it is thus the prevailing opinion, and that which is now generally received. (2) The French theory has fallen into disrepute; it can only be referred to in terms of significant vagueness, such as 'the west of Gaul,' 'continental Britain,' &c.; whatever consideration is shown to it is manifested merely on account of the extrinsic authority of certain prominent names, whose support has lent it a transient importance. (3) No other theory need be judged worthy of serious mention.

II.—THE 'BONA-VENTA-BURII' HYPOTHESIS

In setting forth the authorities cited at the beginning of this article, I have been careful to give the dates of publication. These dates range from 1892, when the *Menology* appeared, to 1898, *i.e.*, to within a year of the present time; and are, therefore, subsequent to the pretended discovery which I am about to mention, and which they all severely disdain to notice.[1]

> Just ten years ago St. Patrick's birthplace was identified and published in the I. E. RECORD. It took its place not as a theory or hypothesis, but as an absolute certainty clearly established; so clearly and naturally as to excite wonder that the discovery had not been previously and easily made. Now as then Usktown stands forth as the birthplace of St. Patrick, a proof against every objection that may be derived from a linguistic, geographical, historical, or any other source.[2]

Of course, an assertion like the above betrays itself by its absurdly exaggerated tone, and defeats its own object: But comment is hardly necessary: let us leave Father Malone to enjoy the uncomfortable situation created by his own imprudence.

[1] To understand the full significance of this disdain, we must remember that Father Malone has made repeated attempts to secure the notice of the public. As will presently be seen, he refers his readers to the I. E. RECORD of May, 1889. But his hypothesis was first published two years earlier, in the *Dublin Review*, of October, 1887. The third publication was in his *Chapters*, in 1892.

[2] I. E. RECORD, August, 1899, p. 113.

I am, however, happy to note a single element of truth in this extraordinary paragraph of Father Malone's. He says he excited wonder. He did. And not for the first time either. In the *Dublin Review* of October, 1886, he wrote an article containing misstatements such as could hardly fail to excite 'wonder' in the mind of any intelligent reader. The object of the article was to prove that St. Patrick was born in the neighbourhood of Bath on the Avon. Here are some of Father Malone's 'wonders.'

FIRST LIST OF 'WONDERS'

(1) That the authority of one of the scholia on our ancient writers may be judged by the contents of the other scholia, as if all had but one author. 'But what is the authority of the scholiast? Who was he? Let us judge of him by the other scholia.'[1] Even Lanigan[2] might have taught him better than that; and Cardinal Moran[3] makes it quite clear that the scholion in question enjoys exceptional authority, even as opposed to that other particular scholia from which Father Malone attempts to argue.

(2) That St. Patrick's *grandfather* was a *mother*. 'Now let us read the gloss of the scholiast on the Book of Hymns: "Ocmius was his mother, and the mother of his five sisters."'[4] The real reading is given by Cardinal Moran,[5] '*Conches, daughter of Ochmuis*, was his mother and the mother of his five sisters.'

(3) 'The allusion alleged (!) to have been madeto the word "Nentur" in a Welsh Romance (!) is only a repetition of the Irish MSS., and found only in comparatively modern manuscripts.' Is Father Malone ignoring the known truth? Or is he merely pretending to have read Cardinal Moran's article,—to which, however, he refers in the very context from which his misstatement is taken?[6] Let me add, that the *Black Book of Caermarthen*, the Welsh MS. referred to, may claim to be, without exception, the oldest Welsh MSS. of that class which embodies the traditions of Cymric Britain. Dr. Skene tells us,[7] that the *Black Book of Caermarthen* was written in the reign of Henry II. (A.D. 1144-1189).

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[1] *L. c.*, p. 317, line 17.
[2] Vol. i., p, 81.
[3] *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, pp. 294, 295.
[4] *L. c.*, p. 317, line 27.
[5] *L. c.*, p. 295.
[6] *L. c.*, p. 319, where Cardinal Moran's name is mentioned *seven times* in the one page. Cf. the Cardinal's article (p. 307).
[7] *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, vol. i., p. 3.

And this is the judgment accepted by modern Welsh scholarship.[1]

(4) That there was a 'Roman rampart called Aremuric.'[2] Cardinal Moran, speaking of the *town* in which St. Patrick lived, had said:—'It seems sufficiently probable that in the present text the *city* derived its name from the Roman wall or rampart which stretched across the valley of the Clyde.'[3] In other words, the *city*, on account of its position got the name of Aremuric, *i.e.*, 'beside the wall.'[4] But Father Malone seems to imagine that the wall was 'beside itself.'

(5) That, 'the region of Argyle included, along the western coast, the country from the Humber to the Clyde.'[5]

(6) That 'the language of Ireland and Scotland did not differ.'[6] This, too, with special reference to the Strathclyde district in the time of St. Patrick! Dr. Skene,[7] and Professor Rhys,[8] and indeed all authorities, agree that the population of Strathclyde district was Cymric in race and language down to a comparatively late period.

(7) That *Allobroges* stands for *Gallobriges*.[9] Father Malone does not always give the source of his information; but, in the present case, it appears that he has blundered by following Lanigan.[10] The true derivation of the word Allobroges was given long ago by Zeuss,[11] and is re-affirmed by Rhys.[12]

(8) That the reading of the 'Bollandists' copy' of the life contained in the *Book of Armagh* is the only correct reading, *i.e.*, *Bonnaven thabur indecha*,[13] that these words mean 'the Avon's mouth-village of the Indian wells,'[14] and that the indication thus aforesaid fixes St. Patrick's birthplace 'near Bath to the east,'[15] or, 'some miles lower than Bath on the Avon.'[16]

(9) That the 'impudent forgery' so often denounced by Hill Burton, Skene, and other writers, and vulgarly known as Richard of Cirencester's *De Situ Britanniae*, can still be quoted as an authority.[17]

(10) That the heroes of the Round Table were a 'race of giants'—the very giants referred to by Probus.[18] Father Malone

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[1] See an excellent little pamphlet by Mr. G. H. Matthews, a Welsh scholar of acknowledged authority, *The Old Faith and the New*, p. 3. It is published by the St. Teilo's Society (the C. T. Soc. of Wales), 9, Richmond Crescent, Cardiff.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 323, line 22.
[3] *L. c.*, p. 312.
[4] Cf. the name of Wallsend.
[5] *L. c.*, p. 325, line 339.
[6] *L. c.*, p. 326, line 6.
[7] *Four Ancient Books*, ch. iv., &c.
[8] *Celtic Britain*, ch. iv., &c.
[9] *L. c.*, p. 327, line 31.
[10] Vol. i., p. 115, note 151.
[11] Ebel's edit., p. 207.
[12] *Celtic Britain*, pp. 139-278.
[13] *L. c.*, pp. 328, 329.
[14] Page 329.
[15] Page 330, last line.
[16] Page 331, line 22.
[17] Page 332, note.
[18] Page 333, line 35.

even quotes Tennyson in this connection: 'Nature brings not back the *mastodon*, nor we these times.'[1]

In the above list I have merely given samples. There is plenty more material of the same kind, which may easily be made use of, if Father Malone desires any further attention at my hands. His conclusions are worthy of his premisses, as may be seen from the following quotations:—[2]

It is quite clear, to my mind, that Scotland, or Northern Britain, is not the birthplace of St. Patrick. It is *equally certain* that South Britain, and most probably Somersetshire, was his native country; and with the evidence before us we *cannot avoid* connecting the particular spot of his birth with Bath, on the banks of the Middle Avon, &c.

It must be quite clear to the reader's mind that, with the evidence before us, we cannot avoid concluding that Father Malone is an untrustworthy guide. He tells us[3] that some of his arguments—Nos. 5 and 6, for instance—are 'direct proofs' that St. Patrick's birthplace was not Kilpatrick. Such arguments are simply a direct proof of incompetence on the part of the theorist.

II.—THE BONA VENTA BURII THEORY

Does that last sentence sound rather strong? If so, the reader who peruses the evidence which I have still to set before him may yet turn back, and accuse the expression of being too weak. In the *Dublin Review* of October, 1887, Father Malone made a second attempt to pose as the discoverer of St. Patrick's birthplace. He actually begins by misquoting *himself!*

Observe the conclusion of his second paragraph. He

[1] Does Father Malone take the word *mastodon* for a Welsh plural, *mastod-on*, formed on the model of *perygl-on*, and applied as a *pluralis majestaticus* to King Arthur? Or does he not know that *mastodon* is a modern Greek compound, signifying *nipple-tooth*, and applied to an extinct pachyderm? At all events, his acquaintance with the Welsh or British language is something wonderful and fearful.

[2] *Dublin Review*, Oct., 1886, p. 334.

[3] *L. c.*, p. 325.

tells us the scraps of evidence which he had so wondrously manipulated :—

Furnish grounds for a probable opinion, amounting to a moral certainty, that the object of our inquiry is in South rather than North Britain. To prove *this* was the aim of my former article, whose *net result* may be given in my own words : 'It is quite clear, to my mind, that Scotland, or Northern Britain, is not the birthplace of St. Patrick.'

But what about the *sequence* of the above words? It has been already given; but it is worth while to give it again :—

It is *equally certain* that South Britain, and most probably Somersetshire, was his native country ; and with the evidence before us we *cannot avoid* connecting the *particular spot* of his birth with *Bath,* on the banks of the Middle Avon.

And, not content with misquoting his own opinion, he next proceeds positively to misrepresent it. His third paragraph opens thus :—

As I have already suggested, while our evidence has been sufficient to show in what part of Britain in general St. Patrick was born, it is *almost useless* in determining the *precise spot,* and I had on that account to speak with some hesitation.

A man who can write in this way, and treat his own words in such a manner, must, surely, have a wonderful mind; but it is too much to expect that his readers should be similarly endowed. 'Non omnia possumus omnes.'

Father Malone, in the conclusion of his third paragraph, next states his new hypothesis. His words are, as usual, remarkable :—

I may state that the place of which we are in quest lies some few miles, not south, as the Bath theory led us, but north of the shores of Bristol. *I shall not budge one yard nearer to Caledonia,* and the direction I shall take shall be guided by the saint's own words.

This pleasing perversion of the language of Launcelot Gobbo[1] is obviously intended, to show the theorist's

[1] *Merchant of Venice,* Act II., Sc. ii. It is worth the reader's while to compare the passage.

absolute freedom from prejudice. Nearer to Caledonia he will not budge! It is reassuring to be told that 'the direction he takes shall be guided by the saint's own words.' But, alas! ''twas ever thus from Lanigan's hour;' and yet, from that hour to the present, 'we've seen our fondest hopes decay.' These hopes have ever been raised by the theorists only to be rudely balked, leaving us a laughing-stock to the world. Besides, did not Father Malone advance a somewhat similar pretence before? Yet he now admits having missed his object by about thirty miles.[1] But let us follow our self-constituted guide in his wanderings from Bath to Usktown, noting by the way some of his erratic roceedings. He still continues to excite 'wonder.' Here [a]re some instances:—

SECOND LIST OF 'WONDERS'

(1) That Kilpatrick is 'on the *south* of the Clyde.'[2]

(2) That the 'idea of civil decurions or senators in Alclyde is not to be entertained.'[3] The reader will remember that this singularly unhistorical objection has been sufficiently dealt with in my last article.

(3) That the 'country was pagan till about the year 400.'[4] Why, all the evidence that we possess proves the opposite. The policy of Constantine, and even of Constantius was in general notoriously favourable to Christianity: the passing persecution of the latter emperor is confined by history and tradition to the south of Britain Professor Rhys says, that in the course of the Roman occupation 'most of the Celts (*i.e.*, the Brythonic population, as opposed to the Picts beyond the northern wall) had

[1] And yet Father Malone, in the very context of the above citations, find an insuperable difficulty in the *four miles* of distance between Kilpatrick and Dumbarton Rock! He calls it a 'contradiction' to substitute the more definite expression Kilpatrick for the less definite Dumbarton!

[2] *Dublin Review*, October, 1887, p. 388, line 37. Here again Father Malone does not favour us wlth the source of his misinformation; but once more he has blundered by blindly following Lanigan (vol. i., p. 95). In my first article (I. E. RECORD, October, 1899, p. 342, note 2), I cautioned the reader against the assertions and views of dogmatic theorists, 'who know as much concerning the district of Alclyde as I may know concerning the possible bodies that revolve round Sirius or Algol.' Perhaps I may now be expected to apologise for using such a comparison; it was seemingly far too weak.

[3] *L. c.*, p. 389.

[4] *L. c.*, p. 389, second last line.

both become Christians, and grown familiar, to some extent, with the working of municipal institutions.'[1] With this view, Dr. Healy agrees.

(4) That '*Nennius* became the apostle of the southern Picts.'[2] Everyone knows that the name Nennius designates the early British historian; Ninian, or Nynias, is the name of the apostle of the Picts. Why mix the names? Is it to create confusion?

(5) That 'Bede informs us that previous to the erection of "Candida Casa," or Witnern, there had not been a church in the country.'[3] And we are referred to *Bede*,[4] where the historian says rather *the very opposite*. 'Vulgo vocatur *Ad Candidam Casam*, eo quod ibi Ecclesiam de lapide, *insolite* Britonibus more, fecerit.' Surely, the obvious inference is that there were other *casae*, or churches in the country *non candidae*, and built *more Britonibus solito*.

Here are three flagrant blunders in three successive sentences. And note how Father Malone deals with his authorities. Does he imagine that, to achieve his self-appointed destiny, and to become the discoverer of St. Patrick's birthplace, 'all things are lawful'? If so, it is to be hoped that he is now aware that 'all things are not expedient.'

(6) That so early as the year 432, 'the Alclyde district was called Pictish rather than British.'[5] How, then, did Dumbarton get its name? Did our ancestors call the place 'the Fort of the *Britons*,' because it was not British, but *Pictish*? Is this a specimen of early Irish humour; or is it not rather an example of the recent Irish bull? I have already observed that Skene and Rhys declare that the population of the Strathclyde district was Brythonic. Professor Rhys is a Welshman, and he ought to know his own countrymen. Using the word 'Welsh' as synonymous with 'Brythonic' or 'British,' he actually speaks repeatedly of the 'Welshmen' of Cumbria or Strathclyde.[6]

(7) That we can argue from the later popular meaning of such words as *Briton* and *Welsh* to a similar limited application in earlier times.[7] What has just been said will suffice to show the

[1] *Celtic Britain*, p. 101: cf. ch. iv.
[2] *L. c.*, same line.
[3] *L. c.*, last line.
[4] Lib. iii., ch. iv.
[5] *L. c.*, p. 391, line 30.
[6] *Celtic Britain*, pp. 3, 148, 171.
[7] *L. c.*, p. 392, &c.

folly of such reasoning.[1] But suppose we were to apply Father Malone's principle to such words as *Scots*, *Romaic*, &c.!

(8) That Palladius died at *Dumbarton*.[2] I need not refute this gross error; Father Malone has since refuted it himself. In the I. E. RECORD for February, 1889, he proved that Palladius died at *Wigton*.[3] Both views are about equally worthy of credit.

I stop here for the present, though the list of blunders in the article under consideration is by no means exhausted. The reader will probably admit that Father Malone has fully vindicated his ability to excite 'wonder.' From the scholarship displayed in the second list just given, one may judge of the value of the theory propounded. This second theory was overthrown by Bishop Grant with the same promptitude and vigour with which he had demolished the first. In each case Bishop Grant's management of the affair was magnificent, though it was hardly war, for his opponent offered no resistance. After the first encounter, Father Malone entirely abandoned his position at Bath; after the second, he desisted from all further attempts at theorizing in the pages of the *Dublin Review*. And this, in spite of the fact that the sub-title of the Bishop's article, 'A Last Reply,' seemed to promise impunity for any attempt at defence.

But that was not the last of the Burian theory, or of its author. Though beaten, he could argue still; and, after a discreet interval, he once more published his 'discovery' in the I. E. RECORD of May, 1889. In spite of refutation and defeat, Father Malone is now more certain than ever about

[1] Once more Father Malone gives no hint as to the source of his error. In this instance the blunder seems to have been suggested by Keating (*History*, note to p. 320 in the edit. of 1865). For how much of the modern South British theorizing may this passage of Keating's be answerable? Keating was a respectable writer for his time, though he had some awkward limitations of scholarship, as O'Curry points out (*MS. Materials*, p. 21). But fancy following Keating at the present day!

[2] *L. c.*, 393, line 27.

[3] Pages 127, 128. The article here referred to is entitled 'A Sketch of Palladius;' it ought to have been called 'A Caricature of Palladian History.' It is full of mistakes, and I must caution the reader against trusting to any of its statements. If Father Malone desires proofs of this, he can have them for the asking. Meantime, I would fain caution him to avoid questions of Scottish topography, and, indeed, all matters connected with Scotland Whenever he refers to my adopted country, he is sure to make himself ridiculous.

his hypothesis. He defines St. Patrick's birthplace almost with the precision of a Post Office Directory. Here is the title of the article:—

'ST. PATRICK'S NATIVE TOWN AND STREET' (!)

You see, all we now want is *the number*, and then we shall know exactly 'where St. Patrick was born.'[1] Alas! what a misfortune is an imperfect sense of humour!

The second publication of the Burian theory evoked no reply. Why this was so, many readers of the I. E. RECORD ought to know better than I. Probably they know the theorist better, and this may suggest an explanation. Perhaps they remembered the case of Dr. Lanigan, and its sad, suggestive ending. Or, likely enough, the wildness of this last attempt may have convinced them of the absolute futility and absurdity of theorizing, and prepared them to give a whole-hearted assent to the evidence of history and tradition. One thing, however, is quite certain: Father Malone's extraordinary announcement of his pretended discovery fell pitifully flat. His *plaudite* met with no response: the curtain dropped on the feeble farce in chilling silence.

How sadly he felt the want of any indication of approval may be seen from the book containing the third publication of his hypothesis.[2] A man must be badly off for favourable testimony when he is driven to play the part of the Witch of Endor, and endeavours to recall from the grave the shade of a departed scholar. Especially as Dr. Reeves, the scholar in question, was notoriously in favour of the Scottish view, and approved a MS. reading which Father Malone 'cannot

[1] Father Malone will not, surely, leave the problem in this unfinished state? So long as *the number* is not discovered, his work is not yet done. Let him think of the (literally) numberless persons awaiting further information. If the matter involves mathematical calculation, he might, perhaps, secure the assistance of Father W. B. Morris. Let us hope that before long these two distinguished theorists may prove the Leverrier and Adams of this hitherto undiscovered element in the Patrician system. Might I suggest recourse to the 'Higher Mathematics,' and an application of the principles of 'Elliptical Functions'?

[2] *Chapters towards a Life of St. Patrick*, p. 61.

accept;' while the theorist, after all, could only 'fancy he (the scholar) would adopt' the strange offspring of an 'ingenious' imagination!

I now give a summary of the Burian hypothesis; but the reader who is in search of the curious in literature should certainly turn to the little work just mentioned, or to the article just indicated. The reading of the *Confession* universally received, and best supported by MS. evidence, is:—

BANAVEN TABERNIAE

There may be some doubts about minor points, but as to the general character of the reading, no doubt can be reasonably entertained. Father Malone changes the first part of this to *Bona-Ven-*, or *Bene-Ven-*. The vowel change here assumed might be allowed to pass, merely as a piece of possible theorizing; but the attempt to introduce a capital letter, and to begin a new word with Ven-, is too directly contrary to MS. evidence to be for a moment admitted, merely to satisfy an arbitrary theorist. The letter *T* in *Ta-* is next degraded to a small letter; the reason for such a change being once more a mere arbitrary hypothesis, directly opposed to all existing evidence. Lastly, Father Malone proceeds to manipulate the last portion (*-berniae*) of the original reading. He has seven letters (three consonants and four vowels) to dispose of. He knocks away one of the consonants and one of the vowels, and changes the remaining three vowels so as to produce the form Burii (!) This last change is obviously the most unreasonable of all, and the one most opposed to MS. authority. But I need not dwell upon the absurdities of a process which, to be appreciated, must be examined in the 'original' statement as contained in the theorist's work. Let me be content to state the result. Let the reader judge. Here is Father Malone's reading:

'BONA-VENTA-BURII' (!)

But this is not all. We are solemnly told that the phrase, 'vico Bona Venta Burii,' means '*Bona-Venta*

Street, in *Burium*, or *Usktown*.' Thus we are informed as to St. Patrick's native town and street: nothing remains to be determined but the number! Surely, all this is, in Newman's phrase, 'too absurd to be ridiculous.'[1]

We cannot, then, be expected to accept Father Malone's hypothesis: at least, not so long as heaven in its mercy shall spare us such mental derangement as that which darkened the last fifteen years of Dr. Lanigan's life.[2] But, personally, I am quite impartial in my rejection of the Burian reading. If that reading could be accepted, it would fit in perfectly with the Kilpatrick view. Let us suppose (*per impossibile*) that Father Malone has really arrived at such a place as 'Bona Venta Burii,' then, in spite of all he can do or say, he will find that he is simply back at Kilpatrick again. Here are the proofs of this striking and unexpected consequence of all his theorising—proofs, not depending upon assumed scribal errors, which must always be a matter of conjecture, but rather derived from an admitted tendency to phonetic corruption, and, therefore, from a cause whose operation we can depend upon with moral certainty.

(1) I first assume the right to present the Burian reading in the shortened form, *Bona Venta Buri*. After taking such whole-

[1] We have already seen how Father Malone treats his witnesses, altering their testimony so that its meaning is entirely changed. The same thing is done in the present case, with regard to the name *Bona Venta*, gratuitously assumed for the settlement at Burium. He calmly tells his readers that *Beneventa* was the name of the early Roman settlement in Samnium, and that this was an alteration from *Malaventa* (*Dublin Review*, Oct., 1887, p. 398). Such forms never existed until Father Malone 'created' them: they are perversions of the true forms, *Beneventum* and *Maleventum*. The form *Venta*, which is significantly confined to the country once under the sway of a Brythonic population, is obviously connected with the Welsh word, *Gwent*, which still survives as a place-name applied to part of Monmouthshire; it is, therefore, not a Roman word. Initial *Gw* in Welsh has been appropriately called by Skene 'the Welsh digamma,' as it represents the Latin *V* and the Irish *F* (cf. *gwin*, *vinum*, *fion*). In composition the initial *G* of the second element is dropped, and *w* alone remains, as in *Caer-went*. This word is actually quoted by Father Malone himself; though, of course, he fails to recognise its significance. Let me again congratulate him upon his fearful and wonderful knowledge of the Welsh, or British language! Cf. Taylor, *Words and Places*, ch. ix., p. 154; Blackie, *Etymological Geography*, p. 81; Anwyl, *Welsh Grammar*, pp. 13-15

[2] The sad fact here alluded to has been too long and too consistently ignored. To some extent it may serve to charitably excuse Dr. Lanigan's objectionable mode of dealing with the most illustrious of his predecessors in

sale liberty with vowels, he cannot refuse me the minor liberty of delecting a single *i*. Besides, I care very little whether he grants me the liberty, or not: I mean to take it, in any case. The shorter form of the termination, a single *i*, is often written for the longer form with double *i*. *Vice versa*, the longer form, with the doubled *i*, often arises from the expansion of a real or assumed contracted form containing only a single *i*.

(2) I next remark that the *B*, in *Burii* must be assumed to represent an original *M*. The tendency to change an initial *M* into *B* exists in both branches of the Keltic languages. In Irish, Dr. Joyce gives the following examples of this change :—Ballyboney for *Ballymoney ;* Bannady for *Meannoda ;* Bunnafedia for *Muine-na-fede*, and Bunnyconnellan for *Muine-Chonallain*.[1]

In the Brythonic dialects the same change occurs. From distant Cornwall I may instance the name of a farm in Cury which is written *Millewarne*, but ' pronounced by one and all Bellorian.' [2]

But the most apposite example is found in the very neighbourhood of St. Patrick's true birthplace. Just ten miles from Kilpatrick, on the south side of Glasgow, lies the suburb of Strathbungo (familiarly called Stra'bungo). It is the only place in the ancient see of Glasgow in which the name of the saintly founder of the diocese is preserved ; and Strathbungo is explained by all authorities as *Strath-Mungo*.

Thus we must conclude that Bona Venta Buri stands for Bona Venta Muri.

(3) Lastly, Skene, in the *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, points out that the Britons called the rampart of Antoninus *y Mur*, or the Wall ;[3] and thus it is plainly marked on the accompanying map. This was but natural ; for recent excavations have shown that the structure was a veritable *murus caespiticius*, and it was *the murus*, or wall which divided the Romans and Romanized provincials from the barbarians beyond. So that, ultimately, the supposed ' Bona Venta Buri,' could represent nothing else but *Bona Venta Muri*, the *civitas Aremuric* of Probus, *i.e.*, Kilpatrick near the end of the northern wall.

Striking result ! is it not? Father Malone assured the world that he had taken his stand at Usktown ; and that

the discussion of St. Patrick's birthplace. But the fact is not without a more general bearing upon the history of the controversy ; and, accordingly, may be appropriately referred to in the present context.

[1] *Irish Names of Places*, i., pp. 59-60.

[2] Cummings, *Cury and Gunwalloe*, p. 206.

[3] Vol. i , p. 59.

'one yard nearer to Caledonia he would not budge.' But all the time, without knowing it, he was really at Kilpatrick. I have, therefore, no prejudice against the Burian reading; but, supported by such arguments, it must, of course, be rejected.

III.—THE NORTH WALES THEORY

It would, perhaps, be doing Father Alfred Barry an injustice to take his theorizing very seriously. The attempt which he made in the I. E. RECORD of December, 1893, to determine once more the oft-determined birthplace of St. Patrick, no doubt proceeded from a total misconception of the true state of the question. Apparently he knew nothing of the strength of the arguments in favour of Kilpatrick; nothing of the weight of external authority in its favour. He probably knows more about these matters now. Let us also hope that he has learned something about the topography of Alclyde.

It is to be hoped, moreover, that he now knows better than to quote that 'learned' authority, Father Malone, especially in reference to questions of Scottish history,[1] or to questions of British or Welsh etymology.[2] But, hoping apart, we may surely assume that Father Barry *knows* one thing, *i.e.*, that no writer should ever give a misleading reference. How then are we to account for the following case? He calmly assumes the existence of a 'Rock-of-Clwyd,' a rock which no one ever heard of until the present theorist created it to serve a purpose. He adds: 'This Rock-of-Clwyd was situated upon the banks of the River Clwyd in the vale of Clwyd, near the present town of Rhyl.'

After this circumstantial misstatement, he refers us to Father Malone's article in the *Dublin Review*,[3] and to Camden's *Britannia*.[4] Now, I will not be unjust to Father

[1] *L. c.*, p. 1123, where we are referred to the carricature *Sketch of Palladius*.

[2] *L. c.*, p. 1131, where he actually refers us to the article in the *Dublin Review* of October, 1886, containing Father Malone's *abandoned* blunders; and where he also favours us with some very independent etymology of his own.

[3] 1887, p. 393.

[4] Page 819.

Malone; and it is only fair to state that, while his language may have suggested this supposititious Rock-of-Clwyd, he certainly never mentions it in the course of the page referred to. As to Camden's *Britannia*, I have equally failed to find any mention of a 'Rock-of-Clwyd' in that immortal work. But in the very beginning of the description of Denbighshire,[1] I do find the following:—

> We now come to the heart of this country [*i.e.*, Wales], where nature *having removed the hills on every side*, to show what she could do in this rugged country, has formed a most beautiful vale, reaching seventeen miles from south to north, and about five miles wide.

Father Barry asserts the presence of a Rock-of-Clwyd in the vale of Clwyd; Camden leads us to suppose that the vale is remarkably destitute of any such prominent object. The reader may be left to choose between these two authorities; but, personally, I prefer Camden.

But something worse follows; for Father Barry thus continues:—

> And two hundred years after the birth of St. Patrick, the British King Rhydderch Heal, having conquered southern Scotland, gave that name (Rock of Clwyd), to the city, which he built upon the shores of the Northern Clyde.

And then we are referred to *Celtic Scotland*, Skene. The reference is significantly vague; and not without reason. I know my *Celtic Scotland* well; and I can assure the reader that not one of the above assertions—'the 'conquest' of southern Scotland, the 'giving the name' to Alclyde, or the 'building' of the city—is to found in Skene. If Father Barry can find such statements in our Scotch historian, I promise to believe, not only in the theorist's hypothesis, but also in his method of citing 'authorities.' The truth is something very different from this rash misrepresentation. In the *Four Ancient Books of Wales* to which Dr. Skene refers his readers, Rhydderch Hael is represented as a prince of North Britain, from the upper

[1] Vol. iii., p. 307, in the magnificent folio edit. in four vols.

regions of the Clyde.[1] In *Celtic Scotland*,[2] Skene distinctly asserts that the struggle which resulted in the elevation of Rhydderch to be king of all Strathclyde was a *domestic* struggle among the Britons themselves, between the Christian and paganizing parties. Not a word is said about Rhydderch Hael 'building' or 'naming' the northern capital. Such ideas are wildly absurd; and, what is more to the purpose, Skene consistently supposes the pre-existence both of the strong fortress and of the name. I need say no more, unless it be at Father Barry's express invitation, in which case I may have an opportunity of correcting some more of his mistakes. In the meantime my readers may recognise in him another example of the trustworthiness of our 'Modern Guides to St. Patrick's birthplace.'

IV.—THE SPANISH THEORY

With regard to the Spanish hypothesis, the latest, and perhaps the strangest outcome of the rage for theorizing, I regard it as a good joke *spoiled*. Had Dr. O'Brien been content to treat his own speculation as a travesty on the efforts of previous theorists, he might have won the credit of being a successful satirist: as it is, he must be put down as another unsuccessful theorist, for he has carried the joke too far:—

> Nam, si ludere perseveras,
> Non ludis.

But, on reading over his own articles in a calmer mood, he will probably realise something of his own rashness. Does he still 'assume that Irish and Iberian are the same language'? If so, I must recommend him to acquire some acquaintance with the elements of modern philology. He will find some good introductory hints on the Iberian question in Taylor's *Origin of the Aryan*.[3] He may also consult with advantage the introduction to Van Eys's little

[1] *L. c.*, vol. i., p. 173.
[2] Vol. i., pp. 156-158.
[3] See especially ch. iv., par 4, p, 219

Basque Grammar. A perusal of these works will bring home to him the true character of his assumption. Again, does he still think that it is 'dishonest' to translate *parentes* as parents? If so, what is it to speak of the *Clodianus* over and over again as '(another) Clyde'?[1] Does he still accuse Cardinal Moran of having written what was 'utterly and absolutely false'? If so, is it not time that irresponsible theorists were taught to entertain some respect for genuine Irish scholars? And does he still think it necessary to go to Spain in order to discover boars? I can assure him that they could have been found much nearer home.[2]

Several of Dr. O'Brien's mistakes have been already noticed by Father Malone. I repeat that I will not be unfair to this writer. While hopelessly unable, or unwilling, to see his own errors, he can sometimes correct those of others. Here are some of his criticisms:—

> To account for Emporia and Vich our ingenious writer gives a peculiar reading to the words *enim prope* by Emporia, and translates *vico* by Vich. Now for a reply. Firstly. All the biographers of our saint have placed his residence in the *Bonaventaberniae*, and never in *vico* or in *enim prope*.[3]

This assertion is, of course, notoriously incorrect, so far as the word (?) *Bonaventaberniae* is concerned. Father Malone is responsible for thus running different words together, and so producing an Aristophanic, many-jointed polysyllable, as elegant as it is convincing. But the appeal to 'all the biographers of our saint' is certainly conclusive against Dr. O Brien, as the biographers so consistently support the Alclyde tradition. It is, however, equally conclusive against Father Malone himself.

Secondly. If a transcriber, through inadvertence or ignorance, gives a wrong reading, a fundamental canon for amending

[1] It puzzles me to understand how anyone who had ever heard of Clodius (*i.e.*, Claudius) could fail to recognise in Clodianus a pure Roman appellation. The native name of the river may have been represented by one of those modern names mentioned in that very Smith's *Dictionary* to which Dr. O'Brien appeals.

[2] The reader must not suspect me of intending to repeat a worn-out joke. The matter here alluded to was made the subject of a joke by Stuart in his *Caledonia Romana*. The wild boar is an object frequently represented on the legionary stones found in the neighbourhood of the Antonine Wall.

[3] I. E. Record, August, 1899, pp. 98, 99.

it is to alter as few letters or parts of a letter as possible, especially when the reading is given without a doubt expressed. . . . Such liberty with a text is unpardonable.

. . . The life-long companions and fellow-labourers of our saint, forsooth, did not understand the story of his life as well as the writer in the I. E. RECORD. . . . !

What extraordinary *Caiphisms*![1] How can the writer of these words fail to see their application to his own case? Of course he hits his adversary hard; but does he not see that he can only wound that adversary by striking through *himself?* I do not think that any moral theologian will refuse him the requisite permission. Dr. O'Brien and Father Malone are equally wrong, both in their methods and in their results. The gratuitous assumptions of each may be regarded as an effective, if unconscious travesty of the speculations of the other.

Before concluding, perhaps I may be permitted to give Dr. O'Brien and the rest of the theorists an object-lesson in the working of their own methods. The Spanish theory tells us that *Emthur* (or *Nemthur*), *Cluade*, and *Britanniae* must be read *Emporiae, Clodianus*, and *Bretonia*, simply to suit a theory. Let the theorists now follow me from Spain to Italy, and trust themselves to my guidance. It is only a little trip across the 'Tyrrhene Sea,' and I promise to land them at the very latest birthplace of St. Patrick—at *Thurium*, on the *Crathis*, in *Brettiana* or *Bruttium*.

(1) For *Emthur* we should read *Thurium*, or *Thurii*, the name of an important city in South Italy. *Em*, in the name *Emthur*, is explained by some as a mere Celtic prefix.[2] It might also be explained as a corrupt form of the Celtic article *an*, or of the Latin preposition *in*, coalescing with the following word. Instances of such coalescence are of frequent occurrence. *Thur*, which then remains as the only real element requiring explanation, is obviously *Thurii*, or *Thurium*.

(2) For *Cluade* we should read *Crathis*, the well-known river that flows through Bruttium. Bede gives the form

[1] Cf. St. John, xi. 49-51.
[2] *Dublin Review*, April, 1880, p. 306.

Cluith.[1] Again, it is a commonplace of philology that the letters *r* and *l* frequently interchange. The Irish language itself affords instances. I might cite a number of cases in which the initial *Cl* represents *Cr* in other tongues; but one case is very striking: compare the Irish word *Clap-sholas*, twilight, with the Latin *Crepusculum.* Instead of the Clyde, therefore, we must obviously think of the *Crathis.*

(3) For *Britanniae* we should read *Brettiana;* that is, *Bruttium.* Let us turn to the indispensable Smith,[2] who tells us: 'Polybius, in more than one passage, calls it ἡ Βροττιανὴ χώρα.' We all know how easily an adjective form like Βρεττιανή, *Brettiana,* becomes a substantive; and what more natural than that *Brettiana* should be corrupted into the more familiar *Britannia,* or *Britanniae?* Hence, *Britanniae* is obviously *Brettiana* or *Bruttium.*

In the immediate neighbourhood of this new claimant we have the 'Tyrrhene Sea;' we have *Letha; i.e.*, Latium, or even Italy. Indeed, we have a good deal more than any man had a right to expect. The invaluable Smith again tells us that Thurii 'is noticed by Procopius as still existing in the sixth century . . . The period of its final decay is uncertain.' These facts fit in beautifully with its being St. Patrick's birthplace, and yet being subsequently ignored by our ancient Irish scribes. Lastly, Smith adds that 'the exact site of Thurii has not yet been identified.' Why, this is precisely what a crowd of learned theorists assure us with regard to St. Patrick's birthplace (apart, of course, from the particular determination of each individual theorist!). Theinference is irresistible: therefore, Thurii and the birthplace are one.

As for me, I believe that the above theory is decidedly 'ingenious;' nay, more, I believe it is the most plausible theory yet advanced. Still I cannot accept it as true, for I am prevented by two things—a sense of truth and a sense

[1] *H. E.*, lib. i., cap. 12.
[2] *Dictionary of Geography*, art. 'Bruttium.'
[3] i. 56, ix. 27.

of humour. Yet my hypothesis, although not seriously advanced, may fulfil one useful function; it may serve to show our theorists that their work is nothing to be proud of, and that any ordinary person, if he choose to devote himself to such trifling, may easily weave such fictions, not merely

Stans pede in uno,

but with no support whatever, except, of course, the graceful and slender support of Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

V.—CONCLUSION

And now that we have reviewed the history of Patrician theorizing, what does the reader think of the matter? Is it too much to say that it is about the most disedifying and discreditable chapter in the history of Irish thought?

Observe the presumption and folly of the theorists. They seem to have no idea of the true state of the question, of the weight of intrinsic evidence and of extrinsic authority in favour of the Scottish view. Yet they never take the trouble to inquire. They ignore or scorn the traditions of two nations and of two Churches; they attack these traditions with every wild and false objection which perverted ingenuity can suggest, or cherished ignorance can permit; and, finally, they set forth in the character of discoverers, apparently guided in their search by the paradoxical maxim: 'The less likely, the more probable.' Words which naturally refer to Britain must be made to refer to France, or Spain, or any place except that which the name most reasonably suggests. Words naturally referring to the Clyde must not mean the Clyde, but the Clwyd, or the *Clodianus*, or anything except what what we know them to mean. Distinct references to the name of Dumbarton must be dismissed as blunders of ignorant scribes; and this by men who themselves show such wonderful facility for blundering and betraying ignorance in almost every branch of knowledge, even the most elementary! Simple addition

is not too simple, obvious geographical facts are not too obvious, to escape being made the subject of ridiculous mistakes. Even in Lanigan, scholar though he was, these faults are apparent; but in his later followers and recent imitators they have become so unpleasantly prominent that we feel they are no longer tolerable. And yet these recent theorists seem to take themselves and each other quite seriously, and even refer to each other as 'learned.'[1] Indeed, they so freely bestow this epithet that their reckless generosity is apt to suggest the cheapness of the gift. Still they never accept each other's arguments or conclusions, so that their mutual admiration seems a little unreal.

In the meantime, note how our national apostle is being treated. He has been offered about among the nations of the earth as if he were some 'commodity' which we were anxious to get rid of. He has been offered to France, and then withdrawn; he has been offered to Bath, and then withdrawn; he has been offered by various irresponsible persons to North Wales, to South Wales, and now at last to Spain! Our critics have remorselessly driven him from place to place and from country to country, until they have made him the very 'Wandering Jew' of hagiography. Is it not time to put an end to this wanton irreverence?

And the net result of all this theorizing has simply been to make the Irish race a laughing-stock among the nations:

Quidquid delirant *critici*, ridentur *Hiberni*.[2]

On meeting a well-read foreigner, one is almost afraid of being asked the mocking question: 'Well! where was your national apostle born *last?*' And what must be the opinion generally entertained of Irish scholarship, when our self-

[1] It is only fair to except Dr. O'Brien from this statement. I am not aware that he has ever called anyone else 'learned.' I suppose, after the above remarks, I need not expect to be described as 'learned' by those here referred to; but I wish it to be understood that I make no pretence of scholarship. I have common sense enough to follow the best and most learned guides in the present question, and that is more to the purpose. I also claim to be honest and painstaking—qualities which, if not so brilliant as 'ingenuity,' are more trustworthy.

[2] I beg to call the attention of our critical friends to this new 'reading' of Horace. I have, unfortunately, no manuscript authority for the change but that, of course, is a mere detail.

appointed guides, the 'Patrician' theorists, posing before the world as our teachers, are guilty of such frequent and flagrant blunders? Is it not time to put an end to proceedings which are so discreditable to the Irish race?

I have, therefore, no hesitation in declaring that this absurd craze for theorizing is at once a scandal and a nuisance: a scandal to be zealously repressed, and a nuisance to be rigorously abated. And the only effectual remedy is to tell our would-be instructors that the time for theorizing is gone by; that we have accepted the direction of better and more efficient guides, those whose authority has been quoted at the head of this article; that, led by them, and convinced by the proofs which they adduce, we now receive with becoming reverence the consentient traditions of two nations, and unhesitatingly acknowledge the birthplace of St. Patrick to be at Kilpatrick, near Dumbarton, in the present country of Scotland.

GERALD STACK.

NOTE.—If any of those to whom my words refer think that their theories have not been fully disposed of, I shall be happy to devote more particular attention to any author who may make such a complaint. I have still many mistakes to point out in every one of the authors in question. Moreover, I have by no means exhausted the proofs in favour of the claims of Kilpatrick. On the other hand, I am quite conscious that there may be certain errors on minor points in the course of the present series of articles. In collating and combining, or even in revising such an amount of matter, some lapse of hand or eye may have occurred occasionally. If any such mistake be pointed out to me, I shall be glad to correct it. And if, by any chance, I have done any injustice to those whose proceedings have in general so justly provoked the expression of my disapprobation, I will make every reparation in my power. The cause which I defend is far too good for me to suffer it to be connected with the commission of any injustice, however slight or however unintentional.

One last word: a word of caution. A Catholic Truth Society has been established in Ireland, and it will probably have to deal before long with the subject of St. Patrick. Will the opportunity thus afforded be turned to proper account by laying before our people a simple statement of the true state of the matter; or shall we see it abused by some self-sufficient and incompetent person? The affair is quite beyond my influence and outside my province; but I may be suffered to allude to what is, at least, a possible danger.

FATHER MARQUETTE, S.J., DISCOVERER OF THE MISSISSIPPI

FOURTH AND LAST MISSION

ON the 15th October, Father Marquette, accompanied by two brave Frenchmen, James and Peter, one of whom had been with him on the Mississippi voyage, sat out from St. Francis Xavier's, and again made their way across Sturgeon Bay from Lake Michigan. Here he met with some Indian families in whose company he performed the rest of the journey, availing himself of every opportunity to instruct them, and, when necessary, to correct and admonish.

It can be easily imagined that the journey along the shores of the Great Lake at such an advanced season of the year was wearisome and trying to a degree, especially to one barely recovered from a long exhausting illness. The voyage from Green Bay to the Chicago River, a distance of two hundred and sixty miles, lasted forty days. In these the same journey occupies from twelve to twenty-four hours, according as it is performed by land or water. Snow, wind, and high seas often detained the travellers for days at one place. When, on the 23rd November, they reached the mouth of the River Racine, the snow was already a foot deep, and from that time the earth retained its winter mantle; one of the many proofs that the climate was colder two hundred years ago than it is at present. They were delayed for three days at the mouth of Racine River, and here Father Marquette suffered another attack of dysentery. In spite of all the privations of this mid-winter journey, he was able to offer the Holy Sacrifice twice, the second time being on the feast of his great patron, St. Francis Xavier. The ice was then already forming along the shore and increasing the danger of further travel; but the next day, December 4th, they happily reached the mouth of the Chicago River, which was frozen to the depth of six inches.

For six whole days our poor travellers had to remain here, sleeping under the most miserable shelter. But the only thing which grieved the servant of Mary was the impossibility of saying Mass on the feast of her Immaculate Conception on account of the stormy weather. On the 11th, they set to work to push the canoe and the luggage over the ice; and two days later Father Marquette reached his winter quarters, only two hours' journey from the mouth of the Chicago River, and near the portage from its south arm to the River Illinois. The state of his health forbade all thought of further travel. The Indians continued their homeward journey, after having received from James and Peter an ell of tobacco in exchange for three buffalo skins which, says the diary, 'gave good service through the winter.'

Father Marquette found his quarters in the hut built for him by his faithful companions comfortable beyond expectation, at least, so he wrote in his diary. From the octave of December 8, he was able, here in the lonely wilderness, to offer daily the adorable Sacrifice of the Mass. His malady, aggravated by the diet, soon assumed a chronic form, the result of which it was not difficult to foresee. He declared to his companions with the greatest certainty, that this would be his last journey, and that he would die before its completion. In preparation for his passage to a better world, he again performed the spiritual exercises with great devotion, and in default of a larger flock, he laboured with holy zeal to guide his two companions in the path of perfection, and made them approach the Holy Sacraments twice a week. These two men formed the first Christian congregation assembled on the spot, or at least in the vicinity, of where the City of Chicago now stands with its thirty Catholic churches.

All prospect of opening the Illinois mission grew fainter and fainter. Nothing now remained to the sick priest but to return to St. Francis Xavier's, in order to die in the arms of his brethren. Had he not given convincing proof to the Indians that his good-will to keep his promise was not wanting? But these arguments were not sufficient for his

zeal. In the beginning of February, he and his companions redoubled their prayers to the Immaculate Mother of God to obtain even the temporary restoration of his health. And, behold! the confiding trust of these three holy souls was rewarded. Father Marquette's illness abated; by degrees, he grew stronger, and in Holy Week, safely reached his journey's end, the great settlement of the Kaskaskia Indians.

Seldom was the first preaching of the Gospel among the Indians attended with such success as in this particular instance. Father Marquette was received as an angel from heaven. His short mission was, so James and Peter declared, one unbroken triumph. Father Marquette's diary ends on April 6th. Wherever he went, teaching and preaching, he was received with the greatest enthusiasm. The first general assembly was held on Maunday Thursday in a lovely plain near the village. According to custom, the ground was covered with mats and bearskin. On outstretched ropes, floated pieces of silk, and facing the four points of the earth were four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin which the devoted priest had brought for the churches which he hoped to erect. Round him sat no less than five hundred chiefs, and outside these were the young men, fifteen hundred in number, and then a countless crowd of women and children. The messenger of the Gospel then addressed his congregation from the altar which had been erected in their midst. The object of his coming, the principles of Christianity, the great atonement for sin offered by Christ on Calvary—these were the subjects of his discourse to which the Indians listened with the deepest reverence. The appearance of the pale emaciated priest who looked like one returned from the gates of death but who spoke with the strength and fire of an inspired apostle, of itself alone made a great impression on these wild souls. After the sermon, Father Marquette offered the most Holy Sacrifice in the presence of the wondering, awe-struck gathering. On Easter Sunday, in the same place, and with the same surroundings, he again said Mass; and with this most solemn act of religion inaugurated the

founding of the new mission, which in accordance with his vow, he dedicated to the Immaculate Mother of God; and this was the closing act of his short but glorious missionary career. The brief respite granted to him was at an end. His cruel malady again clutched him, forcing him to shorten his stay among his new flock. The Indians besought him to return soon, and he consoled them as best he could by promising that even if he did not return that another father would take his place. A great crowd of these poor savages insisted on accompanying their beloved Black Robe, for a considerable part of his homeward journey. Whenever a portage was reached, they strove amongst themselves for the honour of carrying their father's luggage.

Whether the journey to Lake Michigan was by the earlier route, or as some think by that of St. Joseph's River, cannot now be determined; but one thing is certain, its goal was St. Ignatius' mission. The way thither led along the eastern shore of the lake, a route hitherto never travelled by Frenchmen, but which our travellers chose as being far safer and pleasanter for canoes. Father Marquette's strength failed so rapidly that very soon his companions gave up all hope of his ever reaching St. Ignatius alive. He was so weak as to be unable to move without assistance, but in all his sufferings his marvellous patience never failed him. Seeing his friends so cast down and dejected at the thought of losing him, he tried to console them, cheering them with his loving words, and assuring them that God would not forsake them in their loneliness. As he lay in the frail canoe, slowly guiding by the interminable sandy banks, or stretched on a mat in the lonely night-camp, he was ever communing with his Divine Master, whom he loved so tenderly. From time to time fervent ejaculations escaped his lips: *Credo quod Redemptor mens vivit.* 'I know that my Redeemer liveth.' *Maria, Mater Gratiae, Mater Dei, memento mei.* 'Mary, Mother of Grace, Mother of God, remember me.'

Each day, at his request, a meditation on death was read to him, taken from some which he had written himself.

Although the mists of death were already dimming his eyes, still he insisted on fulfilling the priestly obligation of daily office. Only on the last day of his life did he omit it at the earnest entreaties of those around him. A few days before his death he blessed some water, to be reserved for use at the moment of his supreme agony and at his burial, and he gave instruction as to the manner of using it.

On Friday, the 18th May, he announced in joyful tones that on the following day he would be delivered from all earthly pain and sorrow. Knowing that his companions would be utterly dazed with grief, he gave the most minute directions about his burial, telling them to erect a cross over his grave. Three hours before he died he reminded them to ring his little Mass-bell while they were carrying him to his last resting-place. He spoke with such calmness and forethought, as if he were giving instructions for the burial of another.

On the 19th May, the travellers reached the mouth of a river bearing the Indian name of Ininiwindibeganing, which means the place of skulls (Calvary, Golgotha), situated about forty miles north of the present town of Muskegon. A sandhill on the bank of this river seemed to the dying priest a suitable spot for his last resting-place; and pointing to it, he said 'My place will be there.' The day being still young, and the weather favourable for further advance, the two oarsmen paid no heed to his remark, but continued on their way. However, soon a strong contrary wind arose, forcing them to return to the spot indicated by the priest. Here they landed, and lighted a small fire to warm the poor invalid, for the north wind at that season of the year still blows with much force. They contrived with the help of mats to erect a rude shelter, under which they arranged as comfortable a couch as circumstances permitted. The poor fellow scarcely knew what they were doing. The grief which filled their hearts almost deprived them of reason. The certainty that they were about to lose the dearly-loved father who for six months had shared with them so many fatigues and dangers, and that they would be left alone in the wilderness, completely unmanned them.

Nearly half of the long expanse of the lake still lay between them and their countrymen at St. Ignatius, and the whole route (two hundred miles) was quite unknown to them. On that great peninsula of Lower Michigan, then uninhabited, they were, perhaps, the only human beings. Often and ardently Father Marquette wished to end his life like the great Apostle of the Indies, his desire was now about to be fulfilled. Under the bark roof, gazing out at the wide expanse of waters, he lay for a long time while his companions were unpacking; and who can doubt that the moments were passed in closest communion with the God with whom his ever unclouded mind was unceasingly occupied during those last days.

When at last they came to him, weary with grief and in deep despair, the tender father comforted his children, and exhorted them to trust in God's protection for their further journey; he tenderly roused their fainting spirits, and renewed their courage. Then he thanked them for all the loving services they had rendered him on the long voyage, asked their pardon for all the trouble he had given, and commissioned them to ask pardon in his name of all the fathers and brothers of his Order on the Ottawa mission. At his exhortation, they went to confession once more, and received absolution for the last time from the beloved father. He gave them a paper on which he had written all the faults he had committed since his own last confession, this was to be given to his Superior to induce him to pray more fervently for him. Lastly, he promised them that he would not forget his children in heaven. Then, knowing how thoroughly exhausted they were, he gave them the last proof of his tender compassion by ordering them to take some rest. He assured them that his hour had not yet come, and promised to call them when the time was at hand. The worn-out voyagers reluctantly obeyed, and their eyes, heavy from weeping, soon closed in sleep. They had slept about three hours when they were awakened by the priest's call. The supreme moment was at hand. His wonderful calmness and recollection remained unbroken. He took a last farewell of those two devoted friends, and as

they knelt at his feet, dissolved in tears, he asked for holy water and his reliquary. Taking the crucifix, which he always carried on his heart, he gave it to one of them that he might hold it raised before his eyes. Then, making one last effort, he clasped his hands, and from that moment kept his eyes fixed on the image of his crucified Saviour. In a distinct voice he made his confession of faith, and thanked God for the grace of being allowed to die in the Society of Jesus, and especially for the favour which he had always desired of dying in a miserable hut in the midst of the wilderness far from all earthly aid or comfort. Then he remained silent for some time holding interior converse with God. Just before he entered into his agony, he exclaimed, 'Mother of God, remember me.' He had begged his companions, as soon as they saw him in his last agony, to remember to say the holy names of Jesus, Mary, Joseph, in case he was unable to do so himself. Mindful of the injunction, one of the men, in a loud voice pronounced the holy names, which the dying priest repeated several times distinctly. Then, as if some celestial vision had unfolded before him, he raised his eyes above the crucifix, and kept his gaze fixed with a look of intense rapture; and so he expired with a smiling joyful, countenance, without the least convulsion, as calmly as if he were falling into a deep sleep. The soul, in which were united in exquisite proportions the tender piety of an Aloysius or Stanislaus and the apostolic spirit of a Francis Xavier, had gone home to his eternal reward.

After his poor companions hadwept over the lifeless body of their idolized father, they arranged it as he had ordered, and bore it reverently to the grave made on the sand hill pointed out by him, ringing, as they went, the Mass bell. When his precious remains were laid in the earth, they erected on the little hill a cross, tall enough to be seen from the lake.

For some days after Father Marquette's death, one of the young men who were with him, was so terribly depressed, and suffered from such pain in his chest, that he could scarcely breathe, and was unable to eat. The day at last arrived on which they were to leave the spot now so dear to them. He remained apart, suffering great

anguish, while his companion was busy putting the things into the canoe. Suddenly it occurred to him to go to the grave of the saintly father, and beg of him to intercede for him with the Blessed Virgin, as he had promised. Kneeling, he said a short prayer, and then reverently taking some earth from the grave, he laid it on his breast. Instantly the pain and oppression ceased, his deep depression and sorrow vanished, and a calm and peace filled his heart.

So far we have followed the account of Père Dablon who, without the least doubt, had all the particulars from Father Marquette's travelling companions. Now let us hear what the Ottawa Indians of Michigan, at the present day, have to tell of the traditions of their fathers concerning Father Marquette's grave :—

The great Black Robe had not long been buried on the Golgotha Hill, when the mouth of the river began to fill with sand. At last the river ceased to flow here, and sought a new outlet at a great distance from the Black Robe's grave. As it oftened happened, that heathen Indians encamped at this spot, offered heathen sacrifices, and filled the air with the wild uproar of their orgies, hence it was that the servant of Jesus Christ, who in life abhorred such practices, would not allow them near his grave, and so compelled the river to find an outlet far from the spot. The Indians can no longer land there, and the Black Robe's resting-place remains undisturbed by heathen horrors.

So runs the Indian tradition. Let us also hear what history tells of the fate of the lonely grave on Lake Michigan :—

The hill of Calvary did not long hide the precious remains. The missionary who had travelled so far and wide during life had to make one more canoe journey after death, and indeed the only one he had ever made along the unexplored stretches of the Great Lake.

In the spring of 1677, a strong band of Christian Indians on their return from the winter hunt in south Lower Michigan, landed at the mouth of Père Marquette's river (its present name). After serious consideration, they came to the conclusion that it was their duty to exhume the remains of the beloved Black Robe, who had been their teacher at La Pointe, and carry them to St. Ignatius, where they dwelt. They acted as they would have done in a similar case to their own highly honoured dead.

Although they found the body in a state of great pre-

servation, being merely somewhat shrivelled, they dismembered it, and carefully cleaning and drying the bones, they laid them in a large bark vessel, which was then placed in a canoe. They left Golgotha Hill on May 19, two years after Father Marquette's death, and nineteen days later the long funeral procession of thirty canoes reached the mission of St. Ignatius. A crowd of the Iroquois Indians, who twenty-five years before had burned alive the missionaries who had ventured among them, followed in the wake: they too wanted to render the last honours to the dead Black Robe.

Arrived at St. Ignatius, no one stirred from the canoes until the priests of the mission came down and put the usual questions. On the bank, which rose in terraces, were ranged all the French then at St. Ignatius, and all the Indians belonging to the mission, Hurons, and Ottawas, warriors, old men, women, and children. Before them lay the small but picturesque bay with the flotilla of canoes arranged in exquisite order, gently heaving on its mirror-like surface. The *De Profundis* having been sung, the receptacle containing the bones of the founder of the mission was given into the custody of the priests, and solemnly translated to the little chapel close by. Here they remained until the following day, when they were placed in a small vault under the church. The Indians often came to offer their prayers at his tomb, and remarkable answers to prayer were not wanting.

Is the grave of the holy missionary, the last resting-place of the great traveller, still held in honour? Do pilgrims still come to honour his memory and to pray for his eternal repose, or, perhaps, to invoke his intercession? The pilgrims may, indeed, come, but they will not find his grave. The little chapel of St. Ignatius' mission has vanished, and left no trace; the spot where it stood is unknown.

Thirty-one years after the founder's death, the first mission of St. Ignatius ceased to exist. The Christian Indians who dwelt there were induced by the Colonial Government to take up their abode at the newly-established

post of Detroit. Among the population which remained at St. Ignatius' stiff-necked heathens, French traders and adventurers, often worse than heathens, the priests' efforts were of no avail. The Jesuits were obliged to abandon the mission; and, fearing lest the little chapel might be desecrated, with sad hearts they set fire to it, in 1706. Probably about seven years later the trading post and mission of Michilmackinac were established, not on the old site in Upper Michigan, but on the opposite shore of the southern peninsula.

The suppression of the Jesuits in France, and the surrender of Canada to England, which took place almost at the same time, destroyed this second mission. Among the Indian-Canadian population which now forms the congregation of the third mission in Upper Michigan, no tradition seems to exist regarding the site of the chapel which was burnt, or Father Marquette's grave. The same veil of oblivion had nearly covered his fame as discoverer of the Mississippi. The manuscript of his report, for reasons best known to the French Government, was allowed to lie hidden in the archives of Paris. An abstract of it published by Thevenot, in 1682, in some unaccountable manner, remained unnoticed. Lassalle reached the mouth of the Mississippi nine years after Marquette and Jolliet had voyaged on its mighty waters, and his friends, Jesuit haters, used their utmost endeavours to spread the belief that the account of its earlier discovery was only a Jesuit myth.

The historian Charlevoix was the first, who, more than sixty years after Father Marquette's death, brought to light the services of his forgotten brother Jesuit. The entire and unmutilated account of his voyage was only published in 1852 in New York, by the historian of the Indian missions, John Gilmary Shea, together with a map copied from one drawn by Father Marquette, and long preserved in Quebec.

E. Leahy.

THE CHURCH AND SCIENCE

DR. MIVART, in former days, did many things for which Catholics must be ever grateful to him. Catholic writers have been able to point to him with pride as a learned member of the Church. Catholic apologists have been able to appeal to him as a zealous worker in the cause of science. Now, however, all is changed. His former work for Catholicity renders all the more painful his recent incursions into the domain of theology.[1] With many of these we have nothing to do here. We desire to call attention to one theory which seems to us to be the source of all his errors. He has laid down the principle, that with affairs of science, even when taught in Sacred Scripture, Church authorities have no concern. Their office is confined to purely spiritual matters. Even in these, if we were to accept the theories of Dr. Mivart, the power of the Church would be very limited indeed. For him the case of Galileo has defeated for ever the claims of the Church to teach the truths of science. How false this position is we mean to show in the present article. We shall even make clear that the error of the Roman Congregations has been merely an illustration of a great Catholic truth.

In carrying out our purpose it is well to leave aside all unnecessary questions, to state briefly and clearly the claims of the Church, and to strengthen them by some reasons which to us seem convincing.

Three great classes of truths present themselves for our consideration. There are some truths which are purely scientific. In every branch of science we happen on these. The many remedies which medical science has discovered in its ever-glorious work of alleviating human pain are illustrations. The many truths of pure politics also afford

[1] Vide *The Nineteenth Century*, and *The Fortnightly Review*, January, 1900.

examples. All these are completely outside the domain of the Church. No Catholic claims for her the right of giving an authoritative decision on them. When Christ told His Apostles and their successors to teach all nations, He never meant that these truths should come under their jurisdiction. In these, consequently, Catholic scientists are as free as those who are outside the fold of the Church.

There are other truths which are purely supernatural. These are questions which directly affect faith and morals. The command of the Decalogue, 'Thou shalt keep holy the Sabbath day,' is one of them. The doctrines about our supernatural destination are other examples. They are manifold, and all come under the teaching authority of Holy Church. In principle, at least, we do not think that Dr. Mivart would deny the existence of this authority. It is writ broadly on the pages of Sacred Scripture and ecclesiastical history. When our Lord said to His Apostles, 'Preach the Gospel to every creature,' He, surely, included in the power thus given the right to teach these truths. This power has been exercised by ecclesiastical authority during the nineteen centuries that have rolled by since the God-man was born.

There are other truths which are of a mixed nature. They have spiritual and scientific aspects. We do not mean to deny that there is a science of spiritual things. We use the word 'scientific' in the sense which Dr. Mivart, and indeed men generally give the term. These great scientific truths may have a spiritual aspect in two ways. From the nature of things there may exist an intrinsic connection between them and spiritual affairs. Who will deny that the doctrine of free will has in this way a spiritual aspect, since it is the very foundation of human responsibility, of human virtue, and of human crime? Or who will deny that the nature of inspiration and the meaning of the text of Sacred Scripture have, in the present order, essential relations with the supernatural destiny of the human race? Other scientific truths have only an extrinsic connection with supernatural things. The extrinsic connection which

Dr. Mivart speaks specially of is that they are found in Sacred Scripture. If God, who knows all truth, has communicated to man, by supernatural revelation, doctrines which of themselves belong to the world of science, do they not thereby obtain a connection with the supernatural order? Does not the existence of such persons as Herod and Pontius Pilate belong to such truths? Do not the statements which Sacred Scripture makes about the original formation of the earth illustrate also this class? It is of such scientific truths, connected, intrinsically or extrinsically with the supernatural order, that we wish specially to speak.

Has, then, the Church a right to make her voice heard on these matters? Is it within her province to give binding decisions in their regard? Not only revelation, as contained in Sacred Scripture and the tradition of the Church, but also reason itself tells us that she has this power. Our Lord gave His Church a commission to teach authentically, as His representative on earth, all matters of faith and morals. This power implies authority to teach definitely in all matters so connected with faith and morals that their denial carries with it a denial of these supernatural truths, and their assertion exclusively harmonizes with them. It would be quite impossible for the Church to carry on her divine mission of teaching the faith, unless she can settle those scientific questions which are necessarily connected with faith. Truth is consistent both in conclusions and principles. If conclusions be laid down as true, the principles on which they are based must be also laid down as true. Those principles which lead to a destruction of the truth must be thrust aside. Those principles which alone harmonize with truth must be upheld. The Church, then, having got charge from God over the divine truths of faiths, thereby has also got charge over all those truths that are necessarily connected with them, in so far as they are connected with them. We say 'in so far as they are connected with them,' because the Church has received no commission to teach science as such, so she can treat of scientific matters only in so far as they have relations with her own affairs.

This argument applies principally to those scientific truths that are intrinsically connected with faith and morals. In those matters which have received through divine revelation an extrinsic connection with the supernatural order, there is greater reason still for demanding for the Church the right to speak with authority. When God makes manifest, by supernatural revelation, any truth, no matter to what branch of learning it may belong, we are bound to give to it an assent of faith. The very nature of faith, which is an assent to revealed truths on the authority of God revealing, proclaims this. These truths, then, though purely scientific previous to their revelation, after their revelation become the object of our faith. Christ has given to the Church the right of teaching the faith, and so to it He has given charge over these scientific truths which He has revealed. How false, then, is the statement of Dr. Mivart, that 'God has taught us, through history, that it is not to ecclesiastical congregations, but to men of science, that He has committed the elucidation of scientific questions, whether such questions are, or are not, treated of by Scripture, the fathers, the Church's common teaching,' &c. If in Sacred Scripture—the inspired word of God—we find any doctrine, whether theological, historical, or philosophical, it matters not, it is within the right of the Church to give a decision on it whereby we may regulate our faith.

Some illustrations will help to make our principles so clear that anyone who professes himself a Catholic must give them his whole-hearted adhesion. Let us first take the doctrine of the Incarnation. It is from revelation, and from revelation alone, we can know whether or not God has become man. As a matter of fact, we do know that the Son of God has assumed human nature, thereby depriving it of its own personality, and giving to it the divine personality. Undoubtedly, the Church had a perfect right to define this doctrine of the divinity of Christ. But this decision involves many scientific questions. The possibility of human nature without human personality is involved. The historical question of the existence of Christ is involved. Hence the Church is within its right when it decides these questions

Why, then, is it not within its right when it decides other scientific matters connected with faith? Clearly, no reason can be given to the contrary. Again, the Church has the power to decide the doctrine of the Trinity. But does not that imply power to settle the many scientific questions which the doctrine of the Trinity presupposes? Some of these questions are the meaning of personality, the correct notions of nature, the possibility of one nature with a threefold personality. The Church has, again, rightfully decided the doctrine of Transubstantiation. It has, consequently, rightfully decided the scientific questions connected with it. It has principally decided in this connection that accidents of bread and wine can remain without their connatural substances. These and many similar examples show clearly that any person who desires to deprive the Church of the power of speaking with authority on questions intimately connected with faith must logically wish to deprive her of that power over faith and morals which every Catholic attributes to her.

We conclude, then, that the Church has the right in question. We conclude also that the Church has received from Christ authority to determine what matters belong entirely to the supernatural order, what affairs are purely scientific, and what truths are mixed. Every judge, by reason of his office, possesses a right similar to this. He has power not only to decide the cases which are brought before his court, but also to determine what cases do, and what cases do not, come under his jurisdiction. Unauthorized individuals may canvass the matter, learned advocates may discuss the *pros* and *cons* before the court; but it is only the judge himself who has an authoritative voice in deciding whether the case comes under his power or not. When he has decided, all parties must abide by his decision, unless, indeed, they wish to appeal to a higher tribunal. The Church, in like manner, has a right to determine what cases come under its jurisdiction. Before the decision is given individuals may differ on the question as to whether a certain thing does or does not belong to the Church's

province. When, however, a final decision has been given, all must submit, there being no higher tribunal on earth to which man can appeal.

Before we proceed further, it is well to answer one or two objections which are sometimes urged against the claims we have so far defended for the Catholic Church. Does not the exercise of the power we speak of bring endless confusion into scientific matters? Does it not take from men of science all freedom of thought and of investigation in matters that are peculiarly their own? Does it not, in fact, retard all progress in affairs that mean so much for the human race? It is only men who do not understand the claims of the Church who can put forward such objections. In the first place, the Church makes no claim in matters of science which do not bear intimate relations with faith and morals. In all such truths men of science have all the liberty that their hearts can desire. In the second place, in those scientific matters over which the Church has power, she has this only by reason of her divine mission to teach the faith. She, acting as God's official truth-bearer in matters of faith, can teach the truth in all matters necessarily connected with the faith. Truth is no obstacle to true progress. It is the surest guide to the faltering steps of erring man. Men of science, then, ought rather thank the Church for the inestimable gift of truth which she can place at their disposal than blame her for her interference in a province which they falsely deem entirely their own.

Another difficulty which arises here is derived from a parity between faith and the natural sciences. In the natural sciences each science confines itself to its own sphere. It investigates the truths that belong directly to itself, and these truths alone. Any other truths which it may require, it does not itself investigate; it depends on the investigations of that science to which they properly belong. The lawyer goes to the doctor for his medicine, the doctor to the lawyer for his law. So, too, it ought to be with faith. Faith has its own interpreter—the Church. It is the duty of the Church to confine itself to matters that directly belong to faith. Any other truths that it

may require it must obtain from the science to which they belong. To that science the Church must leave the discovery of these truths.

How false is this position is clear from what we have already said. The Church cannot define her own doctrines without the power of deciding many questions that have scientific aspects. She could not define the Trinity unless she defines that three persons can have one nature. She could not define the doctrine of Transubstantiation unless she defines that accidents can be without their proper subject. Is she then to await the conclusions of science on these matters, though the same God who taught her these truths of faith taught her also these truths of science. Assuredly not. The eternal interests of man are higher than the temporal interests of science. The testimony of God is weightier than the testimony of men of science. Let, then, the greater interests and the greater authority prevail. Man will thereby gain, not only the inestimable gifts of faith, but also many useful lessons of science.

Nor, in truth, is the position of our opponents valid in reference to natural sciences. Their relations to one another are not so absolutely limited are they would have us believe. No doubt many matters exclusively belong to one or another science. Many matters, however, have common aspects. In these there must be mutual aid. Each science must gratefully receive from the others the new lights which it can throw on these common affairs. Reasons found decisive for one science will settle, for another, a matter common to both. So it is too with the Church and natural science. Each aids the other. The Church gladly welcomes the discoveries of science, and endeavours to bring her doctrines into harmony with them. Of course, she needs caution, for many things are put forward in the name of science which are only the fancies of the faddist or tentative hypotheses put forward to explain certain phenomena. On the other hand, science ought gladly welcome the teaching of the Church, which throws light on many of the darksome ways of scientific in-

vestigation. In fact, in this matter there is more room for gratitude on the part of science than on the part of the Church, because Christ has given the Church the prerogative of infallibility in faith and matters connected with faith, a prerogative which no natural science, no matter how noble its end, can claim. When the Church exercises this infallible power on questions connected with faith, she places many scientific questions beyond all doubt. For this special benefit men of science must have special gratitude towards the Church, as the infallible interpreter of God's word.

Dr. Mivart states that in the opinion of Catholic ecclesiastics 'the criterion of scientific truth is not authority, but evidence.' He quotes these words from Father Hill, S.J. He forgets, however, to tell his readers in what sense and with what limitations this is their opinion. Catholic philosophers, ancient and modern, teach that evidence is the criterion of the truths of science, if they be treated scientifically. They do not maintain that authority may not be a criterion of the truths of science, if they be learned by an individual from other than scientific methods. A man of the world, for instance, who pretends to no special knowledge of science and scientific methods, prudently accepts, on the authority of men of science, their scientific conclusions. So, too, we all, scientists and non-scientists, prudently accept, and indeed are bound to accept, the truths of science which God has directly or indirectly revealed as they are taught by God's official interpreter of His word, the Catholic Church.

This consideration opens up another matter which we cannot afford to pass by in silence. Just as, in questions which directly belong to faith and morals, the Church on different occasions speaks with different voices; so it is, too, in matters scientific which have a supernatural aspect. At one time she speaks with a provisional voice; at another time she speaks with a voice which is not meant to be infallible. When she gives an infallible decision on any doctrine her decree is irrevocable. She has spoken under the guidance of the Divine Spirit, which prevents her

from falling into error. So her decision is unchangingly true. Far more frequently still the Church gives authoritative decisions on questions of faith and morals, and on questions closely connected with them, which do not purport to be final and irrevocable. They are like the decisions of any human authority which, though not claiming the gift of infallibility, has still real jurisdiction which enables it to give an authoritative decision even in matters concerning life and death. In giving these revocable decisions the Church does not use her prerogative of infallibility: still she uses her authentic teaching power. We are not free, consequently, to deride these decisions of ecclesiastical authority.

It is the duty of the Church herself, whose authorities know their own minds, to indicate when she wishes to speak with an irrevocable decree, and when she wishes to speak with a revocable yet authoritative voice. Outsiders have no right to determine this. The Church alone is able to do it. In many ways she expresses her intention on this matter. The tribunal from which her decrees emanate makes manifest her mind. The words which she employs are frequently an indication of her mind. The special form in which her decrees are promulgated are a similar indication. The tribunal from which they emanate also manifests her will. Her children know well the intention of their Mother Church. Suffice it for us to indicate that no insuperable difficulty can arise from doubt about her will.

Many considerations determine the Church to decide a question, at one time by an infallible definition, and at an another time by a provisional decree. These considerations can be classed under two heads: the development of doctrine, and the opportuneness of a final decision. Frequently a doctrine is not sufficiently developed to enable the Church to give an infallible decision. Christ Himself did not explicitly teach all the doctrines of Christianity, nor did the Holy Ghost explicitly teach the Apostles all truth. In the beginning the germs of doctrine were planted, which under the ever-abiding Spirit of God will ever grow and bloom into new flowers of religious thought. Frequently, too, a doctrine may be sufficiently developed, yet it may be,

for one reason or another, inopportune to define it infallibly. In both these cases it may still be necessary to repress wrong tendencies. The Church may give a provisional authoritative decision which will produce this effect. This explains how futile are the views of those who say that if the Church be infallible why has she not already finally decided every question under the sun which in any way belongs to faith and morals? She is prevented from doing so by yet insufficient development of doctrine or unseasonableness of a final decision. Of this, however, we may be certain: that the Church will, under the guidance of the Holy Ghost, be able to encounter all dangers and to decide every doctrine in accordance with the exigencies of the case.

A very different kind of assent is given when the Church issues an infallible decision from that which is demanded when only a revocable decree has been promulgated. An internal irrevocable assent, either of divine or of ecclesiastical faith, must be given when the Church has exercised her infallibility. When the Church has given an authoritative, though not infallible, decision, an irrevocable internal assent is not demanded. At most an internal revocable assent is required. Many theologians think that external assent suffices. They consider that if we treat with external respect such decisions in matters of doctrine, we have done all that external authority can demand. We cannot, however, accept this view as sufficient. No doubt no intellectual assent can be given to any teaching without an intellectual motive. But the Church does not leave us without an intellectual motive. External arguments, within due limits, are reasonable motives for assent to truth. Now, in matters which directly or indirectly belong to faith, the Church has received from God power to teach. It has received charge over the deposit of faith. It devotes its energies to deep study of the truths contained therein. It is, then, the greatest authority on earth in its own province. Its teaching, consequently, carries with it an external intellectual motive of assent. She has, therefore, in matters which are within her own domain the authority, not only of official position, but also of knowledge. When she, then, commands

us to reject any teaching, and at the same time gives us an intellectual motive for assent, why are we not bound to obey her by really and truly rejecting that doctrine?

We must not, however, urge this view too far. The Church cannot command an internal assent without a sufficient intellectual motive therefor. Again, the decrees in question are not infallible. Hence, if there be reasons, known to an individual, which counterbalance the authority of the Church, he may, while showing external respect for the Church, refuse to give an internal assent. This can easily happen when new discoveries in science are made which show that the provisional teaching of the Church was false. Greater subsequent development in ecclesiastical matters may have the same effect. We are not prepared to deny either that, even at the time of the promulgation of the decree by the Church, an individual may have arguments which he reasonably thinks sufficient to counterbalance the external motive of Church authority. Both these cases are extremely rare. So rare are they, that, instead of weakening Church influence, they serve, by contrast, to show more clearly the great authority which attaches to her well-considered decisions in matters appertaining to faith and morals. Since, however, the decrees we speak of are not infallible, rare cases may and have occurred in which mistakes were made. It is perfectly lawful in such cases for an individual to withdraw assent already given, or refuse to give assent at all, if he is in possession of reasonable arguments against the decision of the Church.

This leads us to Dr. Mivart's conclusions from Galileo's condemnation. Only one of these is of much importance in our present discussion. His conclusion, that the decision of the Holy Office about the meaning of Sacred Scripture may be quite erroneous, is not only admitted, but strongly asserted by every Catholic theologian. The Holy Office has not received from Christ the prerogative of infallibility. Hence a decision given by it may be false.

His conclusion that men of physical science may have imparted to them truer religious perceptions than any Roman congregation, is not inconsistent, in particular

cases, with Catholic teaching. We cannot admit, however, that men of science, as a body, speaking in reference to a body of religious truths, have truer religious perceptions than the Roman Congregations. On the contrary, men whose special office it is to teach the faith, and whose lives are spent in preparation for the faithful observance of their duties, cannot but, even from a natural point of view, have truer notions of religious matters than men whose thoughts are devoted to other matters.

The conclusion, however, of Dr. Mivart, that Church authorities, because of the error committed in the case of Galileo, have thereby lost all claim to authoritatively interpret Sacred Scripture, especially in its relations to physical science, must be strenuously denied.

In order to make this the more clear, we think it well to state what we believe took place in reference to Galileo. In the first place we think it absolutely certain that Galileo's teaching was condemned because the Roman Congregations thought that it was opposed to Sacred Scripture. The Inquisition expressly declared that his doctrine, 'that the sun is the centre of the world,' was 'false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures.' We think that Catholic apologists who deny this, and seek external reasons for the condemnation, instead of assisting the Church, do her immense harm.

In the second place, we confidently assert, that the decrees of the Congregation, though approved by the Pope as President of the Holy Office, were not intended as infallible declarations; they were intended simply as provisional decisions on an important question. This is clear from the fact that they were, and remained, decrees of the Congregations to which no Catholic thinks of attributing infallibility. Dr. Mivart himself does not seem to deny this. He asserts that 'non-Catholics may well ask, if the Pope had but to occupy a certain chair in order to decide infallibly, why did he not get into that chair?' The reply to the question has been given already. We introduce it here merely to show that Dr. Mivart seems to admit that there was no intention of giving an infallible decision.

This being the state of the case, we ask, does it follow that, because of the error committed then, the Congregations, and generally ecclesiastical authorities, have proved their claim untenable? They certainly have not. They have simply proved that when a provisional decision has been given it may be wrong—a conclusion which the case of Galileo was not required to prove, a conclusion which every Catholic maintains. The error does not prove that, when the Church gives a final, irrevocable decision by its competent tribunals, its decrees are without authority.[1] It does not prove either that respect must not be had for the provisional teaching of the Church, for it does not show that in matters which are either directly or indirectly religious, men of religious training are devoid of the authority of knowledge and of official position which enable them to exact an assent from those who are subject to them. The very rareness of such mistakes only confirms the great weight of authority which goes with their decisions. No judge in the temporal order loses his authority because he has happened to make a few mistakes. How much more ought a Roman Congregation not lose its authority, which, not merely for a few years, but even for centuries, has kept itself remarkably free from error?

Dr. Mivart seems to think that Galileo was not sincere in submitting to the Holy Office. We rather think that Galileo saw only too clearly that his own proofs for the Copernican theory were then not such as to place the question beyond all doubt. He then decided that the authority of the Roman Congregations, even from the point of view of knowledge, was a greater intellectual motive than his reasons for his theory. For him, scientist as he was, what appeared the greater intellectual motive carried the day, and he renounced his former views. This view we

[1] These tribunals are—(1) the Pope speaking *ex cathedra;* (2) the bishops of the Catholic world assembled under the Pope in general council; (3) the bishops of the Catholic world with the Pope at their head, but not in council assembled, teaching a doctrine as infallibly the doctrine of Christ. Only these have the gift of infallibility. No Roman Congregation, even though the Pope be its president, can lay claim to this prerogative. No church dignitary under the Pope, no matter how high his station be, has any right to this power. Nor can it be delegated to any inferior by its proper tribunals.

prefer to take than to assert that Galileo committed the crime of insincerity in obeying the decisions of ecclesiastical authority. We have too much respect for Galileo to accuse him of a crime which has not been proved.

We have selected this question for discussion rather than many other subjects which Dr. Mivart's articles raise, for two reasons. In the first place, there are some indications that many Catholics are unconsciously in error in this matter. In the second place, we believe that the first error on Dr. Mivart's part was to deny to the Church all authority in scientific matters which are contained even in Sacred Scripture. It was not difficult then to deny to the Church the right of interpreting Sacred Scripture. It was then easy to cast doubt on many passages of Sacred Scripture. It was not difficult to deny the truth of the Evangelists' narratives of the resurrection of our Lord. It was not difficult even to cast doubts on the virginity of our Blessed Lady, and the absence of St. Joseph's natural paternity of Christ. One error leads to another; one denial of Catholic teaching leads to many more. In establishing the one doctrine which Dr. Mivart seems to have first denied, we have removed the foundation of many succeeding errors. It is our sincere hope that Dr. Mivart will soon see his way to accept, as a devoted child of Mother Church, the doctrines which she presents to all her children. His loyal obedience would gladden the hearts of many who now mourn. His humble submission would render happy the declining years of his own life, which devoted its energies to the sacred cause of science.

JOHN M. HARTY.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

QUASI DOMICILE: HOW AND WHEN IT IS LOST BY SERVANTS

Rev. Dear Sir,—Will you kindly give your opinion on the following case? Julia, a domestic servant, has been in service in the parish of X for seven months. Her parents have a domicile in another diocese. She engaged to marry a man in the parish of Z, also in another diocese. When she applied to the parish priest of X to have the marriage celebrated in his church, he made her promise to return to her master's house, and sleep there on the night of the marriage, probably in order to secure that her residence in his parish would be a quasi domicile. After the marriage, Julia did not return to her master's house, having previously sent away all her belongings. Was her marriage valid?

Suppose the priest asked her to leave her trunk in her master's house, and return for it on her way back from the church, would her marriage be valid, if she agreed to and carried out that promise?

Kindly allow me to add that I infer from the statements of certain writers that in their opinion no domestic servant whose parents have a domicile elsewhere can acquire a quasi domicile *in ordine ad matrimonium*, because it is argued that when she crosses the threshold of her master's house to proceed to the church, with intention of not returning to that house, she loses her quasi domicile.

I think that regard should be had to the distinction between the *habitatio* (her master's house) and the *locus habitationis* (the parish). It is the latter that is mentioned in the Instruction sent to the Irish bishops:—'Ad constituendum quasi domicilium, duo haec simul requiruntur, habitatio nempe in eo loco, ubi matrimonium contrahitur, atque animus ibidem permanendi,'[1] etc. Now, the *loco ubi matrimonium contrahitur* is not the house she lives in, but the parish; therefore, I think it could be argued

[1] Vid. *Acta et Decreta* of the Maynooth Synod, p. 354.

that she holds her quasi domicile until she leaves the parish after the marriage.

The diversity of opinion on the matter of quasi domicile of domestic servants which still exists must be my excuse for bringing the matter forward again.

PRESBYTER.

We see no sufficient reason to question the validity of this marriage. We think that Julia retained her quasi domicile in the parish X until she finally left that parish after her marriage. What was necessary and sufficient for the retention of her quasi domicile, and for the validity of her marriage, was that she should not leave the parish—without the intention of returning—until the marriage had been celebrated. We understand that the girl came direct from her place of service to the Church to get married, and we have, therefore, no doubt as to the validity of the marriage.

As we have some reason to think, however, that the parish priest, who had to deal with this case, is not alone in taking with regard to domicile a view different from ours, it may be worth while to define more fully the question proposed, and our reply.

1. If this girl did not, at the time of her marriage, retain her parental, or any other, domicile outside the parish X, her marriage in the parish X, before the parish priest (or his delegate), was undoubtedly valid. For, then, she retained her quasi domicile in that parish or had become a *vaga ;* in either case the parish priest was her *proprius parochus.* We may assume, however, that the girl retained, during the time of her service, her parental domicile. Our correspondent, with the facts before him, manifestly supposes that she did. We must accept his judgment on that point. Moreover, the retention or loss of her parental domicile does not affect our view as to the validity of the marriage.

2. We also assume, of course, that the *sponsus* was not a *vagus.* If he were, the parish priest of X could, *eo ipso,* apart from all other considerations, assist validly at the marriage; further, we take it that the parish priest of

X acted in his own name, and not in virtue of delegation from a *proprius parochus* of either of the parties.

3. Again, it is here taken for granted, on the authority of our correspondent, that Julia's seven months' residence in the parish X had all the conditions necessary to constitute a quasi domicili; nor, indeed, is there any reason for doubt on this point. Further, we gather that Julia did not leave the parish X in the interval between her final departure from the house of her service and the time of her marriage. For, if she left the parish X, with the intention of not returning, she undoubtedly lost her quasi domicile the moment she left the parish; nor could she recover it, even though she changed her mind and returned on the very day of her departure to await her approaching marriage.

4. Lastly, it may be well to add that we take Julia's departure from her master's house, on the morning of her marriage, to have been final and *absolute*. For, if she had even a conditional intention of returning to her service, in the event of the marriage being unexpectedly postponed or abandoned, no one could reasonably question the existence of her quasi domicile, up to the moment of her marriage.

The validity of the marriage then turns on this—Did Julia lose her quasi domicile at the moment at which she left her master's house with the intention of never returning to it? Or, on the contrary, did she retain her quasi domicile until she finally had crossed the confines of the parish X, on her way to her new home? In the former view the marriage would be invalid; in the latter, it would be valid.

The parish priest of X inclined, apparently, to the view that Julia would lose her quasi domicile, in crossing, for the last time, the threshold of her master's house. And, in order to secure the validity of the marriage, he exacted a promise from Julia that after her marriage she should return, at least for one day, to her place of service. Now, when was this promise made? If Julia, say a week before her marriage, and before leaving her service, came to the parish priest, and if he required her to promise to remain in her place of service until

the very morning of her marriage, or even if he asked her to promise to return to her master's house for a day after the marriage, we can understand the object, though we do not recognise the necessity, of the stipulation under which he consented to assist at the marriage. Probably this is what really happened. But, if—and our correspondent's statement does not absolutely exclude the hypothesis—the intention to return for a day to her master's house was formed, and the promise to do so was given only when she had already come to the church to get married and had, in the opinion of the parish priest, lost her quasi domicile, the precaution taken by the parish priest seems to have been quite useless.

For if Julia had, as he feared, lost her quasi domicile, the only way of recovering it was to take up her residence *de novo* in her master's house, or in some other place within the parish, with the intention of remaining there for, at least, six months. Julia's promise, therefore, its sincerity or insincerity, its fulfilment or violation, could, in the hypothesis just made, have had no effect on the validity of her marriage.

But, the main question is, was the parish priest right in thinking that Julia would lose her quasi domicile the moment she left her master's house on the morning of her marriage with the intention of never returning to that house? We think not. She lost her quasi domicile only at that moment at which *she left the parish*, after her marriage, with the intention of returning no more. Two things are sufficient to constitute a matrimonial quasi domicile: (1) *Factum commorationis in loco ubi matrimonium contrahitur;* (2) *Animus ibidem permanendi per majorem anni partem.* Once a quasi domicile has been acquired, it is retained until *both* of these conditions have ceased to exist. Julia fulfilled both conditions when she began, or, at all events, before she completed, her seven months' service. At the moment of her marriage, one, at all events, of these conditions still remained; she was still in the parish, and had never yet left it with the intention of not returning. She, therefore, retained her quasi domicile.

It is, we think, a mistake to suppose, as some appear to suppose, that in acquiring a domicile or quasi domicile in a parish, one's intention of remaining must be attached to a particular definite house. What is necessary is an intention of remaining like an ordinary inhabitant in the parish. And so, when there is question of losing a domicile or quasi domicile, one does not lose his domicile or quasi domicile until he actually and finally leaves the parish.

Hence, to illustrate our view: if a man comes to live in a parish, intending to remain eight months, for example; takes a certain house for four months; intends to change, and does change into another house in the same parish for the remaining four months, that man has a quasi domicile in the parish during the whole eight months, even while he was moving into the new house. Again, if a servant has agreed to serve in a certain house, say for nine months, and has acquired a quasi domicile, he retains that quasi domicile, if, by reason of some unexpected misunderstanding with his master, he changes to another place in the same parish, or if he goes into lodgings in that parish while he is looking out for a new place, or arranging for his marriage.

We do not raise the question whether a man may not live, even for years, in a parish without acquiring a quasi domicile, if he wanders about the parish *more vagi aut itinerantis*. Whatever may be said on that point—and it does not bear on the present case—our assertion just now regards those only who cannot be said, in any sense, to lead a wandering life or to be mere travellers in the parish.[1]

Now, if our notion be correct, and if, therefore, Julia's quasi domicile was not as it were attached to her master's house, but to the parish, so that she might have taken another place in the parish or gone into lodgings in the parish without losing her quasi domicile, it is perfectly clear that she retained her quasi domicile on the morning of her marriage, and that the marriage was valid, even though she intended to proceed, and did proceed, directly after the marriage ceremony to her husband's home in another diocese.

[1] Conf. Murray, *De Imped. Mat.*, n. 359, 6°, footnote.

As we have already said, we have reason to think that the parish priest who was concerned in this case is not singular in his view of domicile and quasi domicile. Possibly, this notion, erroneous, as we think, has arisen from the fact that authors generally tacitly assume, rather than expressly assert, the teaching that we have been laying down. We may, however, refer, by way of example, to Konings, who clearly enough expresses his mind when he describes a *vagus* as follows :—

> Ut vagus quis dicatur relate ad parochiam, nec opus quidem est ut domicilium in remota seu extera aliqua regione quaerat: sed generatim satis est quod *priori parochia relicta* nondum in alia sedem defixeret.[1]

Dr. Murray, defining domicile, writes in the same sense:—

> Quod efficit domicilium [aut quasi domicilum] in aliqua *parochia habitatio est in illa* cum intentione in eadem perpetuo [aut per semestrem] habitandi.[2]

It will be observed that, in the words we have italicized, the authors quoted assume that domicile and quasi domicile are attached to the *parish*, not necessarily to a particular residence. There can be no doubt as to Dr. Murray's opinion, for in the context referred to he expressly taught that a man might have and retain the same domicile in a parish, even though he repeatedly changed his residence in the parish within a brief period.

In addition to what we have said it will suffice to quote the authority of Feije in favour of the view we have put forward. Discussing the conditions for acquiring and losing a quasi domicile, he decides a case, which in all essentials covers the case with which we are now dealing. He writes as follows :—

> Attamen sedulo curandum est ut parochianus vel parochiana non deserat suum quasi domicilium ante diem celebrationis matrimonii, sed *maneat in parochia* sive in eodem ex. gr. famulatu sive *in alia domo intra parochiam*, usque ad contractum in ea matrimonium; secus enim quasi domicilium dispareret. Non

[1] 1614, q. 2. The italics in this and the following quotations are ours

[2] Vide *De Imped. Mat.*, n. 359, 6.

tamen officeret *si intenderit discedere post contractum matrimonium;* nam quasi domicilium non amittit 'cum ex eo loco discedere constituit sed *tunc cum revera discesserit non reversurus.*'[1]

On the one hand, therefore, according to Feije, a servant loses his quasi domicile, if he goes, no matter for how short a time, outside his parish with the intention of not returning. On the other hand, provided he remains within his parish, he retains his quasi domicile, even though he leaves his place of service without any intention of returning to it, and stays in another house, a lodging-house, for example, awaiting the day of his marriage. The point that Feije makes perfectly clear is, that a servant does not lose his quasi domicile the moment that he finally leaves his master's house; he retains it while he remains within the parish.

Applying this to the case before us, it is evident that, according to Feije, Julia retained her quasi domicile at the moment of her marriage, and that her marriage was, therefore, valid.

We agree with our correspondent that this teaching of Feije is quite in accord also with the Instruction transmitted to the Irish bishops to which he refers above. According to the Instruction there must be, to constitute a quasi domicile, 'actualis habitatio *in loco* ubi contrahitur,' *i.e.*, of course, in the parish, and the 'animus ibidem permanendi per majorem anni partem.' Once these two conditions are secured one's quasi domicile will remain until both conditions have disappeared. Therefore, as long as *habitatio in parœchia* remains, so long does the quasi domicile remain.

Perhaps we should add one word more to meet the point of another correspondent. We have made two assertions above— 1) that a servant having a quasi domicile, who leaves her master's house, *finally* and *absolutely*, with the intention of getting married, and goes direct to the church, or into lodgings for a few days in the same parish, retains her quasi domicile at the

[1] Vide *De Imped. et Discens.*, 229, 3, Conf. *N. Revue Théologique*, xxvii. p. 228, *et seq.*, where a similar case is solved in the same way.

time of her marriage; (2) that the same servant, if she leaves her place of service without any intention of marriage, and takes service in another place in the same parish, say for a month, also retains her quasi domicile. We are aware, however, that some who accept the first statement, hesitate to accept the second. But to us seems that the two assertions must stand or fall together. For either one's quasi domicile is necessarily attached to one definite place of residence in a parish, or it is not. If a quasi domicile is necessarily attached to a definite residence, then one's quasi domicile is lost the moment one *finally* and *absolutely* quits that residence, it matters not for what purpose—marriage or any other. If a quasi domicile is not necessarily attached to one definite place of residence in a parish, and if one can *finally* and *absolutely* leave the place in which one has been living and still retain a quasi domicile on the way to the parish church to get married, why can one not retain a quasi domicile on the way to new situation in the same parish?

The supplemental question asked by our correspondent 'Presbyter' is already answered in what we have said.

D. Mannix.

LITURGY

THE SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR

There are two kinds of jubilees—the *ordinary* jubilee, celebrated every twenty-five years, and the *extraordinary*, celebrated on occasions deemed suitable by the Holy See. The ordinary jubilee is confined to Rome for one whole year, which is called the Holy Year. It begins at Vespertime on the eve of Christmas in the year preceding the Holy Year, and closes at the same time on the eve of the same feast in the Holy Year. In the year following the Holy Year the jubilee is generally granted to the whole world but, as a rule, for a period not exceeding six months. The extraordinary jubilee, on the other hand, is granted

simultaneously to Rome and to the rest of the world, and its celebration in a particular diocese is generally confined to a period of fourteen or fifteen days.

The first ordinary jubilee of which we have written record was celebrated in the year 1300, when Boniface VIII. was Pope. Towards the close of the year 1299 a rumour—universally believed in Rome and Italy, and even in the South of France—was spread about, to the effect that in the year 1200 extraordinary indulgences had been granted to all who visited during the year the Basilica of St. Peter's, and that a similar indulgence had been granted on the century years preceding, and promised for the century years to come. The rumour reached the ears of Boniface. He ordered the archives of the Vatican to be carefully searched; but no documentary proof of this concession could be discovered. No jubilee, therefore, was proclaimed by the Pope; yet, notwithstanding, when the 1st of January in the year 1300 came, immense crowds, not merely from Rome, but from distant parts as well, began to flock to St. Peter's. Boniface, noticing the earnestness of the faithful, and realizing how much good might be effected through this movement, issued, on the 22nd of February, 1300, a bull granting a plenary indulgence to all who should visit Rome, and there fulfil certain easy conditions. In this bull, moreover, it was ordained that a similar indulgence should be granted every hundredth year, on the same conditions. Thus the matter rested until the year 1342.

In that year Clement VI. ascended the Papal throne. The Babylonian captivity of the Papacy was in its middle course; Rome was deserted; the gorgeous ceremonies of brighter days were seen no more; the tombs of the Apostles were unvisited; and ecclesiastical Rome, humanly speaking, seemed destined to disappear. Whether it was owing to an inspiration from heaven, or to a desire to see their city once more recognised as the centre of Christendom and the attraction of pilgrims, the Romans conceived the happy idea of petitioning the newly-elected Pope to allow the jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth year instead of every hundredth. They represented to him, among other things,

that, if the jubilee were celebrated only every hundredth year, very many must die without having had an opportunity of participating in its favours. The petition was granted, and in the year 1343, Clement VI. issued a bull proclaiming a jubilee for the year 1350. The bull was re-issued in 1349, and the zeal and piety of the Roman people were rewarded by the vast crowds of pilgrims from all parts of the world who flocked to Rome during the Holy Year of 1350.

In 1389 another change was made in the interval separating two jubilees. Urban VI., whose election gave rise to the great Western Schism, in that year issued a bull proclaiming a jubilee for the following year, 1390, and ordaining that in future the interval between two jubilees should be thirty-three years, in memory of the time which Christ is said to have spent on earth. In accordance with this arrangement, a jubilee was celebrated in 1423, under Martin V.; but at the approach of 1450, Nicholas V., who was then Pope, determined to abolish the rather awkward interval of thirty-three years, and to substitute for it the interval of fifty years, introduced just a century previously by Clement VI. Accordingly, in the year 1450, a jubilee was celebrated, the most successful yet witnessed, and a decree issued that the ordinary jubilee should be celebrated only every fiftieth year

But just as the interval of a hundred years between two jubilees appeared too long for Clement VI. and the Roman people of his time, so did the interval of fifty years appear too long to Paul II. and his contemporaries. The chief reason for reducing the interval from one hundred to fifty years was, that many must necessarily die without having had an opportunity of gaining the privileges of the jubilee; but the same is true, though, of course, not to the same extent, if the interval be fifty. Therefore, Paul II., by a bull issued on the 19th of April, 1470, restricted the interval to twenty-five years, and proclaimed a jubilee for the year 1475. Paul II., however, did not live to celebrate the jubilee of 1475. He died in 1471, and his successor, Sixtus IV., had the privilege of presiding at the celebration of the Jubilee in Rome.

The object which the Popes had in view in confining the jubilee to Rome was to induce as many as possible to come to the Holy City, and thereby testify to the world their faith in Christ and His holy Church, in His vice-gerent the Pope, and in the ample powers of binding and loosing which Christ has conceded to him. Up to the time of Sixtus IV. the only inducement held out to the faithful to visit Rome and the tombs of the Apostles was the extraordinary favours they should receive in return for their visit. But Sixtus went a step further. It occurred to him, it would seem, that as long as the faithful could gain at home the very generous indulgences granted by the Church for certain prayers and good works, they would feel less inclined to visit Rome to gain the indulgences of the jubilee. Accordingly, in proclaiming the jubilee of 1475, Sixtus suspended, during the Holy Year, all the indulgences hitherto attached to visits to certain churches, to the recital of certain prayers, or to the performance of certain good works. As this is the first occasion on which the ordinary indulgences were suspended during the Holy Year, we may here interrupt our brief outline of the history of the Christian jubilee to discuss the question which forms the primary subject of this paper.

In the Brief suspending the indulgences throughout the world during the present Holy Year, his Holiness, after an exhortation to Catholics to visit Rome during the year, says :—

> Quod cum tam salutare ac frugiferum appareat, sane cupimus ut urbs Roma toto anno proximo maiore qua fieri potest frequentia mortalium celebretur : ob eamque rem peregrinationis romanae cupidis velut stimulos addituri, admissorum expiandorum privilegia, quae liberalitate indulgentiaque Ecclesiae passim concessa sunt, intermitti volumus : videlicet, quod plures decessores Nostri in caussis similibus consuevere, Indulgentias usitatas apostolica auctoritate ad totum Annum sacrum suspendimus.

The first of the predecessors of Leo XIII. to suspend ordinary indulgences during the Holy Year was, as has just been stated, Sixtus IV. His example was not, however, at

once followed. The next ordinary jubilee after the time of Sixtus was celebrated in the year 1500, when Alexander VI. was Pope. Not only did Alexander not suspend the ordinary indulgences during the Holy Year, but he allowed the faithful in every part of the world to gain the indulgence of the jubilee during the Holy Year, without visiting Rome, as well as to gain the ordinary indulgences attached by the Church to prayers and works of piety. But in most of the ordinary jubilees celebrated since the time of Alexander, the custom introduced by Sixtus IV. has been maintained, and nearly all indulgences have been suspended, in this sense, that the living could not gain them, and apply them to themselves, and in this sense only. Later on we shall have occasion to return to this subject, and to speak more fully on it.

But not all indulgences are suspended during the Holy Year, even in the restricted sense in which this suspension of indulgences is to be understood. The Papal Brief goes on to say :—

> Verumtamen prudenti quadam temperatione modoque adhibito ut infra scriptum est.
>
> Integras atque immutatas permanere volumus et decernimus.
>
> I. Indulgentias *in articulo mortis* concessas.

Among the most important and most highly prized of the indulgences which we gain for ourselves are those granted for the hour of death. The Church is too tender a mother to deprive her children for even an hour, not to speak of a year, of this, her last and crowning consolation, which she imparts to them at the moment when they are passing from her jurisdiction. Nor is it merely the plenary indulgence at the hour of death granted by Benedict XIV., and solemnly conferred by a priest according to a fixed formula, that the Holy Father permits to remain 'entire and unchanged;' but, in addition, all the indulgences granted for the hour of death, whatever may be the conditions for gaining them, or the 'title' on which they are granted. This is indicated by the plural number *indulgentias . . . concessas;* but it is also known from the general custom

followed when indulgences are suspended. Hence persons having beads, crosses, medals, &c., to which is attached a plenary indulgence for the hour of death, can rest assured that, should God call them during this year, they have the same claim to the plenary indulgence as they depart this life as they would have had this been any other year.

II. Eam, qua fruuntur ex auctoritate Benedicti XIII decessoris Nostri, quotquot ac sacri aeris pulsum de genu vel stantes *Salutationem angelicam*, aliamve pro temporis ratione precationem recitaverint:

III. Indulgentiam decem annorum totidemque quadragenarum Pii IX auctoritate an. MDCCCLXXVI iis tributam qui pie templa visitent in quibus Sacramentum augustum quadraginta horarum spatio adorandum proponitur:

IV. Illas item Innocentii XI et Innocentii XII decessorum Nostrorum decreto iis constitutas, qui Sacramentum augustum, cum ad aegrotos defertur, comitentur, vel cereum aut facem per alios deferendam ea occasione mittant.

It is hardly necessary to make any remark on any one of these three paragraphs. The indulgence mentioned in the last paragraph is rarely, if ever, within the reach of the faithful in this country. The indulgence granted to those who visit a church wherein the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the Forty Hours' Adoration is gained only where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for forty hours consecutively, or where a special concession has been made, allowing without detriment to the indulgences the reposition in the evening and the exposition in the morning of the Most Holy Sacrament. This special concession has not, as far as we know, been granted to more than a few dioceses in Ireland.

V. Indulgentiam alias concessam adeuntibus pietatis causa templum sanctae Mariae Angelorum Ordinis Fratrum Minorum extra Assisii moenia a vesperis Calendarum Augusti ad solis occasum diei insequentis.

This is the famous 'Portiuncula Indulgence,' or indulgence of the Portiuncula, the most extraordinary of all indulgences, as it is said to have been promised by Christ Himself. It is not within the scope of the present article to discuss the nature of the indulgences suspended, or

allowed to remain during the present year, nor to set forth the conditions on which the latter class may be gained. We call special attention to this paragraph for the purpose of stating that this indulgence, in our opinion, remains attached during this year as usual, not merely to the 'Portiuncula' itself, but to all the other churches in christendom to which, by the favour of the Apostolic See, it has been extended.

VI. Indulgentias, quas S. R. E. Cardinales Legati a latere, apostolicae Sedis Nuntii, item Episcopi in usu Pontificalium aut impertienda benedictione aliave forma consueta largiri solent.

Cardinals, nuntios, legates *a latere*, archbishops, and bishops can grant certain indulgences, varying in extent, from forty days to 'seven years and seven quarantines.' Such indulgences, this paragraph states, can be granted, and gained during the present year. But the plenary indulgence attached to the papal blessing, whether given by prelates or priests at the close of a mission or of a charity sermon, would seem to be among the indulgences suspended during this year. On this point Beringer writes as follows:—

La suspense s'étend même à l'Indulgence plénière attachée à la bénédiction papale que les évêques, archevêques, etc., ont coutume de donner.

VII. Indulgentias Altarium Privilegiatorum pro fidelibus defunctis, aliasque eodem modo pro solis defunctis concessas: item quaecumque vivis quidem concessae sint, sed hac duntaxat causa ut defunctis per modum suffragii directi applicari valeant. Quas omnes et singulas volumus non prodesse vivis, prodesse defunctis.

As this is a jubilee year for the Church militant, so, according to the desire of the Holy Father, should it be a jubilee year, or year of rejoicing, for the Church suffering. Indulgences are suspended during the Holy Year in order to induce as many of the faithful as possible to visit Rome, and there gain the exceptional privileges attached to such a pilgrimage at such a time. But the souls in purgatory are not in a position to share in these privileges. Hence, not only are none of the indulgences hitherto applicable to

these holy souls suspended during this year, but, in addition, all indulgences which at other times the faithful could gain only for themselves, they can now gain for the souls in purgatory. It appears, therefore, that, notwithstanding the so-called suspension of indulgences during the year, no indulgences at all are suspended. We can during this year gain all the indulgences which we might gain at any other time ; but during this year we must apply to the souls in purgatory, as to one or more of them, all the indulgences, with the exception of those mentioned in the preceding paragraphs, which we previously applied to ourselves. Otherwise we do not gain them. We should not, then, on account of this suspension of indulgences, omit any of our accustomed prayers or good works on the plea that no indulgence is attached to them. The usual indulgences are attached to them, and will go to relieve our friends who are expiating their faults in purgatory.

D. O'Loan.

DOCUMENTS

SUSPENSION OF INDULGENCES DURING THE HOLY YEAR. THE FACULTIES OF BISHOPS

Ex Secretaria
S. C. Prop. Fidei.

Romae, *Die* 8 *Januarii* 1900.

Illme. et Revme. Domine,

Ad omnem perplexitatem e medio tollendam circa interpretationem Apostolicae Constitutionis 'Quod Pontificum' prid, Kal. praeteriti Octobris editae super suspensione indulgentiarum et facultatum, vertente hoc anno universalis Jubilaei; curae mihi est universos sacrorum Antistites Sacrae huic Congregationi subjectos certiores reddere:

I. Omnes facultates Episcopis aut locorum Ordinariis *pro foro externo* concessas, vertente hoc jubilari anno perdurare:

II. Facultates *pro foro interno* ab hoc S. Consilio Christiano Nomini Propagando concessas, uti Summus Pontifex in Audientia diei 6 vertentis Januarii benigne indulsit, adhiberi pariter posse decurrente Jubilaei tempore, in casu gravis incommodi.

Haec dum Amplitudini Tuae, pro meo munere, significo Deum precor ut Te diutissime sospitet.

M. Card. Ledochowski, *Praef.*
Aloisius Veccia, *Secretarius.*

CONSECRATION OF MANKIND TO THE SACRED HEART. RENEWAL OF THE INDULGENCE. POWER GRANTED TO MAKE THE SOLEMN CONSECRATION THIS YEAR IN PLACES WHERE NOTIFICATION OF THE PRIVILEGE ARRIVED TOO LATE LAST YEAR. LETTER FROM THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES

Quam encyclicis Litteris *Annum Sacrum* datis die 25 mensis Maii hujus anni '*de hominibus* Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu devovendis' Ssmus. Dominus Noster Leo PP. XIII. spem expressit atque fiduciam fore ut maxima inde bona, neduin in singulis verum etiam in universam christianam Familiam derivarent; eam singularis quidam christiani populi consensus ac prompta voluntas confirmavit atque auxit. Nam simul ut supremi Pastoris audita vox est compellantis orbem ut divinam caritatis Victimam sibi demereret totumque se Illi manciparet, statim populus

romanus imprimis, exinde vero non Italia solum, sed omnis Europa dissitaeque quamplures regiones visae sunt quasi mutuo certare, ut Summi Pontificis votis ac voluntati sese morigeras exhiberent. Quae omnia quanto gaudio cumularint Sanctissimum Patrem satis quidem significavi litteris diei 21 mensis Julii hujus anni, quibus ipsius Pontificis nutu ac nomine Tibi et singulis e tuo Clero magnopere gratulabar, agebamque gratias.

Nunc vero allatum est memoratas encyclicas Litteras ad remotiores regiones quasdam serius pervenisse quam definitum rei peragendae tempus postularet. Quamobrem Sanctitati Suae supplices preces oblatae sunt ut harum etiam pio desiderio satisfieret, facta ipsis potestate sese devovendi Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu iisdem conditionibus ac si cum ceteris legitimo tempore solemne hoc religionis testimonium edidissent. Cui petitioni Beatissimus Pater benigne annuens, quin etiam largius indulgens, concessit ut non modo fideles, ad quos encyclicae Litterae tardius pervenerunt, sed omnes qui consecrationis iteraverint formam die solemni Sanctissimo Cordi Jesu sacra proximi anni, vel dominica proxime sequenti, ac cetera praescripta servaverint, de privilegio prorsus singulari iisdem fruantur indulgentiis, quae in memoratis Apostolicis Litteris expressae sunt.

Ex his facile intelligi potest, quam curae sit Summo Pontifici haec forma pietatis atque omnium quotquot in orbe sunt dedicatio Sacratissimo Cordi Jesu. Confidit enim Beatissimus Pater, sicut edixit tum demque fore ut sanentur tot vulnera inflicta hominum societati, ut jus omne ad pristinae auctoritatis exemplum revirescat, ut restituantur ornamenta pacis, quum *omnis lingua confiteatur quia Dominus Jesus Christus in gloria est Dei Patris.*

Spem certam foveo, singulos Antistites de studio atque industria, cujus tam praeclarum specimen huc usque ediderunt, nihil cessuros in posterum ut quamplurimi Ecclesiae filii utentes ad salutem apostolicae liberalitatis munere, acquirantur Christo, et *hauriant aquas in guandio de fontibus Salvatoris.*

Interim Eminentiae Vestrae Manus humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Vestrae

C. Episcopus Praenestinus Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C., Praef.*

D. Panici, *S. R. C., Secretarius.*

Romae, ex Secretaria
Sacror. Rituum Congregationis
Die 27 Mensis Novembris anno 1899.
Emo. et Revmo. Dno. Michaeli Cardinali Logue.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

My New Curate. A Story Gathered from the Stray Leaves of an Old Diary. By Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P., Doneraile. Author of *Geoffrey Austin*, and *The Triumph of Failure*. Boston: Marlier, Callanan & Co. 1899. London Agents, Art and Book Co. Price 6*s*.

The author of *Geoffrey Austin* and *The Triumph of Failure* needs no introduction to the readers of the I. E. Record. Long before he had acquired fame as a writer of fiction he had contributed valuable articles to the pages of this review, and in those early days gave full promise of the gifts which seem now to have reached all the fulness of maturity. *Geoffrey Austin* dealt with student life in our Catholic colleges, and brought home with force to those, who are charged with the direction of such institutions, the terrible responsibilities they incur when they neglect the religious side of young men's education, and fail in that most sacred part of their duty which consists in bringing into play all the finer and higher influences of religion on the souls confided by Christian parents to their care. At the time of the publication of this work we were of opinion that the picture was somewhat overdrawn, and the induction from certain specific cases made too complete. The fate of *Geoffrey Austin* helped, however, to direct public attention to a danger which the secular machinery of our educational methods contributed in no small degree to aggravate. In so far, we have no doubt, the main object of the writer was achieved.

In *The Triumph of Failure* we witnessed the results of the evil system so graphically set before us in *Geoffrey Austin*. We followed the efforts of human reason and of earthly wisdom to supplant and to surpass the wisdom of the Gospel. We saw a proud spirit struggling between the attractions of independent philosophy and his abject surroundings, wrestling with fortune, and beaten in the contest; but from the wreck of his hopes and the ruin of his intellectual castles we saw him rise and return to the home from which he had strayed.

Both these works displayed uncommon earnestness, a thorough realization of the danger to our boys and young men of the system of education they depicted, and an intense desire to see

the remedy applied wherever and whenever it was required. They revealed their author as a man of wide culture, of acute and penetrating observation, of a kindly heart. Many passages in them were marked by what may be called great literary eloquence; and although they touched almost the whole gamut of human passions and sentiments, the most scrupulous critic would seek in vain through their pages for a sentence, or even an expression, unworthy of the priestly character of their author.

Notwithstanding all these good qualities, it was generally observed that many of the scenes described in these two volumes were unreal, and to some extent exaggerated; that a little more measure and restraint would take nothing from the eloquence and add much so the fascination of the narrative; and that the artistic combination of philosophy with fiction required to be so shaded that the philosophy should not be too obtrusive nor the fiction too thinly disguised.

In *My New Curate* we notice none of these defects. It is, of its kind, almost a perfect book. Its attractions are so great that it is sure to win its way through its own merits. It may not become so widely known as the *Vicar of Wakefield*, or the *Vicaire Savoyard*, but to Catholic readers it will prove infinitely more attractive than either one or the other. It is far more real and far more true to its object than the letters of Yves Le Querdec. This arises from the fact that Father Sheehan, unlike the French author, who is a layman, lived through what he describes. Indeed, the note of personal experience is felt all through the book. The ideal is held up to us in vivid light, but it is so well supported and so completely wrapped in probabilities and realities that we easily mistake it for the real.

The diary of an imaginary parish priest, working in the sea-side village of Kilronan, away on the west coast of Ireland, supplies the various chapters of this captivating story. His worthy curate, Father Tom Laverty, whose motto in life was 'to leave things as they were,' and to ejaculate 'Cui bono?' whenever any improvement was suggested, was transferred to a distant parish, and a new curate, Father Edward Letheby, was appointed in his place. The improvements wrought in the parish by this zealous priest, whose tact and ability are suggested for imitation, occupy the chief place in the volume. The lives of the two priests are full of incidents that attract attention, and the various characters in the parish have the mirror held before them. We

must refer our readers to the work itself for a full appreciation of its worth. No selection of extracts taken out of the context would give an idea of the brilliant flashes of description, of the quiet humour, of the deep insight into human nature, and particularly clerical human nature, of the practical common sense, of the wide and varied knowledge, and of the fine flavour of religion which constitute in combination the charm of these pages. The various incidents that arise even in the course of a single year in a remote parish, give the author an opportunity of touching on all sorts of questions—house furniture, church furniture, sacristies, altars, servants, the poor, the middle class, the rich, the sick, the indifferent, the members of secret societies, the material welfare of the parish, the attitude of the priest towards political and social organizations. And it is all done with ability and refinement, charity never failing even when a wholesome lesson is imparted.

We have said enough to justify the hope that this beautiful book may find a place not only in the library of every priest, but in every library throughout the land. One of its best features is that it may be read with equal profit by young and old, by parish priest, curate, and student, by the laity of every degree; and we have no doubt that in all cases its effect will be to draw closer the bonds that unite priests and people not only in our own country, but wherever it is read. We congratulate the author on the success he has achieved, and on the honour that his work reflects on the priesthood of Ireland. We trust that his example may stimulate others to labour for the same good cause in fields that are still unexplored; and we wish him length of years to wear his laurels, and strength to do further service in the domain that he has made his own.

We should not conclude without a word of congratulation to the Boston publishers. The paper, letterpress and binding, far surpass anything we have yet seen from America. The illustrations by Louis Meynell are worthy of the book, and make it doubly valuable.

J. F. H.

THE KING OF CLADDAGH. A Story of the Cromwellian Occupation of Galway. By Thomas Fitzpatrick, LL.D. London: Sands & Co. 1899.

MR. FITZPATRICK has placed the Catholics of Ireland under a deep debt of gratitude to him for this beautiful book. At a time when we hear complaints on all sides of the steady influx of pestilential books and periodicals from beyond the Channel, it is but natural that we should give the most cordial welcome to a book which, though published in London, is Irish and Catholic in every page. It is, moreover, a clever book, and, even from a literary point of view, will easily hold its own when compared with *The Two Chiefs of Dunboy*, or with any of the recent historical novels that have been most in vogue.

Mr. Fitzpatrick has an intimate knowledge of the lives, and character, and history of the people of Galway. His book deals with one of the most exciting and tragic periods in the history of the 'Citie of the Tribes.' It is full of dramatic episodes, of touching and pathetic scenes, of passages that may well draw tears to the eyes of the Catholic who sees re-enacted before him the deeds of patient heroism and of unconquerable devotion to the faith that characterized the people of Galway in the days of Cromwell. The story is true to history in every essential of a work of the kind; and many persons who would hesitate to face an historical treatise on the doings of Cromwell's representatives in Connaught will be readily induced to read the account of their methods and doings as they are represented in this book.

We congratulate the author of *The King of Claddagh* most sincerely. We would fail in our own duty if we did not acknowledge with the utmost satisfaction the noble Catholic tone that pervades the work from beginning to end. We recommend it particularly to those of our brethren who have charge of parish libraries. We should like to see it widely disseminated through the people. We have frequently heard priests asking for some books of fiction that are Catholic without being dull; that are clever as well as pure, instructive and fascinating at the same time. Here is one, and no mistake.

[Several book-notices are, unfortunately, crushed out this month. We shall endeavour to make compensation in our March number.—ED. I. E. R.]

THE PRIMATIAL SEE AND ITS CATHEDRAL

THAT a severe and protracted controversy regarding the primatial rights of Armagh should arise between that see and the see of Dublin, shortly after the English invasion, was inevitable under the circumstances. The English prelates who succeeded St. Laurence O'Toole found an extraordinary arrangement prevailing in the government of the Irish Church, for which, at that time, there was hardly a parallel to be found in the whole Christian world. The rights which they, as archbishops, possessed by Canon Law, in common with the Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, were overruled by and crushed under the weight of that concentrated spiritual authority which by the tradition of centuries was vested in the successor of St. Patrick. The Primate of Armagh could, at any time he wished, visit their dioceses with his cross carried before him, inquire into their internal concerns, upset their decisions, receive appeals, call synods and councils over their heads, and levy contributions and dues for his own church—a state of things which was to them an intolerable yoke, to be shaken off at the earliest opportunity.

It should be clearly understood from the outset that the contest which ensued, and was carried on, with intervals of rest, for three centuries before the Reformation, was not a contest for the primacy. Ecclesiastical historians have confused our ideas a good deal on this point by inaccurate

titles and headings. Father Carew, for instance, in his *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland*, describes the controversy as one 'concerning their respective claims to the primacy'—a description the inaccuracy of which is easily borne out by the instances which he adduces in his account of it. The only approach to such an assumption, in those days, is where Archbishop Allen notes, in his Register, that when he was in Rome he was examining some old documents, and found that, in 1353, Pope Innocent VI. had decided that 'each of these prelates should be primate; while, for distinction of style, the Primate of Armagh should entitle himself *Primate of All Ireland;*' but the Metropolitan of Dublin should subscribe himself *Primate of Ireland.*

Though this alleged discovery of Archbishop Allen was the strongest argument that Archbishop Talbot could bring in his time, in support of his contention, it is open to the gravest suspicion. John de St. Paul, who was archbishop in 1353, entered on the usual contest with Armagh. The king interfered in favour of Dublin, but the matter does not seem to have been carried to Rome. The word *primas* is not in John de St. Paul's epitaph, where we should naturally expect to find it, signalizing his victory. The alleged decree is not to be found in any collection of documents. Is it at all likely that a matter of such paramount importance could have escaped the knowledge of succeeding archbishops, and have passed so completely from memory, that Archbishop Allen in the sixteenth century, could jot it down from memory as a new discovery? We are forced to conclude that the fallacious distinction was a *lapsus memoriæ*, and arose in Allen's imagination. The pre-Reformation archbishops of Dublin neither denied the primacy of Armagh nor tried to set up a primacy of their own; in fact, they always tacitly acknowledged their secondary place as regarded Armagh. The only instance, as far as we know, of a Dublin prelate being styled primate, is in a grant of land by a certain Jordan de Esueke to Fulk de Saundford, Archbishop of Dublin, where we notice the entirely exceptional title of *totius Hibernie primati.*[1] The exception

[1] *Crede Mihi*, p. 81.

here proves the rule with a vengeance. The title is not to be found anywhere else among the numerous grants made to the Archbishop; it is given a century previous to the alleged permission of Innocent VI.; and, lastly, what shows that it is not a reliable historical monument, is that, instead of the modest 'Hiberniae primas,' it affects the '*totius* Hiberniae primas.'

In fact, Allen himself failed to profit by the supposed decree he unearthed in Rome, for he was worsted in a question of precedence in Dublin with George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh. Nor did his successor, the notorious George Browne, act on it, for he never assumed the title of primate till it was taken by Edward VI. from Armagh and transferred by letters patent to him. Whence, then, are we to derive the origin of the fact that the archbishops of Dublin, in more recent times, have assumed the title of primate? With the exception of a mere reference by Father Purcell, the Franciscan, to the distinction we have already mentioned, in 1617, we must step forward a century and a-half to the time of Peter Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin, to a time preceded by a long period of persecution, during which the knowledge of several traditional usages had been obliterated. Peter Talbot was consecrated at Antwerp, on the 9th of May, 1669. On the 15th of the same month he wrote three letters from Brussels, in all of which he signs himself simply 'Petrus Dublinensis,' after the example of all his predecessors. On the 30th, he writes a letter from London, in which the signature is 'P. T. Arch. Dubl. Hib. Primas,'[1] the first instance, as far as we are aware, of any archbishop of Dublin assuming the title of primate. It is clear from his subsequent controversy with the Venerable Archbishop Plunket, that he wanted to have supreme control over the Irish clergy. In his hands the controversy assumed an entirely new character. For the first time in history, Dublin contested for supremacy with Armagh. In the pamphlet Talbot wrote in defence of his side of the question, the

[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. i., p. 480.

singular want of acquaintance with Irish history, shown in the trifling nature of his historical arguments makes us believe that he relied far more on his argument, *a ratione*, viz., that there were good reasons for giving the primacy to Dublin, as being more acceptable to the civil government. The result was, as might have been expected, an authoritative decision in favour of Armagh; and, to fix the matter clearly in the minds of the clergy, the Congregation, with the approbation of the Pope, ordered the following words to be inserted in the Office of St. Patrick: —'Armachanam sedem, Romani Pontificis auctoritate, totius insulae principem, metropolim constituit.' In spite of this, the fallacious distinction between the *totius Hiberniae primas* and the *Hiberniae primas*, the offspring of Allen's imagination, continued its misleading work during the following century, in which it was very generally used; and the acme of confusion of terms was reached in 1788. In that year the four archbishops wrote a joint letter to his Holiness, each signing himself *primas;* while the *Hiberniae primas* of Dr. Troy takes precedence over the *totius Hiberniae primas* of the Archbishop of Armagh.[1]

Turning back to the point from which we started—that is, to the end of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century—it is clear that the contest on the part of the archbishops of Dublin was for a limit of the extraordinary patriarchal rather than primatial powers (as Gillebert phrased it at the Council of Kells) possessed by the Archbishop of Armagh; while, on the latter's part, it was to preserve inviolate the immemorial rights of his see, which he had sworn at his consecration to defend.

It was not a racial question, such as might be surmised at first sight, Dublin being English, and Armagh essentially Irish. It was not a race estrangement such as drove the Danish bishops of Dublin over to Canterbury for consecration, and led them to look upon that see as their metro-

[1] *Spicilegium Ossoriense*, vol. iii., p. 422,

politan. The contest was waged between English prelates on both sides, and did not assume an acute form till English prelates ruled both the sees. Accordingly, we may regard it as a conflict of principle which naturally arose when the generally received usages of the Church as regards the hierarchy of jurisdiction, introduced into this country at the time of the English invasion, came into collision with usages, customs, and rights having the sanction of antiquity and the sympathetic support of the Irish clergy and laity.

This sympathy with the traditional usages receives a rather amusing confirmation from the conduct of many of the Irish bishops regarding the Synod of Kells, at which Cardinal Paparo announced the erection of two new archbishoprics, and distributed four palliums to the four sees. St. Malachy had been sent over to Rome to ask for two, Armagh and Cashel; the latter having been shortly before erected into an archbishopric. Several of the bishops, especially those of the northern dioceses, were dismayed at the Pope's generosity in giving more palliums than were asked for, considering it derogatory to the ancient dignity of Armagh, and in disgust abstained from taking any part in the proceedings.

That the ancient system had its drawbacks and defects, like every other system under the sun, is undeniable; but we can insist, on the other hand, that under good and zealous prelates, it brought the Irish Church safely through many a crisis in her history, and was the system in vogue when she was at the zenith of her missionary glory. If it had been essentially defective and indefensible, the Popes would not have been slow in reforming it, urged, as they were, by the reiterated petitions of the archbishops of Dublin. In fact, we may attribute the loss of the ancient power of the see of Armagh not to enactments, but to disuse and the gradual abandonment and diminution of primatial power throughout the Church, when direct communication with the City of the Popes became easier.

The lay primacy which held in Ireland during the eleventh century has received peculiar and unjust promi-

nence, owing to St. Bernard's vigorous denunciation of it, in his *Life of St. Malachy*. Similar causes produce similar results. The anarchy resulting from the destruction of the civil power in other countries generally led to the seizing of episcopal sees by laymen, just as the lay primacy in Ireland may be traced, as almost as to a direct cause, to the upheaval of the ancient order of things brought about by the ravages of the Danes. In this connection, the gloomy picture drawn by St. Boniface of the state of the Frankish Kingdom in the eighth century will serve to correct the ordinary notion that the scandal was confined to Ireland. According to him, the Franks, for more than eighty years, had never had an archbishop, had never seen a synod; the canonical rights of the Church had perished; nearly all the episcopal sees had fallen into the possession of laymen. It is curious to note how in Ireland the lay primacy was not an unmixed evil. Although laymen they were *litterati*, even according to St. Bernard; and consequently, we find to our satisfaction that the great School of Armagh continued to flourish during their incumbency. On more than one occasion the lay primate was successful in appeasing those blood-feuds which were continually disturbing the peace of the country.

As a matter of course, other scandals arose out of it. An ecclesiastic could not engage in a 'war' for the recovery of his dues; but it did not seem unnatural to the lay primate to enforce his rights with spear and battle-axe, after an ignominious failure in the gentler art of persuasion—a method, too, which, in those simple and war-like times, probably enhanced more than it diminished the reverence felt for the primatial see.

This naturally brings us to the subject of the primatial dues, the *cattle-cess*, or 'Law of St. Patrick,' by which the whole island was placed under contribution to the see of Armagh. Beginning in 734, during the incumbency of Primate Congus, it continued till long after the English invasion, but ceased as soon as the English prelates succeeded to the see. Two kings gave it their royal sanction—Felim, King of Munster, in 822, and the famous Brian Boru, in

1006, the record of the latter sanction being preserved in the *Book of Armagh*, in Brian's chaplain's handwriting. To add solemnity to their collecting tours, the primates were in the habit of carrying with them the shrine of St. Patrick, *cum Lege et vexillis Patricii;* and, as a rule, their success was certain, as the following quotations from the annalists will show:—

945. The full of the [bell of] Finnfadhach of silver was given by the Cinel-Eoghain for the blessing of Patrick and his successor; *i.e.*, Joseph.

973. Dubhdalethe, successor of Patrick, made a circuit of Munster, and obtained his demand.

985. Maelseachlainn submitted to the demand of Patrick; *i.e.*, the visitation of Meath, both Church and State, and a banquet for every fort from Maelseachlainn himself, besides seven cumhals [*i.e.*, twenty-one cows, or an equivalent], and every other demand in full.

1050. Dubdhalethe [one of the lay-primates], successor of Patrick, made a visitation of the Cinel-Eoghain, and brought 300 cows from them.

1068. Maelisu [lay primate], son of Amalgaid, successor of Patrick, made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full visitation tribute, both in screaballs [silver pennies] and offerings.

1106. Ceallach [St. Celsus] made a visitation of Munster for the first time, and he obtained a full tribute, namely, seven cows and seven sheep, and half an ounce of silver from every cantred in Munster, besides many jewels.

1150. The successor of Patrick [Gelasius] and the clergy of Patrick made a visitation of the Tir-Eoghain, and they obtained their full tribute of cows; *i.e.*, a cow from every house of a biatach and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the King himself.

It would be unjust to attribute this extraordinary custom to avarice. It is only fair to the prelates who made the collection, to the kings who sanctioned it, and to the people who contributed so liberally, to seek the reason of it in the necessity of keeping in repair the cathedral, built, in the first instance, by St. Patrick; in the rebuilding of it on many occasions after its accidental destruction by fire, and in the heavy expenses incurred in keeping up the famous School of Armagh, at one time said to contain seven thousand students, and in which scholars from all parts

were, according to the old Irish tradition, fed, lodged, and taught gratuitously. One of the three divisions of ancient Armagh was known by the name of the *Trian Sassain*, or Saxon Third, from the great number of Anglo-Saxon scholars who lived there. What gives colour to the supposition that the tribute was levied to meet extraordinary, and not ordinary expenses is, that it was made at irregular intervals, and that the record of a great conflagration in Armagh is sometimes, shortly afterwards, followed by a record of the Primate making his collection in Munster, Connaught, or Tyrone.

The patriarchal supremacy of Armagh has furnished one of the arguments to Protestant controversialists for their theory of the independence of Rome of the early Irish Church. As conclusive evidence to the contrary has been brought to bear in recent times on this important point by Catholic controversialists and historians, who have clearly proved intercourse between Ireland and Rome, difference and submission to Rome on ecclesiastical questions and perfect conformity with Rome in matters of dogma, it is beside our purpose to add any contribution to the Catholic side of the question, except to say that if the Protestant argument holds good as regards Ireland, it will hold good of many other countries as well. That intercourse with Rome was fitful and uncertain, that disciplinary arrangements existed differing from those in Rome, that the election of bishops was confirmed by the metropolitan without reference to Rome—could not all this be said of France, Spain, Germany, even parts of Italy, when the invasions of Goths, Vandals, and other barbarians had reduced once orderly Christian lands to a state bordering on heathendom? But what makes the case of Ireland stand out in clear contrast from the others, and offers it as a fair target for the advocates of the independence hypothesis, is that, owing to its insular and remote position and to the hold the Danes had on it, after civil order had been restored in the other countries of Europe, it held an anomalous position for a long time, being the last to be brought into disciplinary conformity with the rest of the Church.

There is one difficulty, however, that deserves more exhaustive treatment at the hands of Catholic scholarship than it has hitherto received, viz., the breaks in the episcopal succession to the primatial see, which occurred even long before the coming of the Danes. Though the succession of the abbots of Armagh, successors of St. Patrick, was most regular, the succession of archbishops was very irregular, owing to the fact that several of these abbots did not receive episcopal consecration. These presbyter-abbots, then, exercised quasi-episcopal and, we may truly add, quasi-patriarchal jurisdiction over the whole country—a terrible confusion of the hierarchy of jurisdiction as generally understood. The following attempt at a solution of the difficulty is humbly put forward as suggestive rather than conclusive, as more or less of an indication of the lines along which the Catholic historian could make his inquiry.

Ireland received the faith at a time when the old-established order of things under the Roman Empire of the West was being blotted out by the barbarian hordes which overran and conquered Europe. Owing to the chaos, the practical heathendom, the upheaval of settled institutions and the constant state of warfare that followed in their wake, Ireland, from its remote situation, could not receive from the Mother Church that attention to the development of her ecclesiastical polity, which she would certainly have enjoyed, if the old civil order of things had remained as it was under the empire, the polity of the Church being closely modelled on that of the Roman civil power. From the state of the times there was, therefore, a check, an arrest of growth, a fixture of type which remained unchanged from the fifth to the twelfth century, aided, no doubt, by the conservative instincts of the people, and that peculiar veneration for their national apostle which led them to regard as sinful the least deviation, even in external matters, from the paths he trod.

Though it may be inaccurate and misleading to state that St. Patrick founded the Church in this country on a monastic basis, there can be no doubt that the monastic

element and the founding of religious communities living under rule, entered largely into his work. Mabillon holds that he introduced the rule of St. Martin of Tours, and induced the bishops he consecrated to embrace it. St. Patrick saw that monastic communities, affording mutual protection to the members, were peculiarly suitable to the work of Christianizing a country parcelled out among independent clans and constantly distracted by fierce tribal wars. It thus came to pass that the position of an abbot, whether he were a bishop or not, became very important, and that, though the episcopal rank was clearly recognised, the abbot, successor of some missionary saint who had founded the monastery as a centre of light and learning to the country around, loomed large before the imagination. This would be especially true of the successor of St. Patrick in the abbey or religious community he had founded at Armagh, his metropolitan see, so that whether the priest elected as abbot received episcopal consecration or not, his jurisdiction as successor of the national apostle would not be called in question. Bede noticed a similar anomaly in the position of the Abbot of Iona, who exercised quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over Scotland and part of northern England, having bishops subject to him. This explanation may help to lessen the surprise we feel when we come across the puzzling entries in the annalists, that such and such a one succeeded to the 'abbacy of Armagh,' meaning the primacy.

Through all its vicissitudes, in spite of repeated burnings, Danish incursions, sieges, devastations, and plunderings, in spite of the scandal of the lay primates, and unworthy contests for the succession, Armagh steadily retained its ecclesiastical supremacy, and the reverence and affection of the Irish people. The *Tripartite Life* says of Armagh that in it 'was fixed the metropolis of the kingdom and the supreme administration of the Irish Church;' Probus has of it: 'Ubi sedes episcopatus et regiminis est Hiberniae;' and Jocelyn: 'Sedes illa totius Hiberniae primaria metropolis.' It is only when we come to the times of the English prelates that we find Armagh declining in prestige. The county of Louth having been added to the see on the plea

of poverty, an unfortunate distinction soon arose between the new and the older parts of the diocese. The county Louth, called Armagh *inter Anglicos*, and the county Armagh with parts of Tyrone, called Armagh *inter Hibernicos*, had, as might be expected, very little mutual fellow-feeling, accentuated by the fact that the English prelates favoured the *inter Anglicos* parts, living as much as they could in or near Drogheda, and holding all their synods in the Church of St. Peter's in that town, to the detriment of Armagh. The tone of the Anglo-Irish prelate regarding the *inter Hibernicos* parts was echoed, in later times, by the venerable Primate, Richard Creagh, who declared, at his examination in the Tower, that he had not wished to be sent to Armagh, 'among barbarous, wild, and uncivil folk.' As to synods, it is a remarkable fact that the last national synod convened in Armagh was the one called together by Primate Gelasius, in 1170, to debate questions connected with the English invasion.

Armagh, too, ceased to be, as formerly, an honoured place of burial. 'My body and my soul to God and to St. Patrick,' said Brian Boru before his last mortal combat, 'and that I am to be carried to Ard Macha;' and in pursuance of his will the Primate and clergy of Armagh came to Swords, and carried his body back in solemn procession to the Cathedral of Armagh, where for twelve nights they chanted the Office of the Dead over his remains. But time-honoured traditions were laid aside in this respect, even by Irish primates, who, after the introduction of the Cistercian Order into Ireland, generally chose the Abbey of Mellifont as their last resting-place, while the English primates chose St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, which, to all intents and purposes, was their pro-cathedral. Yet the traditional veneration for the primatial city seems to have lingered on in the hearts of the people; for in an Irish poem of the fourteenth century, by O'Dugan, chief poet of the O'Kelly, it is thus referred to:—

> Head of Erin is great Ard Macha;
> Not nobler are her high chieftains.
> The men of the world get their knowledge there.

Coming to modern times, it is sad to have to record that for three centuries the primates were banished from the primatial city. Some were effectively kept out of the diocese altogether, having, consequently, to do their work by vicars-general; while others, even in comparatively peaceful times, were obliged to live in obscure and remote places, to avoid exciting the jealousy of the authorities. Of one, in the last century, it is related that he lived in a farmer's house at Ballymascanlan, and in his dress and appearance could not be distinguished from an ordinary individual of the peasant class. Yet, on one occasion, he had to fly from his usual place of abode, as four magistrates, armed with warrants for his arrest, were in search of him. To Catholics living in the South of Ireland persecution is now a faded memory. The case is quite the contrary in the North, where it is still vividly remembered. Up to the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Catholic religion was more or less tolerated in Armagh, and, though the primates were exiled, the ordinary priests were left in peace. But the Plantation of Ulster, filling the city and county with a hostile and bigoted Protestant population, was the means of lighting a fire of persecution that burned fiercely for two centuries, and of which witnesses are still living who saw the last expiring embers.

The old Cathedral of St. Patrick, like all the other cathedrals in the country, was taken out of Catholic hands, and has been used for Protestant worship ever since. Burned down by Sir Phelim O'Neill, in the rising of 1641, it was rebuilt, as it stands now, by Dr. Margetson, the Protestant Primate, in 1679, with the exception of the tower, built by Dr. Robinson in the last century. To the latter Protestant primate the town of Armagh must for ever stand indebted. By a liberal use of his own money, and an enlightened paternal despotism over his town tenants, he raised it in seven years from a village of mud huts to the position of a well-built town of stone and mortar. To him are also due the noble public Library, the Observatory, and several other material benefits too numerous to mention. But these improvements, so beneficial to the

Protestant party, brought no amelioration to the lot of the suffering Catholics; in fact, they only increased the jealousy with which the presence of Catholics in the town was regarded, as the idea arose of making Armagh a stronghold of Protestant power, Protestant practice, and Protestant thought and influence. The Cathedral, the Episcopal Palace, the Royal School, the Library, the Observatory, and the Museum combined to give Armagh a quasi-university character, and exercised a potent and consolidated influence in favour of Protestant ascendancy. The Catholics were humbled to the dust. Without power or knowledge, or influence or wealth, they were the prey of the Orange party, which flourished in the city and county, and the object of dastardly outrages, well remembered to the present day. There are good reasons for believing that the Catholic laity in the North of Ireland suffered more severely towards the end of the last century and the beginning of the present, owing to the rise of the Orange Society, than they did under the earlier persecutions by the state, for the latter aimed generally at the priests. One favourite form of fanatical outrage was the burning of the miserable thatched chapels and the wooden structures erected for saying Mass in the 'Mass-gardens.' Just as in other parts of Ireland the 'Mass-rock' and 'Mass-house' are traditionally remembered, in county Armagh the 'Mass-gardens,' in contiguity to the present chapels, are still pointed out. As to education, there was none for the poorer Catholics, who almost universally were unable to read or write. Up to the time of Catholic Emancipation the Primate dared not perform any episcopal function in the city, nor within three miles of it; and the houses where he used to confirm, outside the three-mile limit, are still in existence. Whether this extraordinary survival of persecution was due to some penal law in existence at the time, or simply to Orange fanaticism, is still a moot point well worth investigation. Up to the opening of the present noble cathedral, the only place of worship for the Catholics of Armagh was what is known at present as 'the Old Chapel,' a plain T chapel, like all the other Catholic chapels erected in the last century.

Such was the state of Catholic life in Armagh when Dr. Crolly, with characteristic boldness and far-reaching ideas, established his residence there, shortly after Catholic Emancipation. Having, as his first care, provided for the wants of the aspirants to the priesthood by the erection of an ecclesiastical seminary, Dr. Crolly turned his thoughts to the erection of a noble cathedral that would embody the aspirations of the regenerated Catholicism of Ireland, and symbolize the triumph of right over might. His cathedral should be massive, beautiful, sublime, dominating the landscape round Armagh as a sign that the Catholic faith, having been humbled to the dust, had been able to raise her head once more.

The great difficulty that presented itself was a suitable site. All the land in the town, and nearly all round about, is 'see-land;' that is, belonging to the Protestant Primate; and it would have been in vain to apply in that quarter. But, most providentially, a hill towards the north of the town, although almost surrounded by see-land, was in possession of others, and was secured after long negotiations. There can be no doubt that this was the hill to which St. Patrick carried the fawn, when Daire had given him the rath-encircled hill of Ard Macha, and on which, it was afterwards said, miraculous sights were seen—prophetic, no doubt, of its present use.

Dr. Crolly laid the foundation-stone of the cathedral on St. Patrick's Day, 1840, just sixty years ago, amid a vast concourse of people filled with wild enthusiasm. Slowly, but steadily, the gigantic building rose; the funds coming in as the work went on, collected weekly in Armagh itself, and sent in at regular intervals by the priests, who went about collecting both at home and abroad. Every diocese in Ireland was visited, amongst which, Wexford deserves special mention for its generous response. A large amount also was collected from the Irish in Glasgow and other parts of Scotland. The Irish in England, especially the working classes, gave generously out of their small means. Dr. Crolly himself worked indefatigably, and did not disdain to go through the country and make his appeal in person.

When he went round, it could be truly said in the words of the old annalists, describing the collecting tours of the primates of their days—'St. Patrick's Law held Ireland.'

Unfortunately, the famine years put a stop to the work. The nation was then ,in sorrow, engaged on the more pressing work of feeding the starving multitudes, and the building operations had to cease. Shortly after this terrible time Dr. Crolly departed this life, and, according to his often-expressed desire, was buried in the still unfinished cathedral, the first primate buried in Armagh since the time of Brian Boru. The work of building was energetically renewed by Dr. Dixon, who, in addition to the usual method of sending priests round to collect, organized a great bazaar which realized £7,000. It should be also mentioned, in justice to the people of Armagh, that the weekly door-to-door collections made there, were kept up with very little interruption for the space of thirty years. Dr. Dixon did not live to see the work complete, though he worked hard for many years and devoted all his energy to it. He was buried, at his own desire, under the shadow of the unfinished building, in the cemetery of the nuns of the Sacred Heart. At last, in 1873, Primate M'Gettigan was able to open the cathedral for divine worship, thirty-three years after Dr. Crolly had laid the foundation-stone. The great Father Burke preached the dedication sermon, and it was computed that one hundred thousand persons were present, in or around the cathedral, drawn thither from all parts of the country by a spirit of enthusiastic faith.

A large share of that political power, so long held exclusively by the Protestant faction, has now, in the course of events, come into the hands of the Catholics of Armagh. They may be trusted to use that power with discretion, and in their wisdom and moderation, inaugurate a reign of good-will and peace in lieu of the party-spirit of bygone years. Divine Providence has wrought a change in their favour, which they will accept with thankfulness and utilize to the common advantage of all classes. Guided in their counsels by the present illustrious occupant of the primatial see, they will show by their zeal for the glory of God's

House that they are not unworthy children of those who, amid many trials, erected their glorious cathedral; and they will recall in some measure, by their culture and intellectual advancement, the time when Armagh was the renowned school for the students of distant lands, 'where the men of the world got their knowledge.' They have an exemplar of all that is good, noble, and great in their primate, whose illustrious deeds have caused the Supreme Pontiff to create him Cardinal, the first occupant of the see of Armagh elevated to that dignity. The spiritual jurisdiction of the primacy has, indeed, in modern times, been reduced so much that it is more a name than a reality—*magni nominis umbra;* but it has been fitly replaced, in the present instance, by a spiritual influence, so wide and so far-reaching that the canonical power of the primates of old pales into insignificance before it. Gael of the Gael, speaking the native tongue, a hard-working friend of the poor, as shown by his enormous labours during two famines, he is a type not to be easily mistaken for anything un-Irish, and his words are received with dutiful respect wherever the Gael is to be found, for they are felt to embody the true feelings and aspirations of the Irish race. Under his magnetic sway, Armagh is again taking her place before the world as the 'head of Erin,'—head of the men of Erin at home, and head of the men of Erin abroad, who love their motherland; for with the exception of the Eternal City and the Holy Places, there is no place on earth to which the Irish heart at present bows with such reverential affection as to the ancient city of St. Patrick.

C. T. A.

GALWAY: PAST AND PRESENT

'FUIT GALVIA. In an early number of the old Dublin *Nation* the 'Warden's House' is alluded to as 'that fine stone chronicle of Galway heroism.' It is, indeed, true that Galway contains only too many 'stone chronicles' of departed greatness. Its situation on the beautiful river which (as Mr. Blake-Forster aptly expresses it) *hyphens* the great picturesque lake to the fine, expansive bay, ought to have made it an important commercial capital. And such it was for centuries, as anyone may see even to this day, in its many quaint old buildings, and in its silent, and all but deserted streets, at one time the abode of wealth and fashion. Whether in the body of the town or in the outskirts, decline and dilapidation are painfully in evidence. In the suburbs there are whole streets of roofless or ruined houses. Within the circuit of the former walls, the contrast between past and present meets the eye at almost every turn. The places which in the earlier years of the nineteenth century contained the mansions of merchant princes and titled rank, are now little better than slums. Not a few of the black marble palaces are roofless and solitary, as are the artisans' quarters by the Eglinton Canal. Most of those once beautiful buildings are now cut up into wretched tenements. Even the public-house has disappeared from some streets once alive with trade and prosperity. At present nearly all the commercial life of the place is confined to the long jagged thoroughfare, through which passes the Galway and Salthill Tramway line. Along this line may be seen many of the great mansions which, more fortunate than those of the adjoining streets, have been fitted up as business houses. The most remarkable of these is the old four-storey building at the corner of Shop-street and Abbey Gate-street, still known as 'Lynch's Castle,' having been the residence of Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose, Mayor of Galway, in 1654, in which year he was super-

seded by the Cromwellian military governor, Colonel Peter Stubbers. This really beautiful building remains in perfect preservation, and attracts the attention of the visitor by the many armorial carvings in the stone work. A butcher's shop and a grocery now occupy the basement. Beyond the Corrib, or Galway river, and following the Salthill line, is Dominick-street. This street was until recently a fashionable residential quarter. When, about forty years ago, a shop was opened in it, there was much indignation among the then stylish residents. Some half-dozen of the handsome marble-faced houses are still private residences; but all the rest have been converted into shops and stores of various kinds, the business of the town having, as already stated, moved from the off streets to the central thoroughfare.

The portion of Galway which first greets the eye of the visitor is, indeed, rather attractive. Leaving the railway station, we are at once in Eyre-square, which Miss Lawless, in her charming story of *Grania*, describes as 'the Belgrave or Grosvenor-square of the fashion or importance' of Galway. And, in sooth, Eyre-square would be no affront even to the neighbourhood of Belgravia. The greater part of the south side is occupied by the Midland Railway Hotel, a building large enough and fine enough for any fashionable quarter. There are, besides, five or six other hotels round the square, three banks, with a number of offices of various kinds. The outlook from the houses is very cheerful; but even here shops are making their appearance, although 'the square' is comparatively modern, having been brought into its present form within the passing century. In Hardiman's map of Galway (1820) it is called 'Meyrick-square.' There was a General Meyrick, commander of the forces in the West of Ireland, stationed in Galway about the opening of the century. This gentleman induced the townspeople to remove the fish market from Bridge-street, in the central thoroughfare, where it was both a nuisance and an obstruction, to its present situation, between the river and the old Spanish Parade. The change of name from Meyrick-square to Eyre-square was owing, I apprehend, to the improve-

ments made in that quarter by the Eyre family. Speaking of the improvements then recently made in Galway, Hardiman mentions 'the houses lately erected in the Square by Mr. Eyre.' In a note to page 281 the same historian says :—

> A chalybeate spring (of the same class as the celebrated Scarborough waters), about 20 feet below the level of the street, outside the East Gate, was once in great repute here. A spa-house had formerly been erected over it by Mr. Eyre, the proprietor, and it was for some time much frequented by company.

The East Gate, we may add, was, after the entry of the Williamite army under Ginckle, in 1691, re-named 'William's Gate;' and we have still 'William's-street' and 'William's Gate-street.' The spa would be within the boundary of the square; but no traces of it remain at the present day.

As may be inferred from what has been said, this modern and rather attractive quarter lay without the ancient city walls. I find that, in 1630, 'the square plot at the green, outside the East Gate (since called Meyrick-square),' and at present Eyre-square, 'was set apart for the purpose of amusement and recreation; it was enclosed with wooden rails, and planted round with ash trees,' many of which were standing towards the end of the eighteenth century.

While Galway is not without its attractions for the mere sightseer—*e.g.*, the fine river views to be had from Wood-quay, or from the bridge at the Court House—its principal interest is for the student and the antiquarian. The history of the rise, of the prosperity, and of the sad decline of the 'Citie of the Tribes' is as eventful and as pathetic a record as one may find in the annals of Irish or even British towns. For pathetic, indeed, is the record which one may read for himself in almost every street and at every corner in the once prosperous town by the banks of the broad and rushing Corrib. At one time taking rank as the second town in Ireland for population and commercial importance, it has sunk to about the tenth or twelfth place as regards the number of inhabitants, while from the industrial point of view it has fallen far behind

many a village which, in the days of Galway's greatness, were hardly known to the geographer. In the year 1820 the inhabitants of Galway and the 'Liberties' numbered forty thousand; at present the population is little over one-third of that number, and the decline in trade and wealth is more melancholy still. When Hardiman wrote, in the year just mentioned, there were in operation 'twenty-three flour mills, six oat mills, two malt mills, three fulling mills, also a bleach mill and green.' He adds that such was the abundant supply of water-power from Lough Corrib that even in the driest seasons there was no sign of failure. The milling industry has suffered, perhaps, no more in Galway than throughout Ireland generally, but it appears to be far short of what it once was. This is not owing to any decline in the water power. The Corrib river is only partially utilized; and one may almost fancy it loudly upbraiding man's ingratitude for so much God-given power, as it rushes tumultuously to join the greater waste of waters, the noble bay. Galway is not so favourably situated for trade with England and Scotland as the ports on the eastern sea-board; but it has still the natural advantage above them all of being most favourably situated for 'trade with Europe and the Indies'—the trade to which it owed its earlier importance.

It is not of my present purpose to discuss the causes which have led to this sadly altered state of affairs. But I cannot refrain from remarking the very great contrast between the earlier and the later attitude of the Government towards this port. So long as there was danger from abroad, the rulers of Ireland manifested continuous solicitude for the welfare of the inhabitants, no less than for the defence of the town against foreign invasion. We may go so far as to say that Galway was for centuries the spoilt darling of Ireland's Saxon masters. From the time of Edward III. (1361) to that of James II. (1687) as many as thirteen royal charters were granted to Galway, each conferring some new privileges, or confirming or extending privileges already conferred. Another noteworthy feature in the annals of Galway is to be found in the numerous

visits paid to the town by the lord-deputy or the lords-justices for the time being; and these visits were particularly frequent in ages when the journey between the metropolis and the town was regarded as of so much difficulty and danger that it was the practice to make wills before setting out. It was then considered by the Government that the interests of the Empire and the safety and prosperity of Galway were intimately connected: the loss of Galway might mean the loss of the province, if not of the entire island.

Nor was the care and attention of Government thrown away upon the merchant-princes of Galway, Through the long and chequered history, from the first appearance of the De Burgos to the year of the Legislative Union, through all vicissitudes of fortune, the people of that town have ever been characterised by 'loyalty.' To those who take their Irish history from the columns of prints hostile 'to the Irish idea,' this may appear an extravagant, if not an utterly groundless, allegation. Let me, however, produce the evidence of the painstaking and erudite historian of Galway:—

> During the troubles [of 1798] the inhabitants of Galway remained loyal—not an individual suffered for rebellious proceedings.
>
> On the landing of the French at Killala, in August, 1798, the gallant and humane general [afterwards lord] Hutchinson commanded in the town; and being, at the time, entirely destitute of resources to enable him to march against the enemy, the merchants, in the space of an hour, made up a sum of fifteen hundred guineas with which they presented him, and by which he was enabled to join General Lake, with the troops under his command, to meet the enemy. The town yeomanry also joined their forces, and had their share of the disgraceful defeat at Castlebar. During their absence the town was left without military protection, and the Catholic clergy were indefatigable in their exertions to preserve the public peace. On this occasion one of the regulars of St. Augustine presented a novel spectacle—a friar standing sentinel on the West Bridge to prevent the entrance of disaffected persons to a place where, within the memory of many then living, he would himself have been doomed to transportation or death for daring to appear or return . . . The question of Legislative Union between the two countries

soon after began to agitate the kingdom : and the promises made by Mr. Pitt and Lord Cornwallis to the Catholics of Ireland secured many of the inhabitants of Galway in its favour. An address was accordingly voted by them in February, 1799, in which the necessity of that measure was maintained with remarkable energy of expression.

It is possible that this declaration of the Galway burgesses of 1799 may prove as startling to the inhabitants of the present day, as it will, no doubt, to readers elsewhere :—

In the constitution of the Empire, as it now stands [say the Galway men of that time], we discover the seeds of party animosity and national jealousy—a Protestant Parliament and Catholic people ; hence religious dissension and civil discord. Two legislatures in the same Empire ! hence legal prejudices and commercial rivalry. By the settlement of 1782 the Irish Parliament acquired the right of independent legislation—a right equally unsafe to exercise, and not to exercise. To exercise it would have been to endanger the unanimity, and, therefore, to hazard the division of the Empire; while by declining to exercise the right the Irish Parliament brought upon itself the imputation of abject submission to the British Legislature. This imputation begot contempt, that contempt discontent, and that discontent rebellion. For this radical defect in the polity of the Empire we see but one remedy, and that remedy is an union.

And what was the reward that the people of Galway had for this effusive manifestation of 'loyalty'?—

Though the earliest and most successful efforts were made in its [the Union's] favour by the Earl of Clanrickarde, the Archbishop of Tuam, and others in the county of Galway, it was, notwithstanding, the first part of Ireland proclaimed to be in a state of disturbance; and as several persons openly asserted that such a measure was totally unnecessary at the time, they, consequently, concluded that it was resorted to for no other purpose than that of carrying the question of union by military coercion. However that may be, it is certain that the good people of Galway have been disappointed in their reliance on ministerial promises, and that, were the question to be agitated again, many of them would think and act in a very different manner on the occasion.[1]

[1] Hardiman, p. 190, *et seq.*

Indeed, the good people of Galway had, all through their history, a weakness for 'loyalty,' as well as an ardent attachment to their ancient creed; and both traits are particularly observable throughout the troublous periods of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. Their fidelity to their creed, no less than to their king, involved the inhabitants in many a dark trouble, which might have been avoided had the sufferers allowed themselves to be influenced by inducements to temporize. During the domination of Cromwell, and again from the reign of William III. till towards the close of that of George II., all was done which, humanly speaking, could be done by the ruling power to exterminate the Catholic religion from every part of Ireland. In 1731, during the last outbreak of virulent persecution, it was found that there were residing in the town of Galway one thousand and thirty-seven heads of Catholic families, according to a return to the House of Lords. No wonder that their lordships, alluding to this return, were pleased to remark that 'the insolence of the Papists throughout the nation is very great.' It was surely an intolerable 'insolence' that the Papists were able to live in spite of so much repressive legislation.

For about six centuries Galway was, in fact, an English town on Irish soil; and, in the days of its prosperity, the inhabitants omitted no opportunity of proclaiming themselves 'a civil people,' having nothing in common with the wild Irish of Iar-Connaught, and almost scorned to acknowledge the earlier inhabitants as fellow-creatures. It is to be observed that the designation 'Citie of the Tribes,' is of comparatively recent origin. The Cromwellian soldiers were the first to speak of the 'families' of Galway as 'the tribes,' and although the Roundheads applied the name derisively, it came to be accepted by the people themselves as a title of honour. The 'tribe' names are usually fixed at fourteen, and referred to as the 'fourteen families;' not, indeed, that they were in any sense more aristocratic than many other families of the earlier period, but that these are more prominently associated with the municipal history of

Galway. It is sometimes assumed that these families or 'tribes' are of Spanish origin. This is a mistake. The town, no doubt, still presents many Spanish features. There are Spanish arches and Spanish courtyards, and there remains near the fish-market the Spanish Parade, where once the grandees and merchants did congregate. But all this is accounted for by the active trade carried on with Spain for several centuries. There was an earlier Galway of which little is known; but the Galway of history and of commercial greatness arose after the English occupation. The 'tribes' are in the main of British or Anglo-Norman origin. Mr. Blake-Forster[1] gives the following curious particulars of the fourteen families :—

NAMES	ATTRIBUTES	ORIGIN
Athy.	Suspicious.	Milesian.
Blake.	Positive.	British.
Bodkin.	Dangerous.	Italian.
Browne.	Brave.	Norman.
D'Arcy.	Stout.	Norman.
Deane.	Devout.	Norman.
Ffaunt.	Barren.	Norman.
Ffrench.	Prating.	Norman.
Joyce.	Merry.	British.
Kirwan.	Stingy.	Milesian.
Lynch.	Proud.	Austrian.
Martin.	Litigious.	Norman.
Morris.	Plausible.	Norman.
Skerrett.	Obstinate.	Norman.

It will be seen that of the 'tribe' names eight are returned as Norman (in this case Anglo-Norman), two as British (that is, ancient British or Welsh), one Austrian, one Italian, and two are of the old Irish or Milesian stock who had managed to hold on.

The situation of Galway is admirably described by Story, who was chaplain attached to Ginckle's army during the siege of July, 1691 :—

> The town is situated at the foot of a narrow ridge of land, having Galway bay on the south and south-west, a large river coming from Lough Corbe on the west, and towards the

[1] *The Irish Chieftains*, p. 186.

north there lies a low bog through the midst of which there runs a narrow but deep river proceeding from the great one that slides by the town; this river and bog extend about a mile and a-half towards the north-east, and then end together, the river sinking underground at the foot of a large hill, but appears again at the foot of an old castle nigh Oranmore, where it runs into the utmost creek of the bay.

The Williamite historian had certainly a keen eye to the physical features of the localities he describes. The 'bog' to the north must have been an impassable morass at even a later period, although at present in part under tillage. The river—a branch of the Corrib or Galway river—runs through the midst of this flat, and disappears under the limestone ridge at Castle Gar to the east. There is thus formed a peninsula at the extreme end of which stood the walled town of Galway. This peninsular tract is really a plateau, varied by hillocks of limestone gravel, and nearly cut across to the east of the town by the inlet known as *Lough-a-thalia*, which is crossed by the railway almost at the entrance to the station. Four hundred years ago an attempt was made to cut through the narrow ridge at the head of this inlet, so as to bring it into direct communication with Lough Corrib; but the project was not carried to fulfilment. The abandoned work was long known as 'Lynch's folly,' the work having been begun in the mayoralty of Andrew Lynch Fitz-Stephen in 1498.

There is abundant evidence that Galway was a place of wealth, elegance, and refinement before the end of the Tudor period. Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy in the time of Queen Elizabeth, declares that 'for urbanity and elegance of manners the inhabitants equalled those of the most refined community.' Sir William Pelham, Lord Justice of Ireland, who visited Galway, 1579, says:—'The townsmen and women present a more civil show of life than other towns in Ireland do.' Oliver St. John, in 1614, says:—

> The merchants are rich, and great adventurers at the sea; commonalitie is composed of the descendants of the ancient English families of the town, and rarely admit any new English

among them, and never any of the Irish. They keep good hospitalitie, and are kind to strangers; and in the manner of entertainment, and, in fashinninge and apparallinge themselves and their wives, do most preserve the ancient manner and state, as much as any town that ever I saw . . . The town is small, but all in faire and statelie buildings. The fronts of the houses (towards the streets) are all of hewed stone uppe to the top, garnished with faire battlement, in an uniform course, as if the whole town had been built upon one modle. It is built uppon a rock, invironed almost with the sea and the river; compassed with a strong wall and good defences, after the ancient manner.

How many towns in the British islands merited a similar description in the reign of James I. of England? The historian Heylin mentions that 'an outlandish merchant, meeting with an Irishman, demanded in what part of Galloway Ireland stood, as if Galloway (Galway) had been the name of the island, and Ireland only the name of some town.'

Until the present century Galway was a city of hewn stone. In the neighbourhood may be seen many ancient quarries, showing, in horizontal strata, the dark, close-grained limestone or marble, which is capable of being carved or polished in a high degree. There is an unlimited supply, easily accessible from the port; and it is surely a wonder that more is not made of this advantage, even at the present day. Hardiman says:—

Blocks [of marble] weighing upwards of 4 tons, 18 or 20 ft. in length by 8 or 10 ft. in width, are frequently raised, particularly at Anglingham. Mr. Stanley Ireland, some years since, shipped several cargoes to London, Liverpool, Bristol, Cork, Dublin, &c. He also established a marble-yard in the town, and employed several, who wrought a variety of elegant monuments, plain and sculptured chimney-pieces, sideboards, &c.; but at present (1820) this trade is rather declining.[1]

And I fear it must be added that the industry has since made but little progress compared with what it ought to have done.

[1] Page 288.

Mr. George H. Kinahan[1] gives the following particulars:—

A little north-east of Galway, at Anglingham [at the south-east corner of Lough Corrib], are the world-famed black marbles. The bed locally called the 'London Bed,' which, according to Mr. Sibthorpe, is the best black marble known, unfortunately has now a great clearing over it, and has dipped considerably below the level of Lough Corrib; so that it is nearly impossible to keep the water out [*i.e.*, without employing steam machinery]. In the same neighbourhood is an excellent grey stone, but only as yet worked for tanks and other local purposes. At the Merlin Park quarries [between Galway and Oranmore] is a bed of black stone, considered by Mr. Sibthorpe to be nearly equal to the Anglingham 'London Bed.'

Mr. Kinahan speaks even more earnestly of these quarries:—'An enterprising company might 'run a big thing in stones' from the port of Galway for the English markets, more especially as the freights from all the west coast of Ireland are low, most vessels having to leave it in ballast.'

The Jesuit College and Church, the Queen's College, the Model School, and the parapet of the great tower of St. Nicholas's Church, Galway, are built of the Anglingham 'grey.' In the western suburbs are quarries of red porphyritic granite, beautifully polished specimens of which may be seen in the more recently erected churches.

So early as 1178 the English made a hostile advance on Connaught. Roderic O'Connor, the last recognised monarch of Ireland, had concluded the treaty of Windsor with Henry II.; but, like his more powerful rival of England, the Irish King had unmanageable and ungrateful sons. At the instance of one of these, named Murrough, Milo de Cogan, in the year 1178, proceeded from Dublin, with five hundred men, but had to make an inglorious retreat from the west side of the Shannon.

In the following year, and in open violation of the Treaty of Windsor, Henry II. made a grant of the province of Connaught to William Fitz-Adelm de Burgo and his

[1] *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, p. 381.
[2] *Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society*, vol. v. (New Series), p. 492.

heirs; and the effect was that the province was embroiled in war and confusion for many a long year. To follow these melancholy proceedings would be out of place in an article like this. But one cannot forbear contrasting the peaceful end of the Irish monarch in the cloisters of Cong with the last hours of the greater warrior, the English king, who died with maledictions in his mouth against his own rebellious offspring.

In the long struggle for the supremacy of Connaught between the misguided O'Connors and the haughty De Burgos, the town and castle of Galway became of importance. At the time of the English invasion the castle and the town, such as it then was, belonged to the O'Flahertys,[1] who again acknowledged a sort of feudal dependence on the royal house of O'Connor. In 1232, Richard de Burgo succeeded in taking the castle. This fortress long known as the Red Earl's Castle, from the Red Earl of Ulster (heir to Walter de Burgo, who died 1271) has long since disappeared. The hold which the De Burgos had thus obtained, was strengthened when the O'Connor power sank to the dust in the bloody battle of Athenry (1316); and the dominion of the English settlers became assured in Galway. The De Burgos' over-lordship continued till the representative of the southern branch of the family was raised to the peerage in 1543. Henry VIII., having in 1541 been voted 'King of Ireland' by the Parliament of the Pale, issued a batch of patents 'raising' several Irish chieftains, native and Norman, to titles of nobility. In the patent of creation of Sir William de Burgo, the last *Mac William Eighter*, to be earl of Clanrickarde and baron 'Dunkyllen,' dated at Greenwich, 1st July, 1543, in lieu of all claims to profits from the town of Galway, there was granted an annual sum of thirty pounds a year from the royal treasury, and the third part of the first fruits, and the abbey of *Via Nova* or Clonfert. 'Thus ended the authority of this ancient and powerful family in Galway

[1] Mr. Blake-Forster says it had long previously to the Anglo-Norman settlement belonged to the Sept O'Halloran.

of which they were the principal founders and protectors, and afterwards governed with almost absolute control for upwards of two centuries.'[1] At a later period, however, we find the earls of Clanrickarde exercising much influence in the town, particularly during the troubles of the seventeenth century.

Soon after the battle of Athenry (1316) we find the inhabitants of Galway engaged in erecting great buildings such as St. Nicholas's Church (1320), and the great West Bridge (1342). In 1375 the commercial importance is shown by the establishment in Galway of the king's staple for the sale of wool, woolfells, &c., Cork and Drogheda being the only other towns of Ireland then enjoying the same privilege. In 1396 a new and perpetual murage charter was granted to the inhabitants by Richard II. Previously to this charter the town was a corporation by prescription, the De Burgos appointing the magistrates. Not the least curious grant is that of 1461, by Edward IV. to 'Germyn Lynch, wardeyn and maistre worker of oure monies and coignes within oure castle of Dyvelin (Dublin), to make all our monies in Galway.' Hardiman says that these 'coignes' have not been found. Very soon after, on Friday, 2nd June, in the year 1473, there was a terrible conflagration by which the town was nearly destroyed.

The space within the walls amounted to only 21a. 1r. 26p. Irish (about 35 acres statute). The fortifications were many times rebuilt or repaired. About the middle of the eighteenth century they were beginning to go to ruin. But it was found that they had already outlived their day, and no further attempt was made to repair them. In 1779 the abbey gate on the north side of the town was taken down, and by the beginning of the nineteenth century the walls had been almost entirely cleared out. Some remains exist as at the 'Lyons Tower' in Eglinton-street, near the post office, and the 'Spanish Arch' at the river and adjoining the Fish-market.

[1] Hardiman, p. 82.

Of the mediæval history of Galway no event is better known than the execution of his son by the warden or mayor, James Lynch Fitz-Stephen, in 1493. The story as it runs through many pages of Hardiman is a thrilling romance. He candidly tells us that the details are supplied from his own imagination to enliven the narrative; which, after all, is a blemish in a work of so much research, and containing quite a store of original documents. Apart from the products of fancy, the facts appear to be that young Lynch was found guilty of murdering a Spaniard named Gomez; that he was condemned to death by his father as chief magistrate; and that, no one being found willing to act as executioner, the unhappy father felt under the cruel necessity of hanging the unfortunate culprit from an upper window of his own house. A portion of the 'warden's house' exists, or has been re-erected beside the churchyard facing Lombard-street, with device and inscription commemorative of the stern justice of the 'Galway Brutus.' 'Few transactions,' says Hardiman, in a note to page 70, 'of so old a date stand better authenticated than that concerning young Lynch; for, independently of the general voice of tradition, it appears recorded in several ancient manuscripts many of which have passed through the hands of the author.' At the time he wrote this, James Hardiman, M.R.I.A., was 'Sub-commissioner of the Public Records' in Ireland.[1]

It seems rather strange that Galway was not made the see of a bishop in those earlier times when dioceses were smaller and much more numerous. In the accounts of the difficulties arising out of trade jealousies between Limerick and Galway, we find the places repeatedly alluded to as 'the city' and 'the town.' Speed, the English antiquary, who visited Galway in 1610, says: 'the principal city of this province . . . is Galway, in Irish *Gallive*, built in manner much like a tower; it is dignified with a bishop's see, and is much frequented by merchants.' Speed, how-

[1] Subsequently, Mr. Hardiman was Librarian of Queen's College, Galway, from 1849 at his death in 1855.

ever, mistook the wardenship for the episcopal dignity, as will presently appear. The ecclesiastical history of the place shows that among the 'loyal' people of Galway there was very early developed a feeling which might not inaptly be regarded as the idea of Home Rule, or, let us say, domestic rule.

The year 1484 is marked by two events, both tending in this direction. On the 15th December of that year Richard III. granted a new charter, in which all previous grants to the inhabitants of Galway were confirmed; the King renewed the powers to levy tolls and customs which he directed should be applied to 'the murage and pavage' of the town; he also granted licence to elect yearly one mayor and two bailiffs, or sheriffs, and ordained that no person might enter the town, or exercise any function therein, without authority from the town magistrates, &c. In the same year the people of Galway prevailed upon Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, to release the town from his jurisdiction, and to erect the Church of St. Nicholas into 'a collegiate of exempt jurisdiction,' to be governed by a warden and vicars, who were to be presented and solely elected by the inhabitants of the town.

In the earlier period Galway was included in the diocese of Annaghdown, which, in the year 1324, was united to the archdiocese of Tuam. Keating in his account of the great national synod, held at *Ceananus* (Kells), in the year 1157, from the Incaration of our Lord, mentions among the bishops present Tuathal O'Conaty, Bishop of Jobh Bruin, that is, *Enach-duin* (Annaghdown).[1]

As Archbishop O'Murray's concession required confirmation from the Holy See, a petition from the parishioners of the town was transmitted to Rome, in which they described themselves as 'modest and civil people,' and represented the inhabitants of the surrounding country as 'a savage race brought up in woods and mountains, unpolished and

[1] 1189. Concors, Bishop of Annaghdown, was present at the coronation of Richard I. Oliver J. Burke's *Catholic Archbishops of Tuam*. (O'Conor's Translation, p. 518.)

illiterate.' The 'modest and civil people' complain that they were often 'robbed and murdered' by the 'savage race,' and were likely to suffer many other losses and inconveniences if not speedily succoured; and they, therefore, pray that his Holiness would be pleased to sanction the institution of the archbishop. This petition was graciously received by the Pope (Innocent VIII.), who granted a bull of confirmation according to the prayer of the memorial.

In the *Catholic Directory*, for 1837,[1] I find the history of these events thus summarized :—

> There was no bishopric in Galway until the abolition of the wardenship in 1831 . . . The town of Galway originally belonged to the diocese of Enach-dune,[2] and ancient bishopric united, in 1324, to the archiepiscopal see of Tuam . . . From 1578, the Protestant wardens were elected under the charter of Edward VI., and the Catholic wardens under the Bull of Pope Innocent VIII. James Vaughan was appointed for life, 1663 . . . Right Rev. George J. Browne was consecrated first Bishop (R. C.) of Galway in 1831.

It was in the reign of Edward VI. that the Collegiate Church of St. Nicholas was seized by the Reformers :—

> The Catholic warden and vicars were dispossessed; and by letters patent, dated 29th April, 1551, the erection of the church into a collegiate by the Bull of Innocent VIII. was declared void, but it was, at the same time, re-established by virtue of the King's powers as supreme head of the Church. Patrick Kirwan, a layman, was appointed warden, and eight vicars were nominated.

It appears, however, that, in face of all difficulties, the Catholic succession of wardenship was kept up according to the bull of Pope Innocent VIII. till it gave place, in 1831, to a bishopric. What, subsequently, befell the good people of Galway, owing to their attachment to the ancient religion, I must for the present pass over. The narrative is too long and eventful to compress into the tail of an article. Nor can I dwell upon the sufferings which the same people

[1] Page 262.

[2] The lofty castle and ivy-clad abbey ruins of Annaghdown (*Enach-dune*), in a charming situation, on the eastern shores of Lough Corrib, can be seen from the deck of the Galway and Cong steamer.

endured in the cause of royalty during two memorable sieges in the sixteenth century. The horrors of the Cromwellian occupation could not be dealt with without going into a long recital of treachery, cruelty, and wrong-doing of the most revolting character.

There are, however, some incidents of the Restoration which I do not wish to pass without notice. This event produced quite a stampede of Cromwellians from Galway. Many, conscious of what they had deserved during the eight years of their ascendancy, fled the town as soon as the King's return was announced.

Charles II., while an exile, wrote from Jersey, on 4th February, 1849-50, a letter to the people of Galway, in which, among other complimentary things, he said :—

> Wee assure you that wee are not only truly sensible of what you have alreadye done for our service ; but as that cittie of Galway is one of the principal cities that hath eminently continued their loyalltie and devotion to us, soe shall wee, in due time, conferre such priviledges and favor upon you as may be lasting monuments of your deserving above others, and of our particular grace and acceptation thereof, and soe wee bid you farewell.[1]
>
> The day [says Hardiman] on which this communication was received in Galway was one of the last days of its greatness and prosperity. For upwards of a century after this period war, pestilence, and persecution succeeded each other in rapid and melancholy succession.

The fine promises made by Charles in exile were not, perhaps, forgotten by Charles when on the throne ; but there was very little performance after all. True, he granted a new charter, on the 14th August, 1678, providing that the town, and all within two miles of it, should henceforth form a county of itself; but a similar grant had been made under James I., in 1610. In 1683 the Corporation presented a royal congratulatory address to the King, on the occasion of his escape from the Rye House conspiracy. This address was rather the outcome of their 'loyalty' than of their gratitude; for very little had been done towards

[1] *Corporation*, Book A., in Library of Queen's College, Galway.

redressing the wrongs which the inhabitants had suffered on behalf of the reigning king and of his father.

It must be remembered that one of the first acts of Charles II., on coming to the throne, was an order to reinstate the inhabitants who had been driven from their homes during the Cromwellian occupation; but very little came of this. For instance, one Robert Martin, of Ross, obtained an order from the King to be restored to the possession of his mansion house in Galway, which was then in possession of Edward Eyre, the Recorder, and one of the members recently elected to the new Parliament. Martin came to Galway to demand possession, which being refused he made complaint to the Lords Justices, alleging that the occupant, Mr. Eyre, not only refused to deliver up the house, but declared he 'did not value the King's order eighteen pence.' The Lords Justices directed the Attorney-General to lay the complaint before the Irish House of Commons, of which Mr. Eyre was a member. The accused read to the House a written statement, in which he emphatically denied the charge as propounded by Mr. Martin. He merely demanded whether the order had been confirmed by the Lords Justices, and, being informed that it was not so confirmed, he made the remark that it was not worth eighteen pence. The House at length resolved that there were no grounds for the complaint. Hardiman says that Martin's rather injudicious proceeding proved injurious to the old proprietors, and equally serviceable to the new. It prejudiced the Lords Justices against the former. The new settlers were continued in the Corporation, notwithstanding writs of *quo warranto;* that is, we may suppose, all those who had not by their previous conduct rendered change of air beneficial. The 'law's delay' came to the aid of the new settlers, and proved a barrier to the restitution intended, to all appearance, by Charles II. in the earlier part of his reign. But we may well doubt whether the Merry Monarch was at any time very serious in his proposals to recompense those who suffered in his cause. It was an article of faith among the Stuarts, that loyalty and fidelity were obligations of so binding a character that the

faithful subject's simple duty was to suffer anything on behalf of his sovereign, without even hope or prospect of worldly recompense. At any rate, we know that Charles was not very careful to make amends to those who suffered for him in England. Why, then, expect him to inconvenience himself on account of 'the tribes' of Galway? His Majesty's chief concern, then, was to avoid the necessity of again setting out upon his travels, and to make life tolerable within the bounds of his own palace. It was not injured royalists, but court favourites, who had claims on the royal bounty; and when this object was to be accomplished, Charles could remember that there was a place called Galway, but to Galway's grave disadvantage.

There was a considerable amount of corporate property forfeited into the King's hands. It was, we may be sure expected that out of this some compensation would be made to the sufferers in his cause, or that, in any case the benefit would not be withdrawn from the people who had created the property. How little they who expected this, knew of the dynasty for which they had fought! How little they knew of the worthless prince for whose return they had sighed and rejoiced! By letters patent Charles II. granted to Elizabeth, widow of James Hamilton, esquire one of the grooms of his Majesty's bedchamber, this property which, although then, by a legal fiction, in his hands, he ought in justice and conscience—if Charles knew anything of either justice or conscience—to have held only in trust for the people of Galway. The recipient appointed one Matthew Quin as her agent, but when he attempted to exercise the powers so delegated to him he was put into prison by the mayor. Eventually the widow's claim was enforced by the chancery—a strange sort of equity, it seems. The Earl of Essex, who was then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was at first, as well he might be, opposed to the grant; but, in deference to the king's wishes, he acquiesced, not without much misgiving as to the justice of the cause he should have to enforce. In a communication to the Secretary in England he states: 'As to the affair of the town of Galway betwixt it and Mrs. Hamilton, &c., I

cannot but tell you that I apprehend this grant will be the ruin of the town.' If the people of Galway had in the first instance, declared against the claims of Charles to the throne they could not have been more shabbily treated. In 1684 Colonel Theodore Russell purchased from Mrs. Hamilton the charter market and petty dues for £2,500. He was then elected mayor for eleven years, and during this period he remained in exclusive receipt of those duties and customs. In other words, the townspeople were, for that long period, mulcted of all municipal emoluments in order that King Charles the Merry might be able to provide handsomely for a court dependent.

There were other accompaniments of the Restoration which bore heavily on the people of Galway. By the 'new rules' arising out of the Act of Explanation, 'the names of the mayor, sheriffs, recorder, or town clerk to be annually elected, were to be presented to the Lord Lieutenant'—an interference with freedom of election. Moreover, the Warden was to be nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. All officers of the Corporation were to take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and also a further oath—called the 'little oath'—against taking up arms against the King (abolished by 4 Geo. I., cap. 3). The Corporation test was, of course, not confined to Galway; but it was a particularly bitter pill for the old Catholic tribes, who had ventured so much, and suffered so much, in the cause of legitimate monarchy.

The brief reign of the last Stuart King raised their hopes, only to be more cruelly disappointed than ever. Then followed persecution and the royal boycotting of Irish trade. What is called the 'glorious' revolution proved to be ruin and degradation to the old merchant princes of Galway. But as persecution began to die out, the hopes and the fortunes of the *Gallive* rose until, in the earlier years of the nineteenth century, the town had once more risen to something like its former prosperity. The close of the century approaches, and what a change! The vain-glorious assertion of the Roman emperor, that he found Rome a city of brick, and would leave it a city of marble,

may be reversed and applied to Galway. In the beginning of the century it was, indeed, 'a city of marble' and of commercial activity. The closing years of the century of 'Union' leave it a mournful spectacle of dilapidation and decline, of poverty and lack of occupation.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

SOME ten years ago there appeared in the I. E. RECORD for the first time a translation of a puzzling passage with which St. Patrick's *Confession* opens. It was this:— The saint having mentioned his father's name, said 'he was of the street Bona venta, of Ukstown, and he had, indeed, a farm hard by, where I was made captive.' Ever since this translation appeared we have not seen a writing calculated in the least to shake our conviction of its correctness.

In confirmation, then, of this translation, if confirmation were required, I shall draw out a few proofs in so far as they connect our saint with Wales; and as mostly all of what I have to write will be taken from the *Book of Armagh*, I take leave to make a few observations on that venerable relic.

The *Book of Armagh* was called 'St. Patrick's Canon, because it contained with many other interesting documents his version of the four Gospels. The book is valuable as well for its antiquity and the precise date of many of its documents, as for the care with which it was written and guarded. The book contains the so-called *Confession* of the saint. Its Life of St. Patrick was written out of pre-existing materials at the suggestion of Aed, Bishop of Sletty, who died in the seventh century; the annotations of Tirechan were dictated by Ultan, Bishop of Ardbreaccan, in the middle of the seventh century. The entire book was written out by an inimitably excellent scribe, and bishops even

delighted in the title of scribe, under the superintendence of Torbach, Archbishop of Armagh ('haerede Patricii dictante'). Now, Archbishop Torbach sat from the year 807 to 808. This year is the latest assigned to any document in the *Book of Armagh;* but though limited in that direction, it might be traceable back to the times of St. Patrick. Eight townlands, with a residence in Armagh, were assigned to the guardian of the book, who was called mayor in Irish, and hence his descendants were called McMoyres. An outrage offered to the book, even by a king, was punished with banishment. In fact, the book was a national muniment under the protection of the Church.

As against the *Book of Armagh* how comparatively valueless must be any statements, apart from their intrinsic worth, which were made subsequent to it. From such statements, uncontrolled by any authority, there have come down to us through Colgan six Lives of our national saint; they have been contemptuously styled 'fabulous' by the learned Tillemont. The original life in the *Book of Armagh* has been so overlaid by subsequent irreconcilable statements that the Bollandists, from time to time, have had to stay their pen in despair of being able to reconcile conflicting stories. The scholia on the metrical hymn of Fiacc, called the first Life, are no exception to these silly stories, but rather the cause of many of them.

Amongst those who accompanied our saint in his mission to Ireland was Lomman. The *Book of Armagh* makes mention of four of his brothers who also came on the Irish mission. These were Mugenoc, Broccan, Munis, and Brocaid. They are called Welsh by Dr. Todd. Lomman was left at the mouth of the Boyne by St. Patrick, and told to wait there forty days; the saint himself went towards Tara. He did not return at the end of forty days, and Lomman waited for forty days more. Then Lomman sailed up to Trim. Here he met with Fidelmid, who as being married to a British wife, and having had a British mother, was able to salute Lomman in the British language, and inquire of Lomman as to his race and religion. Lomman replied: 'I am Lomman, a Britain, a Christian, and a disciple of

Bishop Patrick.' In fuller explanation of Lomman's answer the writer in the *Book of Armagh* states: 'Progenies autem Lommani de Britonibus, id est, filius Golli; germana autem Patricii mater ejus.' This translated is, 'the race of Lomman, indeed, was of the Britons, that is, a son of Gollus.' The *filius Golli* qualifies *de Britonibus*. Of a like character is the first line in the Life of the saint in the supplemental leaves to the *Book of Armagh*. There St. Patrick is styled a 'Briton' (*Brito natione*), followed by *in Britanniis natus*. This qualifies the former phrase. There are only two portions of ('utriusque Britanniae'). England called *Britanniae* by the Romans. What lay south of the Thames was *Britannia prima*, and Wales was *Britannia secunda*. As, then, *in Britanniis* was more particularly descriptive than *Brito natione*, so *filius Golli* was more particularly descriptive than *de Britonibus* preceding it.

Gollus, or more correctly Gallus, as suggested by Colgan was not a man's name in this instance. Lomman is represented by the Irish Lives and genealogists as the son of Darerca, alleged sister of St. Patrick. Now, neither of her husbands—for the Irish *Tripartite* states she was twice married—was called Gallus or Gollus. In the present instance *Gallus* meant a foreigner and Welshman. *Filius Galli*, standing for a Welshman, was like *filius hominis*, standing for man, or υἱος Ἀχαίων, for an Achean or Greek. *Gallus* was the Latin for *Gall*, which in Irish meant a foreigner, and in the seventh and eighth centuries a Welshman.

In the early ages of the Irish Celts they associated everything foreign with Gaul, or connected with Gaul, which stretched from the Alps to the Rhine. In course of time the term Gall was extended to the Danish invaders who were contradistinguished by the epithets of black and white Galls (Dubgall and Fingall); subsequently, the term was extended to anything foreign, as the so-called Reformation, from any part of England.[1] But originally *Gall* was

[1] Hence, a Protestant Church is called *teampul gallda* in Irish, and the Protestant religion, *creadam gallda*.

applied to those who came from Gaul immediately or mediately through Wales. Perhaps I can do nothing better than give on this matter the remarks of the profoundly learned Irish scholar, the Bishop of Cloyne (1748-1767). They may be read in the introduction to O'Reilly's Irish and English Dictionary :—

> The Irish words *Gall*, a Gaul, and *Gaill*, Gauls, are Celtic words, upon which the Latin words *Gallus* and *Galli* have been formed.[1] Nothing is more evident than that the national name of the first Celts who came to Ireland, whether they came immediately from Gaul, or rather after remaining some time in the greater British isle, as Mr. Lhuyd gives good reasons for thinking, were *Gall* in the singular, and *Gaill* in the plural; though it is equally certain this same national name of *Gall* was applied by the old natives to other colonies that followed those primitive Celts into Ireland from different parts of the Continent, and was applied to English adventurers. This must have proceeded both from their forgetting their origin, on account of their national name, from *Gaill* into *Gaedhill*, and also from the knowledge they traditionally preserved of the Gaulish nation, of its extent as well as of its vicinity to the British Isles. All these circumstances occasioned that the Celtiberians imagined that the stranger who came amongst them, whether immediately from Britain or otherwise, must have originally proceeded from Gaul.

There are some, however, who would not, as the learned bishop, trace the Irish word *Gall* to so remote a source; they would assign it to the coming of a colony of Gauls who, a few centuries before the Christian era, came to Ireland in order to help in the restoration of an Irish prince to his hereditary kingdom. All, however, agree in stating that *Gall* meant a foreigner, and was expressed in Latin by *Gallus* or *Gallicus*. This term was quite commonly applied to the Welsh, especially after the name 'Gaul' gave way to that of Frank. Wales, which was colonized by Galls or Gallo-Belgians, adhered to the word *Gall* and its inflexions. Hence we learn from Lhuyd's *Archæologia*[2] that the Welsh express *Guydhilig* (from *Gaill*) by *Gallus* or *Gallicus*. Even in the fourteenth century, when

[1] Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Book i. 1 : 'Qui ipsorum linguae Celtae nostra Galli appellantur.'

[2] *Compar. Etymol.*, p. xxiii., cxl. 3.

Wales had lost its national independence, the Welshman wished to be called a *Gallicus;* for Clyn the annalist, speaking of Sir Matthew Mylborne, states that he was an Englishman, but would be called a Welshman, *Gallicus.*[1] Mindful of the original connection or descent even the Frenchman of the present day expresses the words Wales, of Wales, Welshman, by *Gaule, de Galles,* and *Gaulois.* Though *Gallus* could be applied to a Frenchman, yet it did not, and could not, so apply in the phrase under consideration: *filius Galli de Britonibus.*

The *Life of St. Ailbe* supplies additional proof that *Gallus* represented no man's name in particular, but a Welshman. St. Ailbe, after receiving consecration in Rome, left for Ireland. In journeying homewards he preached the Gospel to different infidel nations. He made a special stay in a country which appears to have been Brittany, for he built a monastery there, and then went to Dole, where Sampson was archbishop. St. Ailbe left in charge of the monastery children of *Gall* (*filios Ghuill*). Sampson, who with his missioners came to Dole, had been Archbishop of St. David's. The children of *Gall* left by St. Ailbe in the monastery must be either those who accompanied him to Rome as he journeyed through Menevia, or some of the Welsh with Archbishop Sampson at Dole.[2]

As bearing on this matter, and as illustrative of the meaning and inflexions of *Gall* (*Gallus*), I may mention that there is an island on Lough Corrib which was called *Inis Goill crabhtigh,* now shortened into Inchaguile, which means 'the island of the devout foreigner.' The devout foreigner is said to have been a nephew of St. Patrick. His name was Lugnad. Dr. Petrie discovered a tombstone in the island which he judged to be as old as the sixth century,[3] and on the flag there appeared this inscription: 'The flag of Lugnaedon, son of Limania.'[4] In making mention of

[1] 'Nacione Anglicus, sed usu loquendi Gallicus, loquens tantum Gallicam.'—*Annals,* an. 1325.

[2] *Vid.* Rees' *Welsh Saints.*

[3] *Transactions, Royal Irish Academy,* vol. xx.

[4] The *Book of Leinster* states that Lugnat was son of Darerca.

Inisaguile I merely wish to draw attention to the meaning and inflexion of *Gall*.

Once more I would appeal to the *Book of Armagh*. Its writer speaks of the multitude by whom St. Patrick was accompanied when coming as a missionary to Ireland. He speaks of them as *Gallis*, who consisted of bishops (probably *in fieri*), priests, deacons, subdeacons, exorcists, door-keepers, and lectors; he gives the names of fifty persons under the heading *Gallis*. In the next line there is a small list of Frenchmen, numbering twelve, under the heading *de nominibus Francorum Patricii*. We are, therefore, driven to conclude that the *Franci* were different in nationality from the *Gallis;* the more especially as amongst these are numbered Brocaid and Lomman, who are proved to have been Welsh.[1]

Agreeably to these statements in the *Book of Armagh*, in reference to St. Patrick's coming with the Welsh (*Gallis*), is the glossary of the prince-bishop, Cormac MacCullenan. His gloss on the word *Cruimthir* runs thus :—

> That is the Gaelic of *presbyter*. *Prempter*, then, is the Welsh. Now, *prempter* in the Welsh is *cruimthir* in the Gaelic, and *cruimthir* is not a proper translation of *presbyter*, but is of *prempter*. Now, the Britons who were with Patrick at the preaching, it is they who translated it.[2] The Welsh, then, mentioned in the old glossary are the *Galli* mentioned in the *Book of Armagh*.

In connection with St. Patrick's passage to Ireland, I may remark that, according to the *Book of Armagh*, he judged that on landing near Wicklow he could do nothing more perfect (*perfectius*), than go and convert his former pagan taskmaster. Now if he were a native of Dunbarton he could easily have crossed over fourteen miles of water to Fairhead, and then be within a few miles by land from his taskmaster's dwelling in Antrim: thus he would have spared himself hundreds of miles by land, and hundreds on hundreds of miles by water, to use the words of the

[1] Fol. 9 bb.
[2] *L. Breac*, p. 264.

Druidical prophecy, 'over the raging sea.' The saint, if embarking from Dunbarton, could, in accepting presents from his mother, have partially stayed[1] her weeping and tears by pointing to the mere span of water that separated his native from his missionary country. But he did not, and could not have done so; for he embarked from the coast of Wales, his native country. Having now shown the connection of St. Patrick's alleged sister, of his nephews, and of his missionary retinue with Wales, I proceed to prove his own connection with it, by reference to the *Book of Armagh*, while in the entire Book there is not the remotest allusion to Alclyde or Caledonia.

Once on a time, after the year 460, at least,[2] St. Patrick administered the Sacrament of Confirmation to his newly-baptized converts. At the same time their country was raided by the soldiers and followers of Coroticus; and while the lately baptized were clad in the white garments of neophytes, and their foreheads glistened with the sacred chrism, they were, without distinction of age or sex, partially slain, and partially carried away captives amongst the Scots and Picts. Having heard of the irreligious outrage, our national saint on the following day sent a priest with other clerics to demand restitution of the plundered property and the undisposed-of captives; but the demand was treated with mockery by the representatives and soldiers of Coroticus.

We may infer very probably that the scene of the outrages lay on the northern coast of Ireland, and directly opposite the Scottish coast. It is not quite certain that Coroticus was personally engaged in ravaging the Irish coast: for our national saint in the letter which he addressed to him states that the messengers, previously dispatched on the day after the outrage on the same errand, were sent to the soldiers, who treated it with derision; and in another part of the letter our saint associated with the inhuman outrage Coroticus, not physically, but morally (*Jubente Corotico*).

[1] 'Cum fletu et lacrymis,' *Confession*.

[2] For at this time our saint, having come on his mission in the year 432, made use of the services of a priest whom he had trained from infancy.

However, St. Patrick in his letter to Coroticus upbraided sternly the soldiers for being the companions of the Scots and Picts.

Before proceeding further we may ask who were the Scots and Picts.

Firstly, in regard to the Scots, their native home was Ireland. From the days of St. Patrick till the eleventh century, the land of the Scots was called Scotia, Ireland, or Hibernia; but in the eleventh century the name changed. Owing to the short passage of fourteen miles of water between Fairhead and Kantyre—a distance nearly equal to what separates Clare from Kerry—the Scots freely and in crowds passed over to the opposite coast year after year; so that in the course of centuries they outnumbered the Picts, Britons, and the Saxons; and, finally, gave the name of Scotland to their adopted country. Ever since North Britain has been called Scotia or Scotland, while Ireland has been called Hibernia and the Greater Scotia.

There was one unpleasant result from this change in the name of Scotia. Some bold Scotchmen, such as Camerarius and Thomas Dempster claimed all the Irish saints as Scotch. All the Irish, as already observed, were called Scots from the fifth to the eleventh century; and as the bold Scotch writers maintained that Scotia was the name for Scotland, they claimed for Scotland, and the claim was admitted for some time, all the saints and scholars who covered Ireland with imperishable renown during the middle ages. Such has been the wholesale grabbing of Scotch writers!

The Scots, then, mentioned by St. Patrick were the pagan Irish who were yearly passing, and for a few centuries before his time had passed over to the western coast of Scotland.

Secondly, the home of the Picts generally lay in the northern part of Scotland. All the tribes north of the Roman wall drawn from the Forth to the Clyde were included under the general name of Picts. But as the Scots from Ireland effected a settlement on the western coast, so the Picts coming down from their mountain

homes established a settlement in the south-west of Scotland, in Galloway. The Pagan Picts of Galloway were evangelized by St. Ninian, about the year 400: he died about the year 430. The effect of his preaching was not lasting; for, within a generation after the death of Ninian, St. Patrick designated the people of Galloway as apostate Picts.

It will be of use to our purpose to consider the position and condition of the Strathclyde Britons, surrounded by the Picts and Scots on the north and west, and by the Saxons on the south and east: they were situated in the Roman province of Valentia. I may mention that the British island was composed of *Britannia Prima*, which lay south of the Thames; *Britannia Secunda*, nearly co-extensive with Wales; of *Maxima Caesariensis*, which stretched to the Humber; and of *Flavia Caesariensis*, which extended to the Tweed. While the two Britanniae were subdued and Romanized in the middle of the first century, the other divisions were only later brought under Roman subjection. A part of Scotland on to the Clyde was claimed as Roman territory, and fortified by a chain of forts extending from the Forth across to the Clyde: at another time the boundary wall was brought down to the Solway, while the intervening space between it and the Clyde had to be left to the riot and plunder of the Scots and Picts. But they would not be confined within the narrow space; they made devastating raids on the Roman province south of the Tweed. Nor were they alone in these raids: for Ammianus Marcellinus[1] informs us that so early as the year 360 they were joined by the Saxons and Attacotti in the work of destruction. On that account the bravest of the Roman generals was sent against them. They were defeated and routed with slaughter;[2] the wall at the Clyde was repaired and fortified; and in the year 369, for the first time, the space between the Tweed and the Clyde was formed into a fifth division of the Roman province. It got

[1] xxvi. 4: 'Picti, Saxonesque et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexavere continuis.'

[2] 'Orcades, incaluit Pictorum sanguine Thule; Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.' Claudian, viii. 26.

the name of Valentia in honour of the Emperor Valens, in whose reign the successful expedition was undertaken.

Quiet and order, however, were not lasting in the newly-established province of Valentia. For the usurper Maximus withdrew the legions which had been left in defence of the Roman fortifications, and the result of the withdrawal was the devastation by the Picts and Scots in the year 387. A similar effect from a like cause was the result in the years 396, 402, 407, and in 409. And when in the year 410 the Emperor Honorius withdrew for ever all the legions from the British island, and left the Britons to shift for themselves, the old Britons of Valentia, surrounded by the apostate and pagan Picts and by the pagan Scots and Saxons, were practically barbarous and pagan.

The nominal Christian, Coroticus, who raided the Irish coast, was a British prince whose principality stretched along the Irish sea; and as Wales and Strathclyde were the only places where the Britons held sway when St. Patrick hurled his excommunication, we must seek there for the home of Coroticus. At the same time a glance at the intellectual and religious aspect of the saint's surroundings as described by himself, will aid our inquiry.

We learn from the *Confession* of St. Patrick that he was a Romanized Briton, and that in his infancy and youth he spoke the Latin language. He wrote it very imperfectly, because, as he states, his captivity interfered with his education; and yet he felt the necessity of addressing a Latin letter to Coroticus, only because, we must suppose, he was a Romanized Briton, and unable to understand any other language. Not only Coroticus, but his soldiers and all his subjects were supposed to understand the Latin tongue; for our saint commissioned the bearer of his letter to Coroticus to read his scathing denunciations before the assembled people (*omnibus plebibus*) and, as the *Book of Armagh* informs us, even in the market-place (*in foro.*) Now a people speaking the Latin language could not then have been found in Alclyde or Dunbarton. Our authority for this statement is a Scotchman, no partial witness. These are the words of Dr. Skene:—'The inhabitants of

the district in which Alcluaid was situated were a Welsh-speaking people.'[1] This was only natural; for as the historian states, the remote parts of the British province—the north and west—were only slightly brought under Roman influence; so that when the Romans withdrew for ever from the island, in the year 410, they left a 'people not speaking the Roman language, but preserving their own laws, customs, and characteristics.'[2]

Now, if we turn to South Wales, a different picture is presented to us. There the Romans effected a settlement so early as the middle of the first century. The Severn and the sea marked out Wales as the second province in the island (*Britannia secunda*). Hence Juvenal, alluding to the Roman settlements in Kent and Wales, calls their inhabitants the people of both Britains (*populos utriusque Britanniae*). In the capital alone of Wales, Caerleon, was placed the legion, which gave a name to the place; and it consisted together with its complement of cavalry of seven thousand men. Here, and in the surrounding towns, were introduced Roman laws, habits, and language. There was no intermixture with, or interruption from, Picts or Scots. Here, too, were the *forum*, the baths, and the amphitheatre, which passed under the name of Arthur's Round Table. South Wales was so thoroughly Romanized that after the departure of the Roman soldiers the native princes were called Romans. Such was Ambrosius Aurelius who gained a famous victory over the Saxons at the mouth of the Severn. His parents, in the words of Gildas, were adorned with the purple.[3] And Venerable Bede, repeating the statement of Gildas, more fully explains it by saying that Ambrosius's parents bore the name and distinctions of royalty.[4] And Nennius, speaking of Ambrose, states that his father was Consul of the Roman nation.[5]

The princes, soldiers, and people of South Wales were

[1] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 436.
[2] *Ibid.*, vol. i., pp. 120, 121.
[3] *Hist. Brit.*, ch. xxv.
[4] 'Regium nomen et insigne ferentibus.' (*Histor. Ecclesiastica.*)
[5] 'Unus de consulibus gentis Romanicae,' ch. lvi.

the men to whom a Latin address was applicable and necessary. And in proof of their Romanized character, we may adopt the language of the Scottish Skene :—

> The effects on the provincials of the fertile, accessible, and completely subjugated districts were more deep and lasting. To a great extent they lost their nationality, and became Roman citizens . . . those in the northern and western portions were more in the position of native tribes under a foreign rule than of the civilized inhabitants of a province.

The intellectual aspect, then, of Alclyde, capital of Strathclyde, forbids the supposition of a Latin letter having been addressed to the Strathclyde Britons by St. Patrick : it was quite otherwise in regard to South Wales.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

[We are obliged to hold over the concluding part of Fr. Malone's paper till next month.—ED. I. E. R.]

THE JUBILEE OF THE HOLY YEAR

THE PRIVILEGE OF GAINING IT WITHOUT GOING TO ROME

[We have the permission of the Archbishop of Dublin to print, as follows, the principal passages of a letter which has been addressed by his Grace within the last few days to the clergy of his diocese for their information on this important practical matter.—Ed. I. E. R.]

The points as to which information may be sought for are the following :—

I. The persons who are privileged to gain the Jubilee this year without going to Rome.

II. The conditions on which such persons can gain the Jubilee.

III. Whether they can gain the Jubilee Indulgence more than once.

IV. Whether they can have the advantage of the other privileges of the Jubilee more than once.

I.—AS TO THE PERSONS WHO ARE PRIVILEGED TO GAIN THE JUBILEE THIS YEAR WITHOUT GOING TO ROME

I may begin by pointing out that the cases in which the Jubilee can, for the present, be gained without going to Rome are of two kinds : (*a*) a special case, expressly provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the Sovereign Pontiff (*Properante ad exitum saeculo*) in which the Jubilee was published on the 11th of May, last year ; (*b*) a number of exceptional cases for which provision was made in a subsequent Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November.

It will be convenient to deal, in the first place, with the cases under this second heading.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November*, 1899

These cases may be grouped as follows :—

1. Nuns, and, generally speaking, women or girls resident in Convents or in similar Institutions; also cloistered Anchorets and Hermits, including members of certain Religious Orders of men, as, for instance, some of the Cistercians;

2. Those who are in prison or in captivity;

3. Those whose condition of health hinders them from journeying to Rome; including under this head, all persons who have completed their seventieth year.

It is useful for the clergy to have at hand the words of the Apostolic Letter, in which the various classes of persons thus grouped are enumerated. The document is printed in the I. E. RECORD for last month,[1] but it may be well to transcribe certain portions of it here.

1. The five following paragraphs specify in detail the various classes of persons grouped under the first of the three headings above :—

I. Moniales omnes, quotquot solemnia vota religionis ediderunt et in monasteriis degunt sub claustri perpetui disciplina ; item quae tyrocinium exercent, quaeve in monasteriis, aut educationis aut alia de causa legitima, commorantur. Pariter Monasteriorum hujusmodi Moniales quae stipis colligendae gratia septa religiosa egrediuntur.

II. Oblatae, vitae societate coniunctae, quarum Instituta fuerint ab Apostolica Sede, vel ratione stabili, vel ad experimentum probata, una cum suis novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque communi cum ipsis contubernio utentibus, quamquam severiori claustri lege non adstringantur.

III. Tertiariae sub uno eodemque tecto communiter viventes, cum suis pariter novitiis atque educandis puellis, aliisque cum ipsis una degentibus, etsi severiore claustri lege minime teneantur, earumque Institutum nec unquam ad hunc diem ab Apostolica Sede approbatum fuerit, nec ut approbatum in posterum haberi debeat vi praesentis concessionis.

IV. Puellae ac mulieres in gynaeceis seu Conservatoriis de-

[1] I. E. RECORD, January, 1900, pp. 82-86.

gentes, quamvis nec Moniales, nec Oblatae, nec Tertiariae, nullisque claustri legibus obnoxiae sint.

V. Idem concedimus Anachoretis atque Eremitis, non quidem eis qui nullis clausurae legibus adstricti, vel in collegio et societate, vel solitarii sub Ordinariorum regimine certisque legibus aut regulis obtemperantes vivunt: sed eis qui in continua, licet non omnimodo perpetua, clausura et solitudine deditam contemplationi vitam agunt, etiamsi monasticum aut regularem Ordinem profiteantur, ut Cistercienses aliquot, Chartusienses, Monachi et Eremitae sancti Romualdi solent.

2. The following paragraph regards the cases comprised under the second of the three headings above:—

VI. Ad utriusque sexus Christifideles eamdem concessionis gratiam extendimus, qui captivi in hostium potestate versantur, ad eosque ubique locorum, qui ex civilibus aut criminalibus causis in carcere detinentur; item qui exilii poenam aut deportationis luunt: qui in triremibus aut alibi ad opus damnati reperiuntur; denique ad religiosos viros qui suis in coenobiis sub custodia retinentur, vel qui ex rectorum praecepto certam habent sedem, quasi exilii aut deportationis loco assignatam.

3. Finally, the following paragraph regards the cases comprised under the third of the three headings above:—

VII. Eamdem concessionem communem esse pariter volumus utriusque sexus infirmis cuiusvis ordinis et conditionis, vel qui iam extra Urbem in morbum aliquem inciderint, cuius causa, intra Iubilaei annum, Urbem adire, medici iudicio, non possint, vel qui, licet convaluerint, non sine tamen gravi incommodo romanum iter aggredi possint, vel qui omnino dare se in iter imbecilla ex habitu valetudine prohibeantur. Horum denique numero senes haberi volumus, qui septuagesimum aetatis suae annum excesserint.

All persons comprised within any of the descriptions thus given have the privilege of gaining the Jubilee of the present year without going to Rome.

His Holiness, in accordance with traditional form, states in the Apostolic Letter of last November that he is moved to make this special concession for the sake of those who, in any of the ways enumerated, are hindered from making the journey to Rome, but who would willingly make that journey if no obstacle stood in the way.

According to some writers on the Jubilee, such a declaration of the Sovereign Pontiff is to be understood as *limiting the privilege* to those who, in addition to belonging to one or another of the various classes enumerated, are moreover in the pious disposition of mind thus described in the Apostolic Letter. According to others, the privilege is granted to all persons included in any of those classes,—so that, in this view, the reference to the desire of some of those persons to make the journey to Rome, if they were free to do so, should be understood rather as *a statement of the motive* that has led the Holy Father to make the concession than as limiting the concession in any way.

In the absence of an authoritative decision, it is not easy to speak with confidence on such a point. It would seem, however, that the latter view has a great deal to recommend it.

The matter being to some extent uncertain, it is desirable in all cases to do what can be done to excite the pious disposition thus prominently mentioned in the Apostolic Letter.

§ 2. *The special case provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th May,* 1899.

Outside the cases covered by the special privilege thus granted by the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November, 1899, there is, as I have mentioned, one special case for which provision is made in the Apostolic Letter by which the Jubilee was proclaimed on the 11th of May.

This is the case of persons who, after having *actually set out* on the journey to Rome, are unable to complete the journey—or, having completed it, are unable to make the prescribed visits to the Basilicas,—on account either of illness or of some other sufficient cause: 'morbo scilicet,' are the words of his Holiness, 'aliaque causa legitima, in Urbe, *aut ipso itinere, prohibiti.*'

Confessors . . . should be in a position to give instructions as to the gaining of the Jubilee in such a case.

II.—AS TO THE CONDITIONS ON WHICH THE JUBILEE CAN BE GAINED IN THESE VARIOUS CASES

The conditions on which the Jubilee can be gained by those on whom the special favour is conferred of being able to gain it this year without going to Rome, were set forth in my Pastoral Letter of last December. In so far as these conditions have to be considered in detail, it will be useful to keep to the division of the various cases made under the preceding heading.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November.*

In these cases, the good works prescribed are the following:—

(1) A true repentance for sin;

(2) A good confession;

(3) A worthy reception of the Blessed Eucharist;

(4) Prayers for the prosperity and extension of Holy Church; for the extirpation of errors; for concord among Catholic rulers; and for the tranquillity and the well-being, in this world, and in the next,[1] of all Christian people.

(5) The performance of some suitable works of religion and piety, as a substitute for the Visits of devotion prescribed to be made to each of the Basilicas, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran's, and St. Mary Major's—at least one Visit a day to be made to each Basilica, on each of ten separate days,—in the case of persons gaining the Jubilee in Rome.[2]

As to the works to be performed in substitution for the forty Visits to the Basilicas, some points of importance have to be noted.

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[1] As the word 'salus' is capable of being understood either of temporal well-being or of eternal salvation, it may be well to take it in the widest sense, so as to include both one and the other.

[2] In Rome, special dispensations, largely reducing in certain cases the number of Visits prescribed, are granted by the Cardinal Penitentiary under special authority from the Sovereign Pontiff.

Such a dispensation, for instance, is granted to members of a pilgrimage, they visit the Basilicas in a body.

(*a*) Some of these works are to be voluntarily undertaken by the persons themselves, others are to be enjoined upon them, as explained in the Apostolic Letter: 'in eumque [Jubilaeum lucrandi] finem visitationi quatuor Urbis Basilicarum alia . . . opera devote sufficiant, quum voluntaria, tum praesertim a delectis sacri ordinis viris auctoritate Nostra injungenda, prout infra edicitur.'

(*b*) These latter are to be enjoined by the Bishop of the diocese,[1] acting either personally or through confessors delegated by him for the purpose.

(*c*) The works enjoined are to be suitable, in view of all the circumstances of each case: 'congrua religionis ac pietatis opera juxta singulorum statum, conditionem, et valetudinem, ac loci et temporis rationes.'

(*d*) They are to be, in some sense, equivalent to the Visits to the four Basilicas, prescribed in the case of persons gaining the Jubilee in Rome: the privilege of substituting, in these exceptional classes of cases, other works in place of those Visits is spoken of in the Apostolic Letter as a power of 'commuting' the prescribed Visits, '*commutandorum* operum facultatem,' and there is a well-known principle, laid down expressly in reference to the Jubilee of 1750, by Benedict XIV.: 'sola ac simplex *commutatio* subrogationem exigit in materiam *majorem* vel saltem *aequalem*.'

[The Archbishop then delegates each confessor in his Grace's diocese to act for him, as far as may be necessary, in this matter.

As a rule, Visits to churches or chapels within the diocese are to be substituted for the forty Visits to the Roman Basilicas. The Archbishop prescribes thirty Visits to be thus made—not more than three to be made on any day,—and provides especially for the various cases;

[1] It is unnecessary here to make any reference to the case of members of Religious Orders, beyond quoting these words of the Apostolic Letter: 'Eandem commutandorum operum facultatem concedimus Praelatis Regularibus, videlicet utendam erga Instituta et personas singulas quae in ipsorum jurisdictione sint.'

the cases of city parishes; parishes outside the city; Colleges, Convents, &c.

In all cases, the Visits are to be made with devotion, as is prescribed in the case of the Visits to the Basilicas in Rome: 'devote visitaverint.' As to this clause Benedict XIV. says:—

Ex quo deduci potest quod si quis, nullo pio fine, sed mera ductus curiositate, aut animi relaxandi, seu, quod dicitur, deambulationis habendae gratia, iter conficit, Jubilaeum minime consequitur.

In cases in which the Visits thus specified cannot be enjoined, each confessor in the diocese is empowered to substitute other works of piety: the power thus delegated is to be exercised only in the Tribunal of Penance; and in the exercise of it the principles laid down in the letter are to be followed.

After the statement in detail of these diocesan regulations, the consideration of the general questions involved is resumed.]

It is especially to be borne in mind that the power granted by the Holy Father is a power only of 'commutation,' in the sense above explained.

Difficulty in the performance of the works being plainly one of the important elements to be taken into account, a large allowance should be made on this score in cases of serious illness, and even in cases of seriously impaired health.

Writers of authority on the Jubilee point out that there should be no over-anxiety in this matter. It must be presumed to be the intention of the Holy Father that even if an error of judgment be committed, the mistake—at least if it has been made *bona fide*, and not through carelessness—will not interfere with the gaining of the Jubilee in the case in which it has occurred.

Finally, as regards the Visits, or other good works,

enjoined in substitution for the Visits to the Basilicas in Rome, it is to be observed that the Apostolic Letter of last November provides that, if, after the performance of these works has been even commenced, the person seeking to gain the Jubilee is overcome by a dangerous illness, the Indulgence will be gained by the performance of all the other conditions: 'Omnia . . . implentibus alia injungenda opera in locum visitationum, ac, *vel inchoatis tantum iisdem operibus, si morbus periculosus oppresserit* . . . indulgentiam largimur atque concedimus.'

§ 2. *The case specially provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the* 11*th of May*, 1899

In this case, already sufficiently defined, the necessity of visiting the Basilicas—or of completing the prescribed number of Visits if these have been commenced by a person who has reached Rome, and is unable to make the Visits in the prescribed number,—is dispensed with by the Holy Father himself. No other good works therefore need be substituted for them.

This is clear from the words of his Holiness:—

> Nos piae eorum voluntati . . . tribuimus ut vere poenitentes et confessione rite abluti et sacra communione refecti, indulgentiae et remissionis supra dictae participes perinde fiant ac si Basilicas, quas memoravimus . . . reipsa visitassent.

It is noteworthy that in the case just provided for, no reference is made to the Prayers which are prescribed to be said, in ordinary cases, on the occasion of each Visit, and are prescribed also in the cases in which other works, as already explained, are substituted for the Visits to the Basilicas. The Visits, in the present case, being simply dispensed with,—so that they are not even represented by other works substituted for them,—the requirement of the Prayers is omitted, apparently on the principle: *accessorium sequitur principale.*

III.—AS TO WHETHER, IN THESE EXCEPTIONAL CASES, THE JUBILEE INDULGENCE CAN BE GAINED MORE THAN ONCE

There can be no doubt that the Jubilee Indulgence of the Holy Year can be gained *toties quoties*, by the repeated performance of the good works, including the Visits to the Roman Basilicas, prescribed in the Apostolic Letter by which the Jubilee was published. The question regards only the gaining of the Jubilee by persons not in Rome.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November*, 1899

In these cases, the Indulgence of the Jubilee can be gained *twice*, but *only twice*. This is clear from the words of the Apostolic Letter:—

> *Indulgentiam* . . . etiam *duplici vice* intra anni sancti decursum, si injuncta opera iteraverint, haud secus ac si praescripta communiter ceteris omnibus expleverint . . . largimur.

But it might, of course, happen that, owing to a change of circumstance, or otherwise, a person who had thus gained the Indulgence twice, was afterwards in a position to go to Rome within the year. There can be no reason to doubt that such a person could gain the Indulgence again in Rome by the performance of all the prescribed works, and could gain it *toties quoties* by performing the prescribed works again and again.

This would appear to be a reasonable inference from one of the *Monita*, collected from the various Constitutions of Benedict XIV. regarding the Jubilee of 1750, and published in Rome by order of our present Holy Father for the guidance of confessors during the Jubilee of the present year.

The *Monitum* is as follows:—

> XIX. Qui per Anni Sancti spatium bis aut pluries omnia et singula opera primitus in hujus Jubilaei Indictione praescripta, vel, superveniente forsan aliquo Indulto, ea quae in ipsius Indulti concessione pro ejusdem Jubilaei consecutione praescribuntur,

plene iteraverit; vel prius ad Indictionis, deinde ad Indulti formam, vel prius ad formam Indulti unius, deinde ad alterius fortasse diversi formam, ut praefertur, iteraverit, bis quoque aut pluries poterit Anni Sancti Jubilaeum lucrari.

§ 2. *The case specially provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the* 11*th of May*, 1899

In this case, the Jubilee Indulgence can, ordinarily speaking, be gained but once. Nothing further is provided for by the Apostolic Letter.

But a person who had thus gained the Indulgence might afterwards be in a position to make the journey to Rome, and to perform there, even repeatedly, all the works prescribed. In such a case, the gaining of the Jubilee Indulgence as often as the prescribed works were performed, would not seem to be at all interfered with by the fact that the Indulgence had in the first instance been gained in the exceptional way here considered. This also appears to be a reasonable inference from the *Monitum* quoted in the preceding section.

IV.—AS TO WHETHER THE OTHER PRIVILEGES OF THE JUBILEE ARE AVAILABLE MORE THAN ONCE

The privileges in question are stated in the various Apostolic Letters as follows:—

1. Facultas Monialibus concessa Confessarium eligendi. 'Monialibus earumque novitiis licet sumere sibi ex alterutro Cleri ordine Confessarios, qui tamen sint ad audiendas Monialium confessiones rite approbati.'

2. Facultas aliis concessa Confessarium eligendi.—Aliis quibuscunque, 'quibus forte ordinario tempore eligendi sibi Confessarii libera facultas non sit, eligere sibi licet Confessarios quoscunque, dummodo ad confessionem personarum saecularium probati rite sint.'

3. Facultas absolvendi a reservatis.—'Confessariis sic electis concedimus . . ut personas supra dictas, auditis earum confessionibus, absolvere possint a quibusvis peccatis, etiam Apostolicae Sedi speciali forma reservatis, excepto casu haeresis formalis et externae, imposita poenitentia salutari, aliisque juxta canonicas sanctiones rectaeque disciplinae regulas injungendis.'

4. Facultas dispensandi super quaedam vota Monialium.—'Confessariis quos moniales sibi elegerint facultatem facimus

dispensandi super vota quaelibet ab ipsis post solemnem professionem facta, quae regulari observantiae minime adversentur.'

5. FACULTAS ALIARUM QUARUNDAM MULIERUM VOTA COMMUTANDI.—'Confessarios supra memoratos etiam dispensando commutare posse volumus omnia vota quibus Oblatae, Novitiae, Tertiariae, puellae et mulieres in communibus domibus agentes se obstrinxerint, exceptis iis quae Nobis et Apostolicae Sedi reservata sint: factaque commutatione, a votorum etiam jura torum observantia absolvere.'

The power of absolving in reserved cases, thus granted by the Sovereign Pontiff, is expressly limited to cases reserved to the Holy See: but his Holiness exhorts all Bishops of the Church to follow the example of the Holy See in this respect.

[The Archbishop here notifies, that in the diocese of Dublin the faculties thus granted extend to all diocesan reserved cases and censures without exception.]

It was at one time much disputed amongst theologians whether the special powers thus granted to confessors for the purposes of the Jubilee are to be exercised in the Tribunal of Penance only.

There is no longer any room for doubt upon the point. Benedict XIV., in one of the memorable Constitutions issued by him on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1750, made an explicit ruling on the subject, for the direction of confessors:—

Advertant . . . supradictas absolutiones, commutationes, dispensationes, *non posse* a se exerceri *extra actum sacramentalis confessionis.*

This would in any case apply to the present Jubilee, by virtue of the important Decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, February 6th, 1852:—

In Jubilaeo, tum ordinario, tum extraordinario, servandae sunt omnes regulae a S. P. Benedicto XIV traditae, quibus non adversatur Bulla Jubilaei.

'Aliter (religiosae professionis solemnis) effectus est extinctio *omnium* votorum *prius* emissorum . . Excipe, nisi priora vota sint in favorem tertii cui jus sit acquisitum.' BALLERINI—PALMIERI, *Opus Theologicum Morale*, Tract. 9, cap. 2, n. 6.

But, moreover, the express declaration of Benedict XIV. in this particular point is embodied in the *Monita* already referred to, issued by our Holy Father for the direction of confessors in Rome during the present Jubilee.[1]

The general question under consideration in reference to the special privileges of the Jubilee, other than the Indulgence, is easily answered.

§ 1. *The cases provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st of November,* 1899.

In these cases the special privileges above enumerated are available, but *on one occasion only.* The words of the Apostolic Letter on this point are decisive: 'fas esse jubemus eligere sibi *prima vice duntaxat* Confessarios,' &c. &c.

Not even when the Jubilee is gained in Rome by the performance of all the prescribed works, including the Visits to the Basilicas, are these special favours of the Jubilee available on more than one occasion.

This, however, does not altogether dispose of the question. Theologians proceed to discuss (*a*) whether those special privileges of the Jubilee are available *more than once* in favour of a person who has not yet completed the performance of the prescribed works, and so has *not yet gained the Jubilee;* and (*b*) whether these favours are available *on the second occasion* of the gaining of the Jubilee, by a person in whose favour they *had not been made use of on the first occasion.*

As to the first of these questions, there seems to be no real ground for the difference of opinion expressed by those who have written on the subject.

The only limitation imposed by Benedict XIV. is in the case of persons who have already gained the Jubilee, and it consequently has no reference to persons who, before they have completed the performance of the prescribed works, may again have need of the special Jubilee privileges.

It is in speaking of those who, *in order to gain the Jubilee more than once,* repeat the performance of the pre-

[1] See p. 249.

scribed works, that he says in his Constitution, *Convocatis*, 'hoc tamen [declaramus] neminem posse nisi semel, id est, *prima tantum vice*, frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis.' And in his Constitution, *Inter praeteritos*, subsequently issued for the purpose of removing all doubts that might arise regarding the meaning of his previous instructions, he says:—'In eadem Constitutione *Convocatis* . . . declaravimus qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est, *prima vice qua Jubilaeum consecutus fuit*, iterum earum participem fieri non posse si, *post primam Jubilaei acquisitionem*, iterum in censuras incurrerit aut casus reservatos commiserit.'

The second question may at first sight seem to require an answer in the negative. For, in the Apostolic Letter of the 1st November, the limitation is laid down in two places, and the words used in reference to the special favours in question are, '*prima* duntaxat *vice*,' and again '*prima vice* duntaxat.'

But then, these were the words used by Benedict XIV. in reference to the same matter, in his Constitution *Convocatis*, 'neminem posse nisi semel, id est, *prima* tantum *vice*, frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis,'—and yet in his explanatory Constitution, *Inter praeteritos*, he explains the limitation as applying only to persons in whose favour the special faculties *had been exercised on the previous occasion* of their gaining the Jubilee. This seems decisive on the point. But, undoubtedly, in the absence of this authoritative interpretation, the opposite view of the meaning of the clause might seem a very natural one.

It is notable that in the collection of *Monita* already referred to,[1] issued for the direction of confessors in Rome during the present Jubilee, the *Monitum* compiled from the Constitutions of Benedict XIV. referring to this matter, is supplemented by the following paragraph:—

Si vero forte alicui hujusmodi gratiarum necessitas tunc solum occurrat postquam jam acquisiverit Jubilaeum . . . semel iisdem gratiis eum gaudere posse Sanctitas Sua benigne concedit.

[1] See p. 249.

In view of all this, there would appear to be no reason why the second of the two questions above stated,[1] as well as the first, should be not answered in the affirmative.

§ 2. *The special case provided for in the Apostolic Letter of the 11th of May*, 1899.

In reference to this, it is sufficient to say that, in this case, whilst the Jubilee Indulgence may be gained on the conditions already stated,[1] the other special privileges of the Jubilee are not at all available.

As regards the gaining of the Jubilee during the present year, no other point occurs to me as requiring any special reference. Those who may have the opportunity of going to Rome within the year will have no difficulty in obtaining there all requisite instructions.

In reference to the suspension of Indulgences during this Jubilee year, it may be useful to mention that, on the 20th of December, an addition was made to the list of Indulgences given in the Apostolic Letter of the 30th of last September, as exempted by Pontifical authority from the general suspension.

On the petition of the Bishop of Loretto, the Sacred Penitentiary, by virtue of special powers received from the Sovereign Pontiff, renewed a concession made by Leo XII. on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1825, in favour of the faithful visiting the Holy House, once the abode of the Holy Family, and now enshrined in the Basilica of Loretto.

The concession made on the 25th of July, 1824, and thus renewed, is as follows:—

Concedimus ut omnes Indulgentiae . . . visitantibus Almam Domum Lauretanam . . . concessae, anno Jubilaei durante, valeant suumque sortiantur effectum . . . perinde ac suspensio (Indulgentiarum) a Nobis specialiter vel generaliter non emanasset.

✠ W. J. W.

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[1] See p. 252.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

QUASI DOMICILE

Rev. Dear Sir,—Your interesting, straightforward, and instructive reply in last month's I. E. Record, to 'Presbyter,' on one phase of this vexed question, tempts me to request that you will kindly give your opinion on this other phase:—What is the shortest period one must intend to remain in a place in order that the condition as to the *animus permanendi* for acquiring a quasi-domicile may be satisfied? Lehmkuhl, 6th edition, 1890, vol. ii., page 554, says a *notabilis anni pars* is the period required and sufficient. Moreover, he adds that it is *sufficiently* probable that this condition is satisfied by intending to remain for a period of *four* months. Can this opinion be followed in practice? If not, what is the shortest period?

It often happens that the period for which a servant engages is some days, sometimes two or three weeks, less than the exact half year; hence to know the very shortest period that will suffice in practice, is of the highest importance. As you are well aware, there is still much divergence of opinion in this matter where uniformity is so desirable.

Sacerdos.

In an Instruction sent to the bishops of England and of the United States, in 1867, it was expressly stated that the intention required for acquiring a quasi domicile is an intention of remaining *per majorem anni partem*. Until then the opinion to which Father Lehmkuhl gives the sanction of his great authority might, we think, have been defended. But, in the face of so clear an adverse decision, that opinion lost, it seems to us, whatever probability had hitherto attached to it.

The same Instruction was transmitted to the Irish bishops in 1877. And later still, in 1886, in a document sent to the bishops of the United States the mind of the

Roman authorities is again shown to be distinctly adverse to this opinion supported by Father Lehmkuhl:—

Concilio Baltimorensi supplicante postulandum SSmo. ut decernere dignetur in Statibus Americae Confederatis se transferentes e loco ubi viget caput *Tametsi*, in alium locum, dummodo ibi continuo commorati fuerint per spatium saltem unius integri mensis, et status sui libertatem, uti juris est, comprobaverint, censendos esse ibidem habere quasi domicilium in ordine ad matrimonium, quin inquisitio facienda sit de animo ibi permanendi per majorem anni partem. SSmus vero feria IV, 12 Maii 1886, praedictum decretum . . . confirmare dignatus est.

The introduction of the words *per majorem anni partem* into this document certainly goes to show that the opinion adopted by Father Lehmkuhl had not then secured the adhesion of the Roman authorities. Even though we assume that the words were not introduced with the deliberate object of opposing the opinion maintained by Father Lehmkuhl, they are, at all events, remarkable, as evidence of the mind of the Congregation. We are, therefore, quite prepared to find that the authority of the most modern writers—and we have consulted quite a number—is all but unanimous against the opinion to which Father Lehmkuhl still adheres.

Supported by the express declarations of the Congregations above referred to and the practically unanimous voice of modern writers, we are justified in saying that, as far as we can presume to judge, Father Lehmkuhl's opinion cannot be regarded at the present time as probable; still less would it be prudent for any priest to act on that opinion, whatever may be his own views in regard to it. Both speculatively and in practice, we must hold that an intention of remaining for *at least half a year* is the intention requisite for acquiring a quasi domicile. An intention of remaining for any shorter time is, at best, doubtfully sufficient,—or, as we think, certainly insufficient,—and should not be relied on *ante factum*.

Of course, this reply, like our correspondent's question, has no reference to places, such as the United States, affected by special legislation.

In reference to the same reply in the February I. E. RECORD, another correspondent writes:—

In the interesting paper in your current number on 'Quasi-Domicile: How and When Lost by Servants,' your correspondent quotes Dr. Murray as an authority for his opinion.

But I do not think he is justified in so doing. It is true that Dr. Murray, in the context referred to, expressly taught that a man might have, and retain, the same domicile in a parish, though he repeatedly changed his residence in the parish. Your correspondent makes this quotation, but omits to state that in a note on the same page Dr. Murray withdraws that teaching. Here is a transcript of note:—

'Haec scripsi ante visam (aut saltem ante satis diligenter perpensam) eam partem instructionis S. Congregationis, quae datur infra, n. 386. In periodo hujus instructionis ultima videtur decidi caium nostrum [the man in question] pro vago habendum esse.'—(*De Imped. Matrim.*, p. 147.)

ATQUE.

Our correspondent misapprehends our argument in the passage to which he refers. We regret that our words should have in any way contributed to the mistake. We shall try briefly, but, we trust, with more success, to make our meaning clear. But as we may have occasion to return to this question in a future number, we shall be content now with the few words necessary to remove our correspondent's misconception.

From the very definition of domicile (and quasi domicile) we argued that a domicile is not necessarily attached to one definite residence in a parish, but rather to the parish itself. As typical definitions of domicile we selected those of Father Konings and Dr. Murray. We took Dr. Murray's definition all the more readily, because he is quoted, perhaps rather unfairly, for an opinion opposed to that which we were inclined to maintain regarding the case submitted to us. Neither of these learned authors ever withdrew his definition or description of domicile. We were, therefore, justified in quoting their definitions, and making our own inference and application. Dr. Murray, Father Konings, and authors generally are responsible for the definition, and

for it only. We ourselves ventured to make, on our own responsibility, what seemed to us an easy inference. We inferred that a domicile or quasi-domicile in a parish is not necessarily attached to one definite place of residence.

It is true that Dr. Murray himself made even a wider inference than ours, and that we referred to the fact. But, of course, as Dr. Murray, in a note now quoted by our correspondent, appended a hesitating retractation, and as it might be alleged that that retractation extended even to the moderate opinion which we were concerned to maintain,[1] we were not unwise enough to base our conclusion on that particular inference. We mentioned it, as the context shows, merely to clear up any possible doubt that may exist about the meaning which Dr. Murray attached to the words of his own definition. Moreover, so far from using that particular inference (afterwards retracted) to support our argument, we expressly referred to the passage now quoted from Dr. Murray by our correspondent, and stated that we deliberately abstained from even raising the question to which that retractation has reference. The paragraph in which we made that statement appears to have escaped our correspondent.

In one word, Dr. Murray was relied on for a definition which he never withdrew or retracted; his retractation on a question which was explicitly excluded from the scope of our paper, was irrelevant to our purpose and beside our argument. However, we are grateful to our correspondent for the opportunity of removing even the possibility of misunderstanding.

UNCTIO RENUM IN ADMINISTERING EXTREME UNCTION

A correspondent asks whether priests in Ireland are bound to follow the Roman Ritual, and anoint the loins of men in administering Extreme Unction. There is he states, divergence of opinion and of practice in the diocese to which he belongs.

[1] As a matter of fact, there is nothing to indicate what Dr. Murray's final opinion was on the precise point we were discussing.

There has been, and is, much diversity of practice throughout the Church regarding the anointing of the loins. Many of the rituals formerly in use omitted all mention of it, and even in places like Ireland, where the use of the Roman Ritual has been long ago made obligatory, the custom of omitting this unction has in some places been retained.

This unction of the loins is, of course, clearly prescribed by the Roman Ritual; not, indeed, as an essential part of the sacrament, but as an integral part of the ceremonial rite:—

> . . . Attamen pedes etiam, et renes ungendi sunt; sed renum unctio in mulieribus, honestatis gratia, semper omittitur; atque etiam in viris, quando infirmus commode moveri non potest. Sed sive in mulieribus, sive in viris, alia corporis pars pro renibus ungi non debet.

The observance of this rubric is expressly enforced by the National Synod of Thurles. In the section *De Extrema Unctione* we read:—

> Orationes et unctiones omnes juxta normam Ritualis Romani in Sacramento hoc conferendo perficiantur.

The National Synod of Maynooth, in 1875, renewed this decree in the same terms.

It is well known, however, that, notwithstanding the express law of the Ritual and of the National Councils, the practice of anointing the loins has not been universally adopted in Ireland. In this connection it will be interesting to give a reply sent by the Sacred Congregation of Rites, 14th August, 1858, to the Archbishop of Utrecht. The Archbishop was about to introduce into his diocese the use of the Roman Ritual, to the exclusion of any other. He requested permission from the Holy See, however, owing to the peculiar circumstances of his diocese, in which the anointing of the loins had never been hitherto prescribed or practised, to omit, in his diocesan edition of the Ritual, the rubric ordering the anointing of the loins. The permission to modify the Ritual was distinctly refused. The existing custom, he was informed, might be tolerated,

if the circumstances so required. But he was most earnestly exhorted to bring the practice of his diocese gradually into harmony with the rubrics of the Roman Ritual. The portion of the reply, bearing on the question before us, may be interesting to our readers:—

Quod attinet ad renum unctionem, quam in administrando Sacramento extremae unctionis nunquam in ista dioecesi Amplitudo Tua adhibitam fuisse testatur, et quam idcirco postulat, ut in Rituali Romano omitti permittatur, visum est Sacrae Cong. nullam prorsus sive in hac, sive in alia quacumque re suppressionem vel immutationem in Rituali induci oportere . . . Quod si unctio renum inusitata istic hactenus fuit, declaravit S. Cong. patienter se quidem laturam se singularia istius dioecesis adjuncta impediant quominus illico, et universim ad praxim unctio isthaec deducatur, insimul tamen ardentissimum votum suum expressit, ut curante Amplitudine Tua, et docentibus parochis, paulatim et sensim sine sensu disponantur fideles ad istam quoque specialem unctionem in extremo agone recipiendam juxta Rituali Romani praescriptiones.[1]

Now in the light of this document to the Archbishop of Utrecht, it is easy to conjecture, what reply would be sent to a request for the recognition in this country of the practice of omitting the unction of the loins. For, we have it on the assurance of the two National Synods, that there are no special circumstances—*singularia adjuncta*—in this country which justify a departure in this matter from the strict letter of the Roman Ritual.

Later still, 28th August, 1889, the Sacred Congregation of the Holy Office reiterates the obligation of anointing the loins:—

Unctio renum [in Extrema Unctione] nunquam praetermitti potest, nisi in casibus particularibus, adhibitis cautelis decentiae satis consuli aliter nequeat.[2]

When the rubric is clear in imposing an obligation, and the declarations of the Sacred Congregations and of our National Councils are so urgent in enforcing its fulfilment,

[1] Gardelini, n. 5271.
[2] Collect. Cong. de Prop. Fid., n. 2177.

we are quite prepared to find Father O'Kane writing as follows in his 'Notes on the Rubrics':—

> Wherever the Roman Ritual is ordered to be observed, as it is in Ireland, the unction of the loins is not to be omitted in men, unless in the case excepted by the rubric itself.[1]

In our opinion, therefore, any priest *may*, without hesitation, anoint the loins of men according to the prescription of the Roman Ritual, no matter what be the practice or reputed custom of his diocese. Moreover, we agree with Father O'Kane, in thinking that he *ought* to do so. No doubt, theologians state that in this matter one may, or ought, follow the custom of his country or diocese. But this must be taken to refer to places in which the use of the Roman Ritual is not obligatory, or to places in which the habits or feelings of the people, or some special circumstance, make the observance of the rubric peculiarly difficult.

We are well aware, as we have said, that, even still, there exists in this country much divergence of practice. Many priests follow the Roman Ritual accurately, others have no difficulty or scruple in omitting, in all cases, the anointing of the loins. The latter justify this practice by appealing to custom or, at all events, to the usage of many most exemplary priests. They do not, of course, contend that custom has abrogated the rubric in this country. That might be going rather far. But, it is maintained, that though the rubric still binds (*in actu primo*) we are excused (*in actu secundo*) from its observance. Now, we admit that such a plea may be reasonably advanced to excuse us from the observance of certain rubrics, which in the circumstances of this country entail exceptional difficulties. We can even understand an individual priest, who personally has not the slightest objection to following the letter of certain rubrics, justifying his failure to observe them, on the ground that no priest observes them in this country, and that a *public* departure on his part from established custom might

[1] N. 893.

excite comment and have other inconveniences. But, if we are to speak our mind candidly, we must say that we can discover no sufficient justification for omitting the anointing of the loins in this country. That there is no general excusing cause arising from the circumstances of the country, we know on the authority of the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth. But the best proof is that, as a matter of fact, many priests in this country act up to the letter of the rubric, without experiencing any difficulty beyond that contemplated by the law itself, and without causing any one of the inconveniences that are alleged to justify the departure from the Roman Ritual.

MARGARINE AS A SUBSTITUTE FOR BUTTER

Our correspondent 'Jejunans' will find that we replied to a question almost identical with his in the I. E. RECORD of April, 1899. The matter has now been authoritatively decided by the Sacred Congregation of the Inquisition. Our correspondent will find the decision among the 'Documents' of the present issue.

D. MANNIX.

LITURGY

PRAYERS AND HYMNS IN THE VERNACULAR WHILE THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IS EXPOSED[1]

REV. DEAR SIR,—Last year his Holiness decreed a *Triduum* of devotion in honour of the Sacred Heart, and composed a Litany and Act of Consecration, which he ordered to be recited during Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament on the three days preceding the feast. In this country these prayers were recited in English

[1] In our contribution to last month's I. E. RECORD on the 'Suspension of Indulgences during the Holy Year' we are made to state that the Portiuncula Indulgences can still be gained in all churches to which it has been extended by the Holy See, and apparently that this indulgence is applicable to the living during the present year. We wish, therefore, to make it clear that this indulgence can be gained only for the dead during this year, unless in the Church at Assisi.

Will you please state, in next number of the I. E. Record, if a priest may recite these prayers in English during Benediction generally, or, at least, during Benediction on the occasion of Sacred Heart sodality meetings; and also if an English hymn in honour of the Sacred Heart may be sung during exposition on these occasions, and much oblige

A Director.

It is not forbidden to recite in the vernacular, in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed, prayers that have the requisite approval. The Litany and Act of Consecration recently approved of by the Holy See may, therefore, be recited at Benediction, not merely on the occasion of sodality meetings, but on any other occasion on which these prayers may be considered helpful in stimulating the devotion of the faithful assembled.

Hymns in the vernacular may be sung in the same circumstances. They must, however, have the approval of the Ordinary, and must not be translations of such liturgical hymns as the *Te Deum*. These are the only conditions required.

THE 'NON INTRES' IN THE ABSOLUTION AT THE CATAFALQUE

Rev. Dear Sir,—There is a widespread custom in some dioceses of omitting the *Non intres* whenever, in a funeral office, the body is absent, whether still unburied, or buried the day before. This practice seems to be justified by the rubric of the Exsequiae: 'Si faciendae sint exsequiae absente corpore,' &c., 'cantatur R. Libera me,' &c., where there is no mention made of reciting the *Non intres*. In the year 1882, in answer to a question similar to this, the editor of the I. E. Record seemed to express an opinion contrary to this practice. Has any decision of the S.C.R. been given on it since? Which is it now considered more in accordance with the general rubrics, to omit or recite it?

It is more in accordance with the rubrics not to recite the *Non intres* when the corpse is not present. The rubric of the Roman ritual, to which our correspondent refers, is quite clear on this point. The ceremonial, however, and

the pontifical seem to differ from the ritual. Hence writers say that the *Non intres* may be either said or omitted according to custom. The custom of omitting it would seem, however, to be the more laudable.

CANDLES IN A CONSECRATED CHURCH

Rev. Dear Sir,—It is prescribed to light the twelve candles affixed before the crosses in a consecrated church on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself and the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland. Is there any other day prescribed? Is the lighting of them prohibited by any rubric on other great feast days, such as Christmas Day, or All Saints, or Patrick's Day?

The first sentence in this question consists of a statement which we are not prepared to endorse; but, as the matter is still doubtful, we merely desire to guard ourselves against appearing to tacitly approve of it.

The anniversary of the dedication of the church is the only day on which the lighting of the candles placed in front of the crosses is prescribed. As far as we know, there is no decree expressly forbidding their being lighted on other days; but many things that are prescribed for one day or one season are wrong at other times, although not expressly forbidden by rubric or decree. Thus, for example, it is prescribed by the rubrics of the Missal that two Alleluias are to be said after the *Ite missa est* in Masses said on Easter Sunday or within the octave. No rubric or decree forbids the celebrant of a Mass on the Feast of the Nativity or of the Epiphany to say two Alleluias after the *Ite missa est;* still it would be wrong to say them. Similarly, in the Latin Church the Mass of the Presanctified is, according to the rubrics, to be said on Good Friday, and there is no express prohibition against saying it on other days as well, yet it would be a very grievous sin to celebrate such a Mass on any day except Good Friday. Hence we consider it would be wrong to light the candles in question unless on the anniversary day. The object of lighting them on that day is not so much to indicate the solemnity of the feast, as to remind the faithful of the character of the feast they are celebrating.

VOTIVE MASS OF THE SACRED HEART

Rev. Dear Sir,—Lately, it was made optional to say a Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of each month when doubles, on condition of performing some devotion to the Sacred Heart. Would the recitation of the new Litany of the Sacred Heart and the form of Consecration now ordered by the Pope for that day when said, after Mass, adequately meet this requirement, and justify your saying a Votive Mass on double feasts?

To entitle a priest to the privilege of celebrating a Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the first Friday of the month, when the feast of the day is of higher than semi-double rite, it is only necessary that some form of prayers in honour of the Sacred Heart, having the requisite approval, should be publicly recited *in connection with* his Mass. The Litany recently approved of by the Holy See, together with the Act of Consecration, are most suitable prayers for this occasion; and if they are recited publicly, as the public monthly devotion of the parish, district, or community in honour of the Sacred Heart, the priest who celebrates the Mass in connection with this devotion may say the Votive Mass of the Sacred Heart on the days allowed. It is, however, a question for priests who have charge of these devotions whether a longer and more elaborate ceremony than the mere recital of the prayers just mentioned would not be necessary to induce the people to attend on the mornings of the first Fridays.

END OF THE CENTURY PRAYER

Rev. Dear Sir,—Might I ask your opinion as to the authenticity of enclosed indulgenced prayer, copies of which I find distributed here? In view of the withdrawal of nearly all indulgences for the *living*, outside of Rome, during Jubilee Year, I take it that, even if authentic for Rome itself, this indulgence could not be gained *extra urbem* for the *living* during 1900. But it may be asked—

1. Is it authentic, even for Rome itself, during 1900?
2. If so, could it be obtained for the *dead*, outside of Rome, during 1900?

3. Would it be available for the Church at large next year?

An answer in the I. E. RECORD will oblige

AN INQUIRER.

END OF CENTURY PRAYER

Grant us, O most clement God, through the intercession of the Blessed and Immaculate Virgin, that we may expiate with tears of penance the sins of this declining century, and thus prepare for the beginning of the new century, that it may be wholly dedicated to the honour of Thy name and the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, Thy Son, whom may all nations serve in unity of faith and perfection of charity. Amen.

Indulgence, granted by Leo XIII., 100 years, once a day, till end of 1901.

We cannot demonstrate with absolute certainty that this indulgence is apocryphal—it is proverbially difficult to prove a negative proposition; but we can show that its authenticity is, at least, doubtful. In the first place, the printer has not put his name to it. This, though apparently a mere trifle, is a very suspicious circumstance. For had he been quite certain of the honesty of his work he would have availed himself of the advertisement which the wide circulation of such a leaflet would give. Secondly, the leaflet has not the *imprimatur* of the bishop of the place in which it was printed; the indulgence is not guaranteed in the usual way by the name of the Prefect or Secretary of the Congregation of Indulgences; the date on which it was issued is not mentioned; an indulgence of one hundred years for such a prayer is, to say the least, unusual; nor is it likely, in this year of suspended indulgences, that the Pope would grant a new indulgence. Lastly, the prayer itself is suspicious. Leo XIII. is too accurate in the use of language to ask us to say a prayer, in the year 1901, in which we should speak of 'this declining century,' and of preparation for 'the beginning of the new.' For whatever view his Holiness may entertain regarding the controversy as to the closing and opening years of the century, he certainly does not regard the year 1901 as belonging to 'the declining century,' nor, therefore, as a year in which we might prepare for 'the beginning of the new.'

D. O'LOAN.

CORRESPONDENCE

CRITICISM OF THE 'ORDO'

Rev. Dear Sir,—Will you kindly allow me a little space in the I. E. Record to defend myself and the *Ordo* against certain grave charges that have been made against us? Shortly after the publication of the *Ordo* for 1900, I had a letter from an Irish priest, in which he pointed out to me 'the glaring mistakes' that are to be found in the *Ordo*, and asked me to reply to him in the pages of the I. E. Record. Without, however, giving me time to reply through the medium which he himself had suggested, he made what is now so generally spoken of as 'a skilful flanking movement' in order to compel me to come out into the open. He wrote to each of the Irish bishops recapitulating to their Lordships the charges made against the *Ordo* in his letter to myself. But for this move on his part I should either have written privately to him, or have ignored his criticism altogether. But as I know that our bishops have not time to examine what feasts the compiler of the *Ordo* transfers, or whether he transfers them according to the order of rite or dignity; and as, moreover, my critic put his arraignment of the *Ordo* in a very specious form, I feared that some of their Lordships might imagine that I was compiling the *Ordo* without any reference at all to the rubrics. For, this reason I deem it necessary to make some public reply.

After he had written to the bishops, my correspondent wrote to me informing me of the fact, enclosing a copy of the letter sent to their Lordships, and giving me permission to publish it should I think it desirable. As this letter contains the charges made against the *Ordo*, I give it here.

My Lord,—I beg most respectfully to direct your attention to the glaring mistakes made by our *Ordo* in the translation of semidoubles and minor doubles.

In the latest editions of the Breviary, in the Mechlin and Ratisbon ones, at least, the old rubrics are, as your Lordship knows, modified, and in many cases changed, so as to fit in with the rubrics promulgated some years since.

A mere glance at the general rubics, *De Translatione Festorum*,

as thus amended, and at a special rubric after the feast of Epiphany, as amended also, will convince any unprejudiced mind that semidoubles and minor doubles, except those of doctors, whether perpetually or accidentally impeded, cannot be licitly transferred.

The *Ordo*, page 25, makes a distinction between feasts perpetually and accidentally impeded. If accidentally impeded, it does not transfer those in question; if perpetually impeded, it does. But, surely, there could be no more perpetual impediment to feasts than the octave of the Epiphany; and yet semidoubles and all minor doubles occurring within that time cannot be transferred *juxta rubricas*.

The rubric after the Epiphany is as follows :—'Infra Octavam Epiphaniae, si occurrat festum Duplex *ex majoribus vel alicujus Doctoris Ecclesiae*, transfertur post octavam, nisi fuerit Patroni vel Titularis Ecclesiae, vel Dedicatio ejusdem. *De aliis vero duplicibus, de semiduplicibus* et simplicibus fit commem. *juxta rubricas*.' N.B.—The words in italics denote the changes.

I also beg to direct your Lordship's attention to the fact, that, among other mistakes, commemorations are sometimes transferred, and that neither the order of time nor dignity is always observed by the *Ordo* in the translation of feasts.

In mild terms, it is not very fair to have a book far behind the times placed before us for our guidance.

Here I may remark that I tried last year by letter to prevail on an authority to look outside the antiquated rubrics, and thus prevent a recurrence of the mistakes made; but I could not induce him to refer to the latest editions.

Not presuming to trespass further on your valuable time or to offer any suggestion on the difficulty.

I am, with much respect,

Your Lordship's most obedient servant,

A Catholic Clergyman.

In the last paragraph but one of the above letter the writer states that last year he wrote to 'an authority' in the hope of having the *Ordo* improved. I am that 'authority.' Some time after the publication of the *Ordo* for 1899 he wrote to me pointing out the same 'glaring mistakes' which he finds in the *Ordo* for 1900. I replied to him privately, and pointed out to him the very paragraphs in the general rubrics of the Breviary which would set his doubts at rest. He seems, however, not to have profited by my instruction.

The charges which my correspondent makes as set forth in his letter to the bishops are :—(1) That the compiler of the *Ordo* follows the 'antiquated rubrics' to the exclusion of the revised

text. (2) That in consequence he transfers semidoubles and ordinary doubles other than the feasts of Doctors. (3) That in transferring these and other feasts he pays no attention to the rite or dignity of the various feasts, as to the time at which they were transferred. (4) That in theory and in practice he makes a distinction wholly unwarranted by the rubrics between feasts of double and semidouble rite perpetually impeded, and feasts of the same rite only accidentally impeded.

I will reply to these charges in order.

(1). I could not have any inclination to follow the 'antiquated rubrics' as they had become a ntiquated before I began to use an *Ordo* or read a Breviary. The text of the rubrics which I studied was the revised text, and the commentaries I used were based on the revised text. Hence it would as readily occur to me to transfer Christmas Day or Easter Sunday as to transfer a semi-double or double minor not the feast of a Doctor. I can, however, fully sympathise with my correspondent, for I remember when the *Ordo* puzzled me as it now puzzles him. When I first began to read the Breviary I had an extremely elementary knowledge of the rubrics, and, of course, no knowledge at all about compiling an *Ordo*. I knew then, just as my correspondent does now, that semi-doubles and ordinary doubles could no longer be transferred as of old, and yet I found, especially in the early months of that year, several such feasts celebrated days and weeks and sometimes months after the date at which they were given down in the Breviary. I could not reconcile the *Ordo* with the new rubrics; but I was so confident of my own ignorance of the rubrics in general, and of the method of compiling an *Ordo* in particular, that I had not the slightest difficulty in believing that the learned and venerable ecclesiastic, who was then Editor, knew his business infinitely better than I did, and that my perplexity arose from want of knowledge.

(2) 'But,' says my correspondent, 'as a matter of fact you have transferred semi-doubles and doubles minor other than the feasts of Doctors.' Will it be believed that, since I began to edit the *Ordo*, never once, either through error or ignorance, did I transfer either a semi-double or an ordinary double, whether perpetually or only accidentally impeded.

(3) My correspondent does not understand the meaning of a *dies fixa*, and I cannot afford time to teach him what it means. I will merely say that, when a feast is perpetually impeded, the

rule is to place it on the first 'free day' which day becomes its *dies fixa* or proper day for all practical purposes. Now it has frequently happened in the history of our present Irish Calendar that a feast of lower rite has become perpetually impeded, while a feast of higher rite occurring earlier was still unimpeded. According to the rule as soon as the former feast became impeded it was placed on the first 'free day.' In the course of time the feast of higher rite also becomes perpetually impeded and is likewise placed on the first 'free day.' But necessarily this 'free day' must occur after the day on which the feast of lower rite had previously been placed. Hence to one merely entering on the study of rubics it might appear that the order of rite was not observed in these changes.

(4) My correspondent denies that semidoubles and minor doubles, not the feasts of Doctors, can be any longer transferred even when perpetually impeded. Well, if my correspondent were the Prefect of the Congregation of Rites, and made that statement in his private capacity I should be bound to disregard it, because it is a flat contradiction of many decrees of the Congregation of Rites and of the general rubrics of the Breviary. So far as my own work on the *Ordo* for 1900—or indeed for any of the past eight years—is concerned, I might not refer to this charge at all. For, as I have already said, I have never once during these years transferred a semi-double, or an ordinary double whether accidentally or perpetually impeded. But my correspondent refers to a paragraph in the introduction of the *Ordo* in which the statement which he denies is made. I suppose, then, I am bound to defend this paragraph.

In the first place it should be borne in mind that the 'antiquated rubrics' said nothing of feasts of nine lessons that were permanently impeded. This question was dealt with by decrees of the Congregation of Rites, the first of which was issued as far as I can find out, in the year 1717. When the Rubrics were revised in the year 1883, the authority of these decrees was left intact; and hence though semi-doubles and ordinary doubles could be no longer transferred, when accidentally impeded they could still be dealt with as before, when permanently impeded. This was made clear by a decree of the same Congregation issued in the very year in which the revision of the Rubrics was made. Hence, in the first revision of the Rubrics, just as in the older Rubrics, no distinction was made between

feasts accidentally impeded and feasts permanently impeded. The decrees were still in force, and it was thought unnecessary to embody them in the Rubrics. This first revision of the Rubrics is printed in breviaries published from 1883 until 1897, and perhaps in some editions bearing the date 1898, for the title-page is oftentimes printed some time after the body of the breviary. But, in 1898, a new revision of the Rubrics was issued by the Congregation of Rites. I have found this revision printed in one edition published in 1898, and in all the editions published in 1899 which I have met. In this recent revision the question of semi-doubles and ordinary doubles permanently impeded is expressly dealt with, and the practice previously founded on the decree of the Congregation confirmed. I give the two extracts referring to doubles and semi-doubles respectively :—

Festa tamen duplicia minora, quamquam non sint Doctoris Ecclesiae, si quotannis a digniori Officio impediantur, reponuntur in prima die libera, tanquam in propria sede perpetuo recolenda (Sect. 1. ad finem De Translat. Fest.).

Festum tamen semi-duplex si quotannis ab Officio digniori impediatur reponitur in prima die libera, tanquam in propria sede perpetuo celebrandum, uti de duplici minori superius cautum est (Ibid. Sect. 2).

The Rubric after the feast of the Epiphany of which my correspondent makes so much has also been changed. I admit that in the form in which it appeared in the first revision of the Rubrics it was misleading, but as it appears in the recent revision it is as clear as light itself. Here it is:—

Infra Octavam Epiphaniae non fit nisi de Duplicibus I classis. Alia festa novem Lectionum prima die libera post dictam Octavam perpetuo celebrantur. De Festis vero trium Lectionum fit tantum commemoratio juxta Rubricas.

I hope my correspondent is now satisfied, and that before he again writes to the Irish Bishops pointing out 'glaring mistakes' in the *Ordo* he will furnish himself with the most recent text of the Rubrics, and will spend a few years in studying some reliable commentary on it.

THE COMPILER OF THE ORDO.

DOCUMENTS

Archbishop's House,

Dublin, 22*nd February*, 1900.

Rev. Dear Sir,—I send for publication in the forthcoming number of the I. E. Record, if not too late for insertion, a decision received to-day from Rome, in reference to a matter of some practical importance regarding the present Jubilee. I send, also, a copy of the *Monita* that are referred to in the question submitted for decision.

These *Monita* were published in Rome, by the Sacred Penitentiary, several months ago. Some of the points embodied in them seemed clearly to indicate that the *Monita* should be understood as referring, not alone to the case of Confessors in Rome, but to that of Confessors elsewhere as well. Otherwise, indeed, the strange result would follow that the Jubilee faculties of Confessors in Rome would be limited in respect to matters as to which no limit would be imposed in the case of Confessors elsewhere.

Moreover, as some of the limitations in question are to be found even in the Bull *Quoniam* (21st October, 1899),—in which faculties of the most extensive kind are granted to the Penitentiaries of the four Basilicas, St. Peter's, St. Paul's, St. John Lateran's, and St. Mary Major's,—the still stranger result would follow, that the ordinary Jubilee faculties of a Confessor in this country would be unlimited in regard to matters as to which limits have been definitely assigned even in the Jubilee faculties of the Penitentiaries in the four chief Basilicas of Rome.

The decision, it will be seen, covers two points.

The first of these—not at all raised by the question as submitted,—is the very obvious one that the extensive faculties given to the Penitentaries of the Basilicas by the Bull *Quoniam* are not given to ordinary Confessors outside Rome.

The second, which is the important one, is that in all

matters in which the *Monita* are applicable, they apply, not only to Confessors in Rome, but to Confessors elsewhere as well.

I remain,

Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your faithful servant,

✠ William J. Walsh,
Archbishop of Dublin.

The following are the documents referred to in the Archbishop's letter:—

I.

DECISION OF THE SACRED PENITENTIARY

EMINENZA REVERENDISSIMA,

Sigr. Card. Penitenziere Maggiore,

L'Arcivescovo di Dublino in Irlanda propone all' Eminenza Vostra la soluzione del sequente dubbio:

Se le facoltà concesse con la Bolla 'Aeterni Pastoris' del 1° u. s. Novembre, a favore di coloro che, essendo per certe determinate ragioni impediti di recarsi a Roma, desiderano acquistare l'indulgenza del Giubileo, siano soggette alle limitazioni della Constituzione 'Quoniam' del 21 p.p. Ottobre, e dai *Monita* publicati dalla S. Penitenzieria.

[translation.]

Most Eminent and Most Rev. Cardinal Penitentiary,

The Archbishop of Dublin, Ireland, submits to your Eminence the following point for decision:—

Whether the faculties granted by the Bull *Aeterni Pastoris* (1st November, 1899), in favour of persons who, being hindered on certain specified grounds from making the journey to Rome, desire to gain the Indulgence of the Jubilee, are subject to the limitations contained in the Constitution *Quoniam* of the 21st of last October, aud in the *Monita* published by the Sacred Penitentiary.

RESPONSUM

Sacra Poenitentiaria propositum dubium reformandum esse censuit et in duas partes dividendum, id est:

Q. I^um. An facultates, quae per Constitutionem *Quoniam* conceduntur Confessariis Urbis pro omnibus Romam hoc anno Sancto adeuntibus, eaedem ipsae concessae sint per Constitutionem *Aeterni Pastoris* confessariis extra Urbem pro impeditis Romam accedere?

Q. II^um. An confessarii extra Urbem in usu facultatum sibi concessarum teneantur se conformare *Monitis* per S. Poenitentiariam editis?

Res. ad I^um. Negative; sed facultates tributae confessariis extra Urbem limitibus valde angustioribus circumscribuntur, cum non sint aliae praeter illas expresse et taxative enunciatas in paragrapho bullae, *Aeterni Pastoris*, quae incipit 'Monialibus earumque Novitiis licere volumus' usque ad verba 'a votorum etiam juratorum observantia absolvere.'

Ad II^um. Affirmative, in iis partibus in quibus *Monita* applicari possunt.

Datum Romae, in Sacr. Poenitentiaria, die 15 februarii, 1900.
(Gratis.)

A. Carcani, *Sac. Poen. Reggente.*
A. Can. Martini, *S.P. Secretarius.*

II.

MONITA

EXCERPTA EX CONSTITUTIONE BENEDICTI XIV. QUAE INCIPIT *Convocatis* ET EX ALTERA CUIUS EXORDIUM *Inter Praeteritos* DE USU FACULTATUM CONFESSARIIS TRIBUTARUM OCCASIONE IUBILAEI EDITA EORUMDEM CONFESSARIORUM COMMODITATI IUSSU SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA PAPAE XIII.

Singulares ad expiandos animos facultates, quae sacri Iubilaei causa Poenitentiariis minoribus et Confessariis ab Apostolica Sede demandari solent, perspicuum est, intelligenter et caute, hoc est ratione et iudicio administrari oportere. Si temere, si inconsiderate negligenterque adhibeantur, in perturbationem disciplinae facile cadent, imo finem ipsum, quo spectant natura sua, quod est bonum animarum verum et solidum, non tam assequentur quam frustrabuntur. Idcirco Benedictus XIV. cum facultates extra ordinem, sacri Iubilaei gratia, dedisset per Constitutionem Apostolicam *Convocatis*, de prudenti rectoque earum usu *Monita* attexuit, iussis gravi auctoritate Confessariis intendere ad ea

animum acriter, eademque sic sequi ut normam maxime tutam inviolateque servandam.

Idem placuit Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII. qui scilicet eius consilii sapientia atque utilitate perspecta, decessoris sui exemplum imitatione renovandum judicavit. Videlicet iis ipsis Litteris Apostolicis, quas de *facultatibus* nuper dedit, Monita illa Benedictina separatim publicari ad commoditatem ac normam Confessariorum iussit, nonnihil tamen immutata convenienter tempori, ita ut intelligi observarique eo modo debeant, quo infra scripta sunt:

I. Primo meminerint Confessarii firma perstare quae in Constitutione *Sacramentum Poenitentiae* de complici in sexto a Benedicto XIV. statuta sunt an. 1741. Excepto quidem crimine absolutionis complicis, quod semel aut bis admissum fuerit, quo in causa facultas conceditur.

II. Advertant absolutiones, commutationes, dispensationes, quarum ipsis potestas collata est, non posse a se exerceri extra actum sacramentalis Confessionis, neque easdem a Poenitentiariis minoribus tum ordinariis, tum extraordinariis posse exerceri extra suam cuiusque Basilicam vel Ecclesiam, nisi in casibus alias sibi a Maiori Poenitentiario permissis vel permittendis; vel in causa administrandi Poenitentiae Sacramentum alicui infirmo, qui cum corporalis aegritudinis causa ad Basilicas seu Ecclesias ipsis respective designatas accedere personaliter nequeat, eorum aliquem arcessendum duxerit, ut Confessionem Sacramentalem pro Iubilaei consecutione apud ipsum expleat (*ex* § 25).

III. Non praetermittant suam cuique poenitenti salutarem poenitentiam imponere in Sacramento, ne praetextu quidem Iubilaei per eumdem poenitentem consequendi (*ex* § 26).

IV. Ab occultis censuris ob partem laesam incursis non prius absolvant quam parti laesae poenitens satisfecerit: vel si prius poenitens nequeat, non eum absolvant, nisi serio promittat se satisfacturum, cum primum poterit.

V. In publicis Censuris, quarum absolutio est Poenitentiariis minoribus impertita, satisfactioni praedictae consulatur iuxta praxim Poenitentiariae Apostolicae, ad quam dirigendus erit poenitens cum libello supplici, in quo, expresso nomine, cognomine ac dioecesi poenitentis, et casu huiusmodi publicae censurae subiecto, scribat subtus Confessarius testimonium absolutionis ab eadem censura concessae: inde enim ex Poenitentiariae Officio recipiet Breve in forma *Missi vel remissi* iuxta ipsius Officii praxim (*ex eadem Bulla*, §§ 5 *et* 27).

VI. Violantibus clausuram Monialium ad malum finem, in casibus etiam occultis, imponant prohibitionem accedendi in posterum ad Monasterium illud eiusque Ecclesiam, monendo poenitentes, ita ipsos absolvi a censuris ob relatam violationem incursis, ut si impositam iliam prohibitionem non servaverint, relabantur eo ipso in easdem censuras. Quod si eae sint poenitentis ac locorum circumstantiae, ut executioni mandari nequeat praescripta isthaec conditio, consulatur Cardinalis Maior Poenitentiarius, qui pro sui prudentia, ubi ita necessitas postularit, dispensare super eadem poterit (*ex* § 28).

VII. Religiosos vero suam violantes clausuram per mulierum introductionem ad malum finem ita a censuris propterea incursis absolvant, ut super inhabilitate ulterius per hoc contracta ad dignitates et officia sui Ordinis consequenda nullatenus cum iisdem dispensent (*ex* § 29).

VIII. A lectione prohibitorum librorum, eorum praesertim qui in Const. *Apostolicae Sedis* designantur, non ante absolvant, quam poenitens libros, quos in sua potestate habet, Inquisitori vel Ordinario vel ipsi Confessario aut alii facultatem eosdem retinendi habenti tradiderit, vel se, quamprimum poterit, traditurum promiserit, si tradere ante absolutionem nequeat (*ex* § 30).

IX. Regulares a suo Ordine apostatas vel fugitivos non absolvant, quamdiu extra Ordinem permanserint, nisi firmum propositum gerant ad suum Ordinem redeundi quibus tamen idoneo tempore ad id exequendum praefinito, absolutionem elargiantur cum reincidentia, ut eo termino elapso intelligant, se fore relapsuros in eamdem sententiam et censuras, quibus ante erant innodati: et durante dicto termino moneantur, ipsis esse prohibitum exercitium sacrorum Ordinum, donec habitum resumpserint et ad Religionem redierint sub obedientia Superiorum (*ex* § 32, *et ex tabella facult. Poenitentiariis tribut.*).

X. Personis Romam ad Iubilaeum consequendum venire volentibus, non intelligitur data veniendi libertas sine obtento alias necessario suorum respective Superiorum consensu (*ex* § 43).

XI. Romanorum appellatione, quoad visitationes quatuor Basilicarum per viginti dies peragendas, comprehenduntur omnes et singuli nati atque habitantes Romae, sicut etiam nati atque habitantes in Suburbano vinearum tractu intra quintum ab Urbe lapidem. Incolarum autem nomine ad eumdem effectum intelliguntur omnes illi, qui certum aliquod officium in Urbe obtinent,

vel cum spe illud obtinendi moram ibidem trahunt, ideoque in ipsa quasi domicilium acquirunt, omnesque illi qui ad eamdem Urbem vel ad aliquem Suburbanum locum intra quintum lapidem, ut supra, se contulerunt alia quacumque de causa, quam praesentis Iubilaei lucrandi, vel, si ipsius lucrandi causa ad Urbem accesserint, eo tamen animo sunt, ut per maiorem anni partem, seu ultra sex menses, ibi commorentur. Reliqui omnes Peregrinorum aut Externorum nomine, quoad visitationes earumdem Basilicarum per decem dies agendas, se comprehensos intelligant (*ex* § 44).

XII. Confessionem et Communionem, ad Iubilaeum lucrandum iniunctas, haud necesse est visitationibus quatuor Basilicarum praemittere. Satis erit vel huiusmodi visitationum decursu vel etiam iisdem expletis, Confessionis et Communionis Sacramenta suscipere (*ex* § 45).

XIII. Cum Confessio Sacramentalis sit opus iniunctum, peragenda etiam erit ab eo, qui solis peccatis venialibus teneatur, si lucrari Iubilaeum velit (*ex* § 46).

XIV. Si quis post Confessionem peractam, in lethale peccatum (quod Deus avertat) inciderit, antequam omnia omnino opera ad Iubilaeum lucrandam iniuncta expleverit, Confessionem denuo praemittere debebit, priusquam ultimum saltem ex aliis iniunctis operibus expleat, ut Indulgentiam Iubilaeo adnexam consequatur (*ex* § 47).

XV. Quamvis iniuncta Communio sit, pueri tamen, qui nondum ad primam Communionem admissi fuerint, neque intra Annum Sanctum, Parochi proprii vel Confessarii iudicio, admittendi videantur, censeri possunt ab isto iniuncto opere legitime impediti, eisdemque Communio in aliud pium opus, arbitrio Confessarii praescribendum commutabitur (*ex* § 48).

XVI. Ad iniunctam Basilicarum visitationem perficiendam non opus est in easdem Basilicas per Portas Sanctas vel per harum aliquam ingredi vel regredi (*ex* § 49).

XVII. Si quod superveniat Indultum, quo visitationum numerus initio praescriptus ad minorem redigatur, quisquis ante eiusmodi Indultum visitationes Basilicarum per aliquas vices peregerit, visitationes a se iam peractas utiliter ipse computare poterit ad conficiendum numerum visitationum eo Indulto praescriptarum, superaddendo nimirum alias, quae desint ad explendam summam Indulto praefinitam. Si vero summam seu numerum Indulto praefinitum ante iam expleverit, vel etiam

excesserit, unum saltem diem visitationis quatuor Basilicarum praeterea adiungat, ut Indulti beneficio uti valeat (*ex* § 50, *et ex Const. Inter praeteritos* § 82).

XVIII. Iniunctae piae preces, in singularum visitatione Basilicarum, ad fines Sanctitati Suae propositos et in Bulla Indictionis expressos, effundendae, satis erit si vocales fuerint Qui sola mente ad eosdem fines orare voluerit, laudandus est; aliquam tamen etiam vocalem orationem adiungat (*ex* § 51).

XIX. Qui per Anni Sancti spatium bis aut pluries omnia et singula opera, primitus in huius Iubilaei indictione praescripta, vel superveniente forsan aliquo Indulto ea quae in ipsius Indulti concessione pro eiusdem Iubilaei consecutione praescribuntur, plene iteraverit; vel prius ad Indictionis, deinde ad Indulti formam, vel prius ad formam Indulti unius, deinde ad alterius fortasse diversi formam, ut praefertur, iteraverit, bis quoque aut pluries poterit Anni Sancti Iubilaeum lucrari. Ita enim habita ratione annui spatii, ad quod huiusmodi Iubilaeum protenditur, placuit Sanctitati Suae de Apostolicae liberalitatis plenitudine indulgere, ita tamen ut qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est prima vice qua Iubilaeum consecutus est, seu qua omnia praescripta opera implevit, iterum earum particeps fieri non poterit, si post primam Iubilaei acquisitionem iterum in censuras incurrerit, aut casus reservatos commiserit, vel novis votorum dispensationibus aut commutationibus indigeat (*Convocatis* § 52—*Inter praeteritos* § 84).

Si vero forte alicui huiusmodi gratiarum necessitas tunc solum occurrat, postquam iam acquisiverit Iubilaeum, seu postquam omnia opera praescripta impleverit, semel iisdem gratiis eum gaudere posse Sanctitas Sua benigne concedit.

XX. Absolutio a censuris, praeter eas quae datae sint ad reincidentiam; item commutationes votorum et dispensationes iuxta concessas Iubilaei anno respectivas facultates, semel obtentae, permanent in suo vigore, etiamsi contigerit, eum qui illas iam obtinuerat, mutato postea, quod prius habuerat, sincero et serio proposito Iubilaeum hoc lucrandi, ac proinde reliqua ad id lucrandum necessaria opera adimplendi, de eodem Iubilaeo consequendo amplius non laborare (*ex* § 54).

XXI. Suspensio facultatum absolvendi, dispensandi, etc. pro Anno Sancto denunciata per Apostolicas Literas Sanctissimi Domini Nostri datas Pridie Kal. Octobris vertentis anni non comprehendit ipsam Romanam Urbem, in qua hoc maxime anno

praestat Operariorum copiam et auxilia pro expediendis poenitentibus non imminui. Quicumque ergo in eadem Alma Urbe huiusmodi facultatibus alioquin legitime muniti reperiantur, easdem per hunc quoque annum in ipsa Urbe, iuxta tenorem ac praefinitum tempus uniuscuiusque concessionis alias obtentae, exercere libere poterunt (*ex* § 55).

XXII. Extra Urbem vero servanda omnino erit suspensio facultatum in memoratis Litteris praescripta, per quam non modo facultates illas, quae causa vel occasione Indulgentiarum concessae fuerint, verum etiam ceteras quaslibet quocumque alio titulo et causa concessas, praedicto anno durante, suspensas esse et censeri debere declarat Sanctitas Sua ; illis dumtaxat exceptis, quae ab ipsa generali suspensione memoratis Litteris fuerunt praeservatae (*ex* § 56).

XXIII. Meminerint insuper, *vere poenitentes et confessos* eos dumtaxat intelligi, qui Confessionem actualem rite emiserint : eam proinde omnino necessariam esse ad Iubilaeum assequendum, nec Confessionem *in voto* sufficere. Item Communionem *Sacramentalem simul et spiritualem* peragendam esse, quae nimirum iuxta Tridentini Concilii monitum (*Sess.* 13, *cap.* 8), illorum est, *qui ita se prius probant et instruunt, ut vestem nuptialem induti ad divinam mensam accedant* : hinc Iubilaeum non lucrari nec qui *sacramentaliter dumtaxat* Eucharistiam sumunt, ut *peccatores;* nec qui *spiritualiter* tantum, qui nimirum voto illum coelestem panem edentes, fide viva quae per dilectionem operatur, fructum eius et utilitatem sentiunt ex Constit. Bened. XIV. (*Inter praeteritos* §§ 2. 7).

XXIV. Visitatio quatuor Basilicarum in uno die fieri debet, vel nimirum ab una ad alteram mediam noctem, vel a vesperis diei praecedentis usque ad subsequentis vespertina crepuscula (*ex Bulla cit.* §§ 11. 13).

XXV. Noverint Poenitentiarii minores, aliique Confessarii peculiaribus, Iubilaei causa, facultatibus instructi, non obstante amplitudine verborum super omnibus peccatis et excessibus quantumlibet gravibus et enormibus, interdictum sibi esse quidquid in Constitutione '*Pastor bonus*' Cardinali Poenitentiaria Maiori interdictum est, prout essent ex. gr. qui vivente Romano Pontifice circa Successoris electionem tractatus inierint, suffragia comparaverint, aut pactiones fecerint, et qui Astrologia iudiciaria vel per se vel per alios de statu reipublicae christianae, sive de vita aut morte Romani Pontificis pro tempore existentis inqui-

sierint. Quod si aliquis ex praedictis casibus iisdem occurrat, adeant Cardinalem Maiorem Poenitentiarium, cui opportuna et necessaria remedia a Sanctitate Sua praescribentur (*ex Bulla cit.* § 39).

XXVI. Facultas *commutandi vota dispensando* distinguitur a sola ac simplici commutatione, quae subrogationem exigeret materiae fere aequalis : sed commutatio mixta cum dispensatione est capax verae inaequalitatis inter materiam voti et rem subrogatam.

XXVII. Cum visitatio Basilicarum non sit opus, ad quod praecepto ullo quis obligetur, sed novum onus ad consequendam Indulgentiam impositum, commutatio eiusdem fieri nequit in alia opera, ad quae poenitens ex alio titulo sit adstrictus (*ibid.* § 53).

Quae quidem Monita in memoratis Benedicti XIV Constitutionibus luculenter proposita, mandavit Sanctissimus Dominus Noster in lucem iterum tradi, ut ex ipsorum praescripto tutissima in animarum procuratione regula praesto sit ; atque ut praesenti eorumdem collectioni fides habeatur, ab aliquo Sacrae Poenitentiariae Officiali, addito eiusdem Tribunalis sigillo, subsignari iussit.

Datum Romae ex sacra Poenitentiaria anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo octingentesimo nonagesimo nono, Kalendis Novembris, Pontificatus Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Leonis Papae XIII anno vicesimo secundo.

POWER TO DISPENSE IN FAST AND ABSTINENCE

Owing to the prevailing epidemic of Influenza, and the low state of the public health, his Eminence Cardinal Logue applied to the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda for power to dispense in the fast as well as in the abstinence during the present Lent. The Sacred Congregation has not only acceded to this request, but has furthermore empowered his Eminence to subdelegate similar faculties to all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland. For the information of the clergy, we are authorized to state that his Eminence has subdelegated the powers received, and that all the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland have now faculties to dispense in the fast as well as in the abstinence, during the actual epidemic of Influenza, in such measure as they consider opportune, according to the condition of the public health, commuting the observances dispensed with into other pious works.—[Ed. I. E. R.]

THE USE OF MARGARINE FOR BUTTER

CIRCA USUM MARGARINAE, QUAE EST BUTYRUM ARTIFICIALE

Feria IV, die 6 *Septembris* 1899.

Huic Supremae Congregationi S. R. et U. Inquisitionis propositum fuit enodandum sequens dubium :

An liceat uti margarina[1] *per modum cibi aut condimenti illis diebus, quibus usus carnium aut adipis ex carne illicitus est, licito manente usu butyri?*

Porro in Congregatione Generali ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Affirmative, facto verbo cum SSmo.

Sequenti vero feria V. die 7 eiusdem mensis et anni in solita audientia a SSmo Dno Nro Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P. D. Adsessori impertita, SSmus D. N. resolutionem Emorum Patrum ratam habuit et confirmavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

[1] Margarina, uti norunt omnes, conficitur ex adipe bovino (praesertim ex renibus et pulmonibus bovis) permixto cum oleo puro, et ad formam butyri redacto, cum puriore lactis parte (fiore di latte).

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

VESPERS AND COMPLINE. A Soggarth's Sacred Verses. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J., author of *Idyls of Killowen*, &c. London: Burns & Oates. 1900.

ALTAR FLOWERS. A Book of Prayers in Verse. By the Rev. Mathew Russell, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son.

ABSTRACTING from his literary labours in many other fields, Father Russell has long been acknowledged in his native land as the 'poet of the sanctuary;' for, though he has written secular as well as sacred verse, it may safely be said that his secular poems are more religious than the most religious productions of the secular poets.

In the first of the volumes mentioned above, and in its companion, *Idyls of Killowen*, recently noticed in our pages, we find all that Father Russell wishes to preserve out of the three small volumes, *Emmanuel*, *Madonna*, and *Erin*, which are now definitely superseded, and will not be reprinted. The second volume, *Altar Flowers*, to a great extent a reprint of the *Harp of Jesus*, Father Russell also desires to keep in circulation. For both of these volumes the public will thank him. *Altar Flowers* is a beautiful little prayer-book in verse, containing morning prayers, prayers before Holy Communion, ejaculations for all hours of the day and for all moods of the soul, and many other items usual in ordinary prayer-books; whilst many who had derived both pleasure and profit from *Emmanuel* and *Madonna* will be glad to see them to a great extent reproduced and perpetuated in *Vespers and Compline*. Nature and grace are blended in these two books in a degree of refinement and delicacy seldom to be met with. We much prefer the *Soggarth's* 'Sacred Verses' to his 'Secular' ones. They run more smoothly, and show no trace of effort. To Father Russell the supernatural has become a second nature. Nobody but one well versed in the ways of sanctity could have dealt so appropriately with themes so high and pure; and anyone who had not acquired a master's knowledge of the *technique* of verse could not even have attempted what Father Russell has so successfully achieved.

J. F. H.

THE FIRST MARTYRS OF THE HOLY CHILDHOOD. By a Priest of the Mission. Translated from the French, by Lady Herbert.

THIS is a remarkable book, and greatly needed. Works of its kind appear but rarely, 'few and far between.' Therefore we bid it a hearty welcome. It is translated into good English. For this the translator's name alone is sufficient voucher. What Catholic reader is not familiar with the graceful pen of Lady Herbert? The book is not only readable, but in every way interesting. But beyond a passing interest, it is productive of permanent good. First, it will shame the slothful Catholic into spiritual energy; for, having read it, he cannot fail to think: 'The martyrs have done so nobly, and at such fearful risks, can I stand here any longer idle?' Second, it will create or awaken a widespread interest in missionary enterprise. The book should have been written twenty years ago.

It is now some thirty years since 'the massacre of Tientsin;' and beyond a passing notice from the periodicals of the day no permanent record was given to the public till this book appeared. And so, in Ireland at least, the memory of the martyrs of Tientsin had all but perished. 'Martyrs'—perhaps we had better forbear that glorious name, lest we be found anticipating the judgment of the Holy See. But the intelligent reader will understand the sense in which the word is used.

To bring about 'their cause' at Rome is the professed primary object of our author in the book before us, and well has he done his work, which to him was manifestly a work of love.

The story is of two priests—one a Frenchman, and one a Chinese, and ten Sisters of Charity, all children of St. Vincent de Paul, massacred in China, *in odium fidei*, June 21st, 1870. The work is divided into three principal parts—1. Biographical notices of the victims. 2. The works they were engaged in at the time of and previous to their martyrdom. 3. Their triumph.

The notices are brief, but full of interest, not, perhaps, to worldlings, for they loved not the world, but rose superior to it. Reading them, you should say: 'These are the making of saints, apart even from the grace of martyrdom.' But for us, readers of the I. E. RECORD, there is one name to which a very special interest attaches. See No. 10 on the happy roll. It is an Irish daughter of St. Vincent, Sister Alice O'Sullivan, born at Clonmel,

was educated by the Dominican Nuns, Kingstown. Showing early signs of a religious vocation, her attention was directed to the 'daughters of Vincent de Paul.' This was done by her brother, a well-known missioner, Father Dan O'Sullivan, C.M., who saw in her the aptitude for a Sister of Charity. And so, in her nineteenth year, she joined a community of the Sisters at Amiens, and later entered the novitiate at Paris. The novitiate ended, she was appointed, first, to Boulogne, then to Drogheda, and five years later to Hereford. At home she had been the beloved of her father and brothers (her mother died young), and among the Sisters she was admired for her generosity and simplicity of character. To say she was selected, after a few years' probation, for the arduous and dangerous mission of China, shows the estimation thus early formed of her sterling qualities. Nor was the selection in any sense an error of judgment. In China, whenever her superior had a difficult affair with the authorities, Alice was the chosen one; and she succeeded to a degree that astonished the superior. But Alice would say invariably: 'It was the Blessed Virgin and my angel guardian who have done it.' 'No one,' wrote the same superior of her, 'could resist the charm of her manner and her words, which were at once simple and engaging. It was impossible to live with her without loving her' (p. 37). She laboured faithfully and well on that ungrateful soil, which, indeed, she little loved. She was sharply tried by interior troubles, and at times was far from happy; but her lively, simple faith, and Jesus in the tabernacle, her invariable resource, brought peace and sustainment.

An opportunity offers of returning to Europe; she is selected as travelling companion to her superior on business to Paris. Thus was opened to her the prospect, or hope at least, of revisiting the land of her birth and kindred. Right gladly did she embrace the offer; for Alice, above all things, was candid, and made no pretence of attachment to the Chinese mission. She is on her way for Paris. At Tientsin she, in company with other Sisters, visited a church, and after some time spent in prayer the party went to see the exterior of the building. Alice alone remained in prayer, and when sought for was found in tears, and wonderfully changed. Evidently something of the supernatural had occurred. But a little while since all eagerness to return to the sweets of civilization, of home and kindred, now she will remain. 'Remain the rest of your life with these poor people:' it was

the Blessed Virgin, in that church of 'Our Lady of Victories,' who spoke these words ; and so Sister Alice addressed herself to her life-long work in China. But, indeed, it was not to be long. She learned this as well from the Blessed Virgin ; for when her superior, leaving for Paris, said, 'Till we meet again,' Alice replied : 'We shall never meet again in this world. You will return, but we shall all be gone.' And so it was.

Works of the Sisters at Tientsin.—Opening the book the reader may be stopped by its title—'Martyrs of the Holy Childhood.' What does it mean? Had the author known that these 'works' are not so generally heard of in Ireland as in France, he would, I think, have explained a little. 'The Holy Childhood,' then, is an Association in honour of the child Jesus, blessed by the Pope and enriched by indulgences. On the first page of every number of its Annals these words of Leo XIII. are conspicuous, 'I desire that all the children of the Catholic world should be members of this pious Association.' Its objects are—1. To procure the baptism of pagan children in danger of death. 2. To support and educate the survivors and as many others as can be saved from paganism. China with its teeming population is the principal field of its operations. The number of baptized annually goes on increasing, it would seem ; last year it reached the very high figure 474,407.[1] Such the work in which the priests and daughters of St. Vincent were engaged when they were struck down by the pagans of China ; and hence the title 'Martyrs of the Holy Childhood.'

The Massacre.—The hatred of the Chinese for Christianity, owing to their own debasing superstitions, is well known. But at Tientsin it was just then intensified by the occurrence of a long-continued drought. This they attributed to the presence among them of the Priests and Sisters. Here the history of the early Christians repeats itself. And so too in the case of this other charge, that the eyes and hearts of children in the orphanage were torn out for purposes of sorcery. The rabble, encouraged by some low officials, grew more and more excited. Meantime the Priests and Sisters kept on their missionary works only with insults whenever they appeared abroad. For this they were prepared ; indeed, for a long time they had been looking forward to the martyr's crown. It was often with the Sisters a

[1] See January 'Annals,' p. 131. And for further information apply to Father Hyland, Director of the Association, French College, Blackrock, Dublin.

subject of conversation in times of recreation. When engaged ironing their corvettes one would come out well and stainless from the process, a Sister would smiling say, 'Oh, let us put that aside for the day of our martyrdom.' One day Sister Andreoni told of a dream she had of their martyrdom; and on each asking if she was there, she answered 'Yes, ten.' 'But did you not see me?' asked the Superior. 'No,' was the reply. And the event fulfilled the vision, for she had been changed before the massacre.

The day is come. 'Tis the morning of June 21st, 1870,' and the infuriated mob thunders at the gate of the Mission house. Father Chérrier, with the cool courage of a martyr, opened the door, and stood before his assailants. Such heroism might calm those furious men. It did so, but only for a time; for he with his brother priest soon fell by the hands of the assassins. From the Mission house they proceeded to the house of the Sisters, who were similarly dealt with. Let the author tell the harrowing, yet glorious tale (p. 319).

Many prodigies are recorded in connection with this deed of blood. The most remarkable, perhaps, is the following. The wife of a Pagan priest saw from the balcony of her house the massacre of the Sisters; and as each was done to death she saw a brilliant cloud mounting up to heaven. Then she exclaimed, 'These people must have been beloved by God;' and at once proceeded to the scene of the massacre. She reproached the murderers, but said she had come to adore the God of these holy people. It was enough; she too is struck down; and who can doubt that she wears to-day the aureola of a martyr.

'Sanguis martyrum semen Christianorum.' While the vengeance of heaven fell heavy on the plotters of the infamous deed, and on the country around, the hearts of many were softened and prepared for the message of the Gospel. For five and twenty years the country was laid desolate by floods, famines, and pestilence. Those poor fanatics had charged the Christians with having caused a drought, and now they are submerged in water. Hear Monsignor De la Place, one of the bishops of the time quoted by our author (p. 401), 'The inundation of 1873 has been more terrible than the two preceding. One must be blind not to see a manifest sign of Divine anger in the strange inundations which destroy Tientsin and the whole district each year on the anniversary of the massacres.' One other word. If it is 'the cause that makes a martyr,' it

would seem that we have it here. The highest authorities at the time and in the place declare that our martyrs were put to death *in odium fidei*; and the Chinese authorities declared, in exculpation of themselves, that it was the Catholics only they wished to destroy. Further, it is said many special graces and cures were obtained through their intercession. May we not, then, look forward with a good hope to the Ceremony of Beatification? But, 'till Rome has spoken'—and Rome is slow to speak; and the Devil's advocate will have his say—let others judge whether it would be fair to apply in the present case the dictum, 'Qui orat pro martyre injuriam facit martyri.'

C. J. L.

MANUAL OF PATROLOGY. Translated from the German of Rev. B. Schmid, O.S.B. Freiburg: B. Herder.

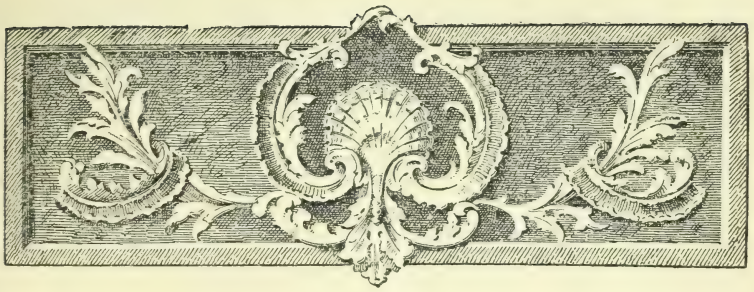
THE manual before us, edited by Mgr. Schobel, with a Preface from Dr. Hedley, supplies for English readers what is undeniably a very pressing want. It is admitted that without a respectable acquaintance with the works of the fathers no theological education can be deemed complete. It is in those classics of the Church that we chiefly search for what tradition has to tell us of the doctrines contained in the Christian revelation. Whether we regard the Patristic writers as great interpreters of Scripture, as ascetical divines, or as masters of oratory, a better watchword we could not have than 'back to the fathers.' All this has long been recognised by our continental co-religionists, with the result of arousing amongst them increased interest in and devotion to Patrology as a theological science. In those busy days, least of all, life is too short to read through all the Patristic tomes, and, therefore, German scholars have begun to labour in fields so long worked by French Benedictines. Much has been done to reduce Patrology to a system, and to direct the attention of busy readers to those parts of the Patristic writings most noteworthy for their literary or doctrinal value. The present work is one of several handbooks which owe their origin to this movement, and English readers are deeply indebted to both author and translator for having placed such an admirable introduction to Patristic studies within their reach.

The work is divided into two parts. The first, or propaedeutical, determines the meaning of the terms ecclesiastical writer, father, and doctor of the Church, and their respective authority in theology. It discusses the critical canons by which the

authenticity of a work is settled; and, finally, valuable suggestions are offered towards the proper understanding and profitable study of the works of the fathers, with hints to aid in the selection of the most suitable writings on particular points of history or doctrine. The second, or main part of the work deals with Patristic literature in detail, presenting a sketch of the life and works of each father, the whole Patristic period being divided into four epochs.

In a work of this kind one does not look for any high degree of excellence in point of style. In the present work, therefore, emanating, moreover, from a German source, we are prepared to find an orderly and scientific disposition of much valuable information, clearly and pithily set forth. We do not regret the absence of those free and easy dissertations that convey so often very little. The plan of employing short and distinct paragraphs here adopted has many advantages to recommend it. Not the least valuable feature in this valuable Manual is the exhaustive Bibliography arranged in the shape of notes at the end of each paragraph. We are confident that this work will meet a hearty welcome, filling as it does so well an acknowledged, though, perhaps, inevitable lacuna in the present ordinary ecclesiastical curriculum.

P. L.



GALILEO AND THE ROMAN CONGREGATIONS

IN the February number of the I. E. RECORD we made two statements in reference to the condemnation of Galileo by the Roman Congregations. We said, in the first place, that Galileo was condemned by the Congregations, because they thought his teaching false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. We declared, in the second place, that the Roman decrees were not meant to be infallible decisions. We discussed both statements with sufficient fulness for the purpose which we had in view. Apart from the needs of controversy on particular points, these truths have a theological interest in themselves. We, therefore, think it useful to treat them at greater length. This is the purpose which we shall endeavour to carry out in the present article.

Was, then, the Copernican theory condemned in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture? We wish at the outset to place our position clearly before our readers. We are aware of the fact that many extrinsic motives urged the Congregations to officially examine the doctrine of Galileo. These reasons are entirely external to our present question. We ask the question: What was the reason, because of which the doctrine of Galileo was actually condemned by the Congregations? We seek, then, the internal motive of the condemnation, not the external reasons which led the Congregations to take action. We have no hesitation in saying that the heliocentric theory was condemned in

itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. This is placed beyond all doubt by the decrees of the Congregations and the abjuration of Galileo. The importance of the subject is our excuse for quoting, from these documents, the essential portions of the Roman decisions and the abjuration of Galileo.[1]

The Sacred Congregation of the Index published, on the 5th March, 1616, the following decree:—

Whereas it has also come to the knowledge of the said Congregation, that the Pythagorean doctrine, which is false and altogether opposed to Holy Scripture, of the motion of the earth, and the quiescence of the sun, which is also taught by Nicholas Copernicus in *De Revolutionibus orbium Coelestium*, and by Diego di Zuñiga in (his book on) Job, is now being spread abroad and accepted by many—as may be seen from a certain letter of a Carmelite Father, entitled, *Letter of the Rev. Father Paolo Antonio Foscarini, Carmelite, on the opinion of the Pythagoreans and of Copernicus concerning the motion of the earth, and the stability of the sun, and the new Pythagorean system of the world, at Naples, printed by Lazzaro Scorrigio*, 1615: wherein the said father attempts to show that the aforesaid doctrine of the quiescence of the sun in the centre of the world, and of the earth's motion, is consonant with truth, and is not opposed to Holy Scripture. Therefore, in order that this opinion may not insinuate itself any further to the prejudice of Catholic truth, the Holy Congregation has decreed that the said Nicholas Copernicus, *De Revolutionibus orbium*, and Diego di Zuñiga, on Job, be suspended until they be corrected; but that the book of the Carmelite Father, Paolo Antonio Foscarini, be altogether prohibited and condemned, and that all other works likewise, in which the same is taught, be prohibited, as by this decree it prohibits, condemns, and suspends them all respectively. In witness whereof the present decree has been signed and sealed with the hands and with the seal of the Most Eminent and Reverend Lord Cardinal of St. Cecilia, Bishop of Albano, on the 5th day of March, 1616.[2]

[1] The decree of the Index was originally in Latin. The decree of the Holy Office and the abjuration of Galileo were in Italian. We give in the text the translation which is contained in Von Gebler's *Galileo Galilaei and the Roman Curia*, translated by Mrs. Sturge.

[2] Decretum S. Congregationis illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. Sanctaque Sede Apostolica ad indicem librorum . . . deputatorum . . . ubique publicandum . .

Et quia etiam ad notitiam praefatae Congregationis pervenit, falsam illam doctrinam Pythagoricam, Divinaeque Scripturae omnino adversantem, de mobi

Galileo was not condemned by name in this decree of the Index. We are told, however, by the annotation of the Vatican MS., under the date 25th February, 1616, and by the decree of the Inquisition, 1633, that a session of the Holy Office was held on the 25th February, 1616, under the presidency of Paul V., at which it was decreed that Cardinal Bellarmine should warn Galileo to abandon the Copernican opinion :—

> And, in case of refusal to obey, that the Commissary of the Inquisition, before a notary and witnesses, is to intimate to him a command to abstain altogether from teaching or defending this opinion and doctrine, and even from discussing it.[1]

The Vatican MS., under date 26th February, 1616, and the Inquisition, 1633, state that in fulfilment of this decree Cardinal Bellarmine gently warned Galileo to abandon his view, and the Commissary, in the presence of the Cardinal, and before a notary and witnesses, commanded him to relinquish the Copernican opinion, and not 'to hold, teach, or defend it in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing.'[2] In many ways Galileo subsequently defended the

litate terrae et immobilitate solis, quam Nicolaus Copernicus (*De Revolutionibus orbium Coelestium*), et Didacus Astunica (*in Job*) etiam docent, jam divulgari et a multis recipi, sicut videre est ex epistola quadam impressa cujusdam patris Carmelitae, cui titulus; *Lettera del R. P. maestro Paolo Antonio Foscarini Carmelitano sopra l'opinione dei Pittagorici e del Copernico della mobilita della terra a stabilita del sole . . .* in qua dictus pater ostendere conatur, praefatam doctrinam de immobilitate solis in centro mundi et mobilitate terrae, consonam esse veritati, et non adversari Sacrae Scripturae; ideo ne ulterius hujusmodi opinio in perniciem catholicae veritatis serpat, censuit dictos Nicolaum Copernicum *de Revolutionibus orbium*, et Didacum Astunica *in Job*, suspendendos esse donec corrigantur; librum vero patris Pauli Antonii Foscarini Carmelitae omnino prohibendum atque damnandum; aliosque omnes libros pariter idem docentes prohibendos, prout praesenti decreto omnes respective prohibet, damnat atque suspendit. In quorum fidem praesens decretum manu et sigillo illustrissimi et reverendissimi domini Cardinalis sanctae Caeciliae Episcopi Albanensis, signatum et munitum fuit die 5 Martii 1616.—P. Episcopus Albanensis, Cardinalis S. Caeciliae.— Franciscus Magdalenus Capiferrens Ordinis Praedicatorum, Secretarius.

[1] Vatican MS., 25th Feb., 1616.

[2] Vatican MS., 26th Feb., 1616. M. Gebler, in his work, *Galileo Galilei and the Roman Curia*, maintains that, though Galileo was, indeed, admonished by Cardinal Bellarmine, no command was imposed on him by the Commissary of the Inquisition. He proves this from the discrepancies between the annotations of the 25th and 26th February; from the absence of the usual subscription to the note of the 26th February, of the accused, the notary, and the witnesses; from the silence of Cardinal Bellarmine in his report of 3rd March, 1616, to the Holy Office; from the silence of Galileo about such a command in his

Copernican theory. He finally published his famous *Dialogues*, in which he indirectly defended, with great vigour, the heliocentric view of the world. In consequence the Inquisition again took action, and issued the following decree on 22nd June, 1633:—

Whereas you, Galileo, son of the late Vincenzo Galilei, Florentine, aged seventy years, were, in the year 1615, denounced to this Holy Office for holding as true the false doctrine, taught by many, that the sun is the centre of the world, and immovable, and that the earth moves, and also with a diurnal motion; . . .

This Holy Tribunal being, therefore, desirous of proceeding against the disorder and mischief thence resulting, which went on increasing, to the prejudice of the holy faith, by command of his Holiness and of the most eminent Lords Cardinals of this supreme and universal Inquisition, the two propositions of the stability of the sun and the motion of the earth were, by the theological 'Qualifiers,' qualified as follows:—

The proposition that the sun is the centre of the world, and does not move from its place, is absurd and false philosophically, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to the Holy Scripture.

The proposition that the earth is not the centre of the world and immovable, but that it moves, and also with a diurnal motion, is equally absurd and false philosophically, and, theologically considered, at least erroneous in faith.

But whereas, as it was desired at that time to deal leniently with you, it was decreed, at the Holy Congregation held before his Holiness on the 25th February, 1616, that his Eminence the Lord Cardinal Bellarmine should order you to abandon altogether the said false doctrine, and, in the event of your refusal, that an injunction should be imposed upon you by the Commissary of the Holy Office to give up the said doctrine, and not to teach it to others, nor to defend it, nor even discuss it; and failing your acquiescence in this injunction, that you should be imprisoned. And in execution of this decree, on the following day, at the Palace, and in the presence of his Eminence the said Lord Cardinal Bellarmine, after being gently admonished by the said Lord Cardinal, the command was intimated to you by the Father Commissary of the Holy Office for the time, before a notary and witnesses, that you were altogether to abandon the said false

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letters at the time; from Galileo's own subsequent acts and statements; and from the statement of Cardinal Bellarmine in the letter which he sent to Galileo, and which was presented at his subsequent trial before the Inquisition. For the purpose of our article it matters little which view is true; in fact, the view of Gebler would give less reason to anti-Catholic writers to oppose any vital principle of Catholic theology.

opinion, and not in future to defend or teach it in any way whatsoever, neither verbally nor in writing; and upon your promising to obey you were dismissed.

And in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out, and not insinuate itself further to the grave prejudice of Catholic truth, a decree was issued by the Holy Congregation of the Index, prohibiting the books which treat of this doctrine, and declaring the doctrine itself to be false, and wholly contrary to Sacred and Divine Scripture.

And whereas a book appeared here recently, printed last year at Florence, the title of which shows that you were the author, this title being, *Dialogue of Galileo Galilei on the Two Principal Systems of the World, the Ptolemaic and the Copernican;* and whereas the Holy Congregation was afterwards informed that through the publication of the said book, the false opinion of the motion of the earth and the stability of the sun was daily gaining ground, the said book was taken into careful consideration, and in it there was discovered a patent violation of the aforesaid injunction that had been imposed upon you, for in this book you have defended the said opinion previously condemned, and to your face declared to be so, although in the said book you strive by various devices to produce the impression that you leave it undecided, and in express terms as probable; which, however, is a most grievous error, as an opinion can in no wise be probable which has been declared and defined to be contrary to Divine Scripture. . . .

Invoking, therefore, the most holy name of our Lord Jesus Christ, and of His most glorious mother, and ever Virgin Mary, by this our final sentence, . . . we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, that you, the said Galileo . . . have rendered yourself in the judgment of this Holy Office vehemently suspected of heresy, namely, of having believed and held the doctrine which is false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures—that the sun is the centre of the world, and does not move from east to west, and that the earth moves, and is not the centre of the world; and that an opinion may be held and defended as probable after it has been declared and defined to be contrary to Holy Scripture; and that, consequently, you have incurred all the censures and penalties imposed and promulgated in the sacred canons and other constitutions, general and particular, against such delinquents, . . .

And in order that this, your grave and pernicious error and transgression, may not remain altogether unpunished, and that you may be more cautious for the future, and an example to others, that they may abstain from such delinquencies, we ordain that the book of the *Dialogues of Galileo Galilei* be prohibited by public edict.

We condemn you to the formal prison of this Holy Office

during our pleasure; and by way of salutary penance we enjoin that for three years to come you repeat, once a week, the seven Penitential Psalms.

Reserving to ourselves full liberty to moderate, commute, or take off, in whole or in part, the aforesaid penalties and penance.

And so we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, condemn, and reserve, in this and any other better way and form which we can and may lawfully employ.

So we, the undersigned cardinals, pronounce.

F. Cardinalis De Asculo,[1] &c.

Galileo then abjured his doctrines in the following formula presented to him by the Holy Office:—

I, Galileo Galilei . . . after an injunction had been judicially intimated to me by this Holy Office, to the effect that I must altogether abandon the false opinion that the sun is the centre of

[1] Invocato dunque il Santissimo Nome di Nostro Signore Gesù Cristo, e della sua gloriosissima Madre sempre Vergine Maria, per questa nostra difinitiva sentenza, la quale sedendo pro tribunali, di Conseglio e parere dei Reverendi Maestri di sacra Teologia, et Dottori dell'una e l'altra legge nostri Consultori, proferiamo in questi scritti, nella causa e cause vertenti avanti di noi tra il Magnifico Carlo Sinceri dell'una e dell'altra legge Dottore, Procuratore fiscale di questo Santo Offizio per una parte, e te Galileo Galilei reo, quà presente processato, e confesso come sopra dall'altra. Diciamo, pronunciamo, sentenziamo, dichiaramo, che tu Galileo suddetto per le cose dedotte in processo, e da te confessate, come sopra, ti sei reso a questo Santo Offizio veementemente sospetto d'eresia, cioè d'aver creduto, e tenuto dottrina falsa, e contraria alle sacra, e divine Scritture, che il Sole sia centro della terra, e che non si muova da oriente ad occidente, e che la terra si muova, e non sia centro del mondo, e che si possa tenere difendere per probabile una opinione dopo d'esser stata dichiarata, difinita per contraria alla sacra Scrittura; e conseguentemente sei incorso in tutte le censure, e pene dà' sacri Canoni, et altre Constituzioni generali, et particolari, contro simili delinquenti imposte, e promulgate. Dalle quali siamo contenti, che sii assoluto, pur che prima con cuor sincero, et fede non finta avanti di noi abiuri, maledichi, et detesti li suddetti errori, et eresie, e qualunque altro errore, et eresia contraria alla Cattolica et Apostolica Romana Chiesa, nel modo che da noi ti sarà dato.

Et acciochè questo tuo grave, e pernicioso errore, e transgressione non resti del tutto impunito, e sii piu cauto nell'avenire; et esempio agli altri, che s'astenghino da simili delitti. Ordiniamo che per publico editto sia proibito il libro de' *Dialoghi di Galileo Galilei*.

Ti condanniamo carcere formale di questo S. Offizio per tempo ad arbitrio nostro, e per penitenze salutari t'imponiamo, che per tre anni a venire dichi una volta la settimana li sette Salmi Penitenziali.

Riservando a noi facolta di moderare, mutare o levar in tutto o in parte le suddette pene, e penitenze.

E cosi diciamo, pronunciamo, sentenziamo, dichiariamo, ordiniamo, condenniamo, e riserviamo in questo, et in ogni altro miglior modo, e forma, che di ragione potemo, e dovemo.

Ita pronuntiamus nos Cardinales infrascripti.

F. Cardinalis De Asculo, &c.

the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre of the world and moves, and that I must not hold, defend, or teach in any way whatsoever, verbally or in writing, the said doctrine; and after it had been notified to me that the said doctrine was contrary to Holy Scripture, I wrote and printed a book in which I discuss this doctrine already condemned, and adduce arguments of great cogency in its favour, without presenting any solution of these; and for this cause I have been pronounced by the Holy Office to be vehemently suspected of heresy, that is to say, of having held and believed that the sun is the centre of the world and immovable, and that the earth is not the centre and moves :

Therefore, desiring to remove from the minds of your eminences and of all faithful Christians this strong suspicion, reasonably conceived against me, with sincere heart and unfeigned faith, I abjure, curse, and detest the aforesaid errors and heresies, and generally every other error and sect whatsoever contrary to the said Holy Church; and I swear that in future I will never again say or assert, verbally or in writing, anything that might furnish occasion for a similar suspicion regarding me . . .

I, the said Galileo Galilei, have abjured, sworn, promised, and bound myself as above; and in witness of the truth thereof I have, with my own hand, subscribed the present document of my abjuration, and recited it, word for word, at Rome, in the Convent of Minerva, this twenty-second day of June, 1633.

I, Galileo Galilei, have abjured, as above, with my own hand.

From these official declarations it is abundantly manifest that the intrinsic motive for the condemnation of Galileo was his doctrine and not any external reasons. The decree of the Index speaks of the Copernican doctrine as false, and altogether opposed to Sacred Scripture. It speaks of it as an opinion which is spreading to the detriment of Catholic truth. The Inquisition says that by the decree of the Index the doctrine of Galileo was 'declared false and contrary to the Sacred and Divine Scriptures.' It declares that its own official 'Qualifiers' qualified the doctrine 'that the sun is in the centre of the world, and immovable,' as 'absurd and false in philosophy, and formally heretical, because it is expressly contrary to Sacred Scriptures.' They also declared that the doctrine which held that the 'earth is not the centre of the world, and is not immovable,' is

'absurd and false, philosophically and theologically considered, is, at least, erroneous in faith' The Holy Office, not only by act, but also by word, confirms the declarations of the theological 'Qualifiers,' for in its own decree of 1633 it expressly calls the heliocentric view heretical. The decree of the Inquisition also declares that the reason for the official action of the Index was 'in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out.' The abjuration of Galileo, in close accord with the decree of the Inquisition, speaks of the Copernican doctrine as heretical. These different statements make it absolutely certain that Galileo's doctrine was condemned as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. Those Catholics who, through fear of the consequences, or through ignorance of the real state of affairs, deny this truth, do the Church more harm than its most outspoken opponents.

We think it well to refer here to a view which many able apologists put forward—a view which, to our mind, is just as untenable as the opinion of those who seek external reasons for the Church's action. According to the apologists to whom we refer, the Congregations, indeed, condemned the theory of Copernicus as opposed to Sacred Scripture. That condemation, however, simply meant that it was not lawful then to hold the heliocentric hypothesis, because no sufficient reason had been advanced to warrant a departure from the literal sense of Sacred Scripture. The declaration of the Roman authorities would then be no more than a decision that the doctrine could not be safely taught—'tuto doceri non potest.' This view is only partially the truth. The Congregations did more than condemn the doctrine as unproved. They condemned the doctrine in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. The decrees themselves are our best proof for this statement. How did the decrees qualify the Copernican doctrine? The Inquisition called it heretical. Were the doctrine condemned merely as unproved, is this the qualification which would have been attached to it? Certainly not. The qualification which it would have merited would not have been 'heresy,' but 'rashness.' Again, the very words of the Congregations, looked

at independently of their theological signification, point out the insufficiency of this explanation. The Index declared Copernicanism false, and *altogether* opposed to Sacred Scripture. The Holy Office, through its official 'Qualifiers,' declared the Copernican theory to be absurd and false. No one, having the use of reason, would call a doctrine 'absurd and false, and *altogether* opposed to Sacred Scripture,' if he meant nothing more than that there was insufficient proof advanced for it. A new and complete modification of language must be made before words can be so completely changed in their meaning as to allow such an application of the terms employed by the Congregations. Moreover, if the Congregations merely meant that it was not then lawful to hold the Copernican theory because it was not sufficiently proved to warrant a change from the literal interpretation of Scripture, they would scarcely have made any mistake. Most people now admit that the proofs for the heliocentric theory, which then existed, were insufficient to establish the hypothesis as a fact. Some of the arguments used by Galileo had no validity. The argument, for instance, from the ebb and flow of the tides is admittedly invalid as a proof of the Copernican doctrine. This is the judgment, not alone of modern science, but even of the scientific scholars of Galileo's day. Lord Bacon, for instance, in his *Novum Organum*,[1] published 1620, declares the Copernican hypothesis to be certainly wrong. There was not, accordingly, sufficient proof at the time to warrant any change from the literal interpretation of Sacred Scripture. The Congregations then would have committed no error in their condemnation of Galileo. But who can say that no error existed in the statement that the Copernican theory was 'absurd and false'? Who can say that no error existed in the statement that the teaching of Galileo was *altogether* opposed to Holy Scripture? Who can say that no error was contained in the declaration that the theory of Galileo was heretical? Without the least shadow of doubt these statements of the Congregations were false. The error, of

[1] Book ii., chap. xxxvi.

course, was not voluntary; still there was error on the part of the Roman authorities. The possibility of such error arose not from any limitation in the words used by the Congregations, but from the limitation of power which is inherent in a fallible authority.[1]

The objection urged from the statements of Bellarmine and others, that if a new and satisfactory proof were given of the Copernican doctrine, the Church would allow a change in the received interpretation of Scripture, is not to the point. They are perfectly true in the view which we have put forward. They simply imply the possibility of error which must exist when there is question of decrees that are not infallible. New proof may, possibly, show that error. If such proof be advanced, the Church is ready to change its provisional teaching.

The greatest difficulty which can be urged against this view is taken from the statement made by Urban VIII. to Cardinal Hohenzollern, in 1624, 'that the Church neither had condemned, nor ever would condemn, the doctrine as heretical, but only as rash.' This declaration, however, of Urban, as a private individual, proves nothing; because, in the first place, the Church as such never gave any decision on the question, as we shall subsequently prove. In the second place, even if we call the Congregations the Church, the statement of Urban is of no avail as compared with the express statements of the Congregations of the Index, that Copernicanism was '*false and altogether opposed* to Holy Scripture.' Nor can it undo the subsequent declaration of the Inquisition that the doctrine was *heretical*.

We conclude, then, that the teaching of Galileo was condemned, not for extrinsic reasons, nor simply as unproved, but in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture. There still remains, however, an important question to be decided before we can take up the second state-

[1] The defenders of the opinion which we are refuting do not sufficiently distinguish between these two distinct kinds of limitation. They think that the second kind of limitation being proved the first is thereby proved also. This position is quite untenable, as is shown by the very words of the Congregations which we have quoted.

ment which we proposed to discuss. That question concerns the nature of the decrees which contain that condemnation. Are they doctrinal decrees, or are they rather disciplinary decrees? A doctrinal decree is one whose direct object is to decide a question of doctrine; a disciplinary decree is one which directly deals with a question of discipline. Doctrinal decrees may indirectly concern discipline, and disciplinary decrees may indirectly concern doctrine. The important difference between the two kinds of decisions is, that whilst in a doctrinal decree the deciding authority uses its power of teaching, it uses its power of ruling in disciplinary decrees. The question we wish to ask here is: were the decrees which concern the case of Galileo doctrinal or disciplinary? To us it seems more probable that they were disciplinary decisions. The reason for this view is, that the direct object which the Congregations seem to have in view is a disciplinary object. For, surely, to prohibit the publication of a book is in itself a disciplinary act, as is also to condemn a person to suffer certain punishments. The object of the decree of the Index was clearly to prohibit the publication of certain books, whilst the object of the decree of the Inquisition was to condemn the person of Galileo to the punishments which, as suspected of heresy, he was liable to suffer, to order him to abjure his doctrine, and to order an edict to be drawn up, the object of which was to prohibit his *Dialogo*.

No doubt, as is evident from what we have said, both decrees authentically declare a doctrine false and contrary to Sacred Scripture, and so far there is use made of the doctrinal authority of the Congregations. Still these authentic declarations of doctrine are accidental to the decrees whose essential object is to make disciplinary regulations. These declarations of doctrine are only the reasons given for the main object of the decrees. They are like the *obiter dicta* of a decree of a General Council, which may be, indeed, authentic declarations of doctrine, but which still are accidental to the main doctrine to which the Council wishes to give an infallible sanction. Hence the fact that doctrine was condemned in the decrees does not destroy their disciplinary nature.

Neither does the statement of the Inquisition, that by the decree of the Index the Copernican theory was declared false and contrary to Sacred Scripture, avail to show that the decree was not essentially disciplinary—that the doctrinal decision was not introduced simply as a motive for a disciplinary act. The statement merely proves that, in some way, an authoritative declaration of doctrine had been made by the Index. The decree of the Index must be examined for the method after which the declaration was made. Such an examination, as we have seen, shows that the decree is a disciplinary decree, including as an *obiter dictum* a doctrinal statement.

Thus far we have seen that it was not for any extrinsic reasons that the teaching of Galileo was condemned by the Roman Congregations; that the teaching was condemned in itself as false and contrary to Sacred Scripture; that this condemnation of the Copernican doctrine was made in a decree which was directly disciplinary, but in which, indirectly, doctrine was authentically taught. We are now in a position to examine the second statement which it was our purpose to discuss. The statement was, that the decrees of the Congregations were not meant to be infallible decisions, given by the supreme teacher of the Catholic Church on a question of faith and morals.

In the first place, contemporary testimony of the highest value places this question beyond all reasonable doubt. No more valuable testimony can be found than that of Cardinal Bellarmine, who was so prominent in connection with the condemnation of Galileo. It was he who was requested by the Holy Office to warn Galileo of his errors. Yet, what do we find to be his opinion on the infallibility of the decrees of 1616? His opinion is recorded by Father Grassi, himself an active opponent of Galileo :—

> When a demonstration shall be found to establish the earth's motion, it will be proper to interpret the Holy Scriptures otherwise than they have hitherto been in those passages where mention is made of the movement of the heavens and the stability of the earth.

This is the deliberate view of Cardinal Bellarmine:—

> This was in 1624. Just imagine Father Perrone saying, in the year 1862, that some unexpected light may possibly hereafter be obtained which will make it proper to interpret Scripture and tradition as opposed to the Immaculate Conception! Yet Bellarmine's statement would be precisely equivalent to this, if Copernicanism had really been condemned *ex cathedra*.[1]

The conclusion is so clear, that we think it unnecessary to do more than name some learned contemporaries of Galileo, who express themselves similarly to Bellarmine. Fromond of Louvain, Descartes, Fabri, S.J., Riccioli, S.J., Gassendi, and many others agree in admitting that no infallible decision was intended to be given by Roman authorities against Copernicanism.

Nor will, in the second place, an intrinsic examination of the documents we have given render doubtful this extrinsic evidence. As we have already intimated, the decrees of the Congregations were disciplinary in their nature. Their essential object was not to teach doctrine, but to condemn books and the person of Galileo, because of their connection with doctrine which was considered false. No Catholic claims infallibility for a disciplinary act? It is only doctrinal decisions that can in any way claim the prerogative of infallibility, which is given to teach the faith. Nor does the fact that the reason for the condemnation was authentically stated to be false and unscriptural doctrine change in the slightest the force of this argument. The reasons given by the Pope or a General Council, though, of course, worthy of respect, never claim to be infallible, even in doctrinal decrees. The prerogative of infallibility belongs alone to the final decision which the Pope or Council desires to urge. How much more is this true when there is question of a disciplinary decree of a Roman Congregation? Its decision, notwithstanding the doctrinal reasons, is not changed in its essence. It, consequently, like every disciplinary enactment, is devoid of infallible authority.

[1] Dr. Ward, *Dublin Review*, April, 1871. This argument of Dr. Ward's is considerably strengthened by the fact that Cardinal Bellarmine expressed this view long before 1624.

Let us grant, however, for the sake of argument, that the decrees of the Congregations were doctrinal in their nature. Does it follow that they were *ex cathedra* definitions of the Roman Pontiff? We hope to make it clear that they were not. It will be useful, in order to show this, to refer to some Catholic doctrines and to some regulations of Canon Law which bear on the present discussion.

In the first place, the Pope is infallible when, by his apostolic authority as supreme pastor of the Church, he defines a question of faith and morals for the universal Church. This is the nature of papal infallibility, as it has been taught by the Vatican Council. Certain conditions are absolutely necessary that this infallibility may be exercised.

(1) It is necessary that the Pope speak by his apostolic authority as supreme teacher of the Church. Hence his utterances as a private person have no infallible authority attached to them. His legal enactments have not the gift of infallibility either, for in issuing them he does not act as teacher of the faith, but as ruler of the Church. The necessity of this condition arises from the very nature of infallibility which has been given by Christ to the Pope as Pope for teaching the faith.

(2) Again, it is necessary that the Pope speak on a question of faith and morals.[1] Hence it must not be a mere scientific question nor a question of discipline. By the very fact, however, that the Pope gives an *ex cathedra* definition he declares that the question decided is a question of faith and morals. That this condition is required, is clear again from the nature of infallibility which preserves the Pope from error in teaching the faith.

(3) Moreover, it is necessary that the Pope bind the whole Church by his decision. Consequently, a decision which binds only an individual, or a particular church, cannot in any way claim infallibility. The reason for this condition is had from the fact that infallibility has been

[1] By 'faith' is meant the speculative doctrines of revelation, and by 'morals' theologians mean the practical doctrines of revelation. Hence morals belong to faith in its wider sense of revealed truth.

given, not for the benefit of an individual or a particular church, but for the good of the universal Church.

(4) Finally, the decision of the Pope must be final and irrevocable, and must, consequently, bind the whole Church to give an absolute, irrevocable assent either of divine or ecclesiastical faith. The assent will be of divine faith if there be question of a doctrine that has been formally revealed. The assent will probably be only of ecclesiastical faith if the doctrine be not formally revealed, but be intimately connected with formal revelation. The necessity for this condition arises from the distinction between the provisional teaching of the Church and her final doctrinal decisions.

In the second place, this power of infallibility is personal to the Pope. It has been given to him as Pope. Hence he cannot transfer it to another no more than he can transfer to another his papacy. He can, however, appoint, and in the case of the Roman Congregations has appointed, vicars to act for him in matters which fall short of this full papal power just as an ordinary bishop can appoint vicars to act for him in those matters which do not belong to him exclusively as bishop. These Roman Congregations form one court with the Pope ; and, therefore, no appeal is allowed from them. They may reconsider their decisions, or an infallible tribunal may make a further investigation in doctrinal matters, but these examinations are not recognised as appeals. The decisions of the Congregations are in this sense, and in this sense alone, pontifical acts. The Pope may, of course, and sometimes does, appropriate their decisions, and promulgate them as his own decrees. Then they are not promulgated as decisions of the Congregations. They have acquired a new and distinct authority. They have become pontifical acts in a higher sense.

It is all-important to know when the decrees of the Congregations have received this higher pontifical authority, and when they retain their nature of decrees of the Congregations. As we are concerned with the Index and the Inquisition, we shall speak of them alone. The decrees of these Congregations are not promulgated unless they have

received Papal sanction. This is a fundamental necessity of their institution. In two ways the Pope is accustomed to give his approval. He sometimes gives approbation *in forma communi*. Sometimes he gives his confirmation *in forma specifica*. The former adds no intrinsic force to the decrees. They remain decisions of the Congregations, and are promulgated in their names. They have, no doubt, received an extrinsic authority which is not relevant to our present question. Approval *in forma specifica* gives the decrees a new intrinsic authority. By its means they cease to be decrees of the Congregations, and become the decisions of the Pope himself. The decrees are not promulgated in the names of the Congregations, but in the name of the Pope. The decrees themselves make clear whether they have been promulgated in the name of the Pope or in the names of the Congregations; and, consequently, whether approval is given *in forma specifica* or *in forma communi*. Certainly only approbation *in forma communi* has been given when the fact of Papal confirmation is not mentioned in the decree.

This distinction between the two kinds of approbation is not confined to the matter under discussion. A national council, for instance, must submit its decrees to Rome for its approval before they can be promulgated. If they do not receive approval *in forma specifica*, they remain decrees of a national council. The council can subsequently change them; it can, by its own authority, dispense in them; and it can depute others to dispense in them. If, however, the decrees receive approval *in forma specifica*, they cease to be decrees of a national council. The national council cannot change them; neither can it, by its own authority, dispense in them, or depute others to dispense in them. In all cases the decrees make clear which kind of approbation has been given; so no insuperable difficulty can arise in recognising the nature of the decisions.

We may mention also that the Pope is accustomed to give both kinds of approval to the decrees of the Congregations in two ways. Sometimes the Pope, in giving approbation *in forma communi*, orders this sanction to be

mentioned in the decree; sometimes his confirmation is not mentioned in the decree. The former method was not in vogue at the time of Galileo. The two methods, we think, do not differ substantially. The difference is only accidental, since the decree is promulgated in both cases as the decree of the Congregations, not as the decree of the Pope. So also, in approval *in forma specifica*, the decree is sometimes ordered to be promulgated by the Congregations, but in the name of the Pope. More frequently the Pope takes the decree entirely from the hands of the Congregations, and publishes it in his own name, by his own promulgation. This difference, again, is only accidental, because in both methods of approval the decree is published as the decree of the Pope himself. The method of promulgation does not interfere with the nature of the decision. Consequently, in both cases, the decree is infallible, if the other conditions for infallibility be present.

If we grant, then, for the sake of argument, that the decrees of 1616 and 1633 were doctrinal, the question still remains, did the Pope promulgate them as infallible utterances? Did he publish them as *ex cathedra* definitions? He did not; because, in the first place, he did not give them approval *in forma specifica*—that approval which makes them the decrees of the Pope, and not the decrees of the Congregations. This is clear from the absence of any mention of Papal confirmation in the decrees. The words of the Congregations make this truth still more evident. The title of the decree of the Index (1616) speaks of the decree as the decree of the Congregation: '*Decretum S. Congregationis illustrissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium* a S. D. N. Paulo Papa V. . . . deputatorum.' Hence it was the decree of the Congregation, and not of the Pope. No doubt, the fact is mentioned that the cardinals were deputed by the Pope to act on the Congregation; but this is simply a warrant of their authority. It leaves the decree its essential nature of a decree of the Congregation, according to the words employed. Moreover, the body of the decree expresses the same truth: 'The Holy Congregation has decreed that the said Nicholas Copernicus, in *De Revolutionibus orbium*,

be suspended.' It was the Congregation which gave this decision, not the Pope. 'And that all other works likewise, in which the same is taught, be prohibited, as by this present decree it (the Holy Congregation) prohibits, condemns, and suspends them all respectively.' Here, again, it is the Congregation, and not the Pope, which in its decree condemns Copernican books. Finally, the subscription: 'In witness whereof the present decree has been signed and sealed with the hands and with the seal of the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Lord Cardinal,' shows that the decree was published, not in the name of the Pope, but in the name of the Congregation.

The Inquisition (1633) makes this manifest not only for its own decree of 1633, but also for the decrees of 1616. Speaking of the Index, it says: 'And in order that a doctrine so pernicious might be wholly rooted out . . . a decree was issued by the Holy Congregation of the Index.' Hence it considered that the decree published on the 5th March, 1616, was the decree of the Congregation, and not of the Pope, as such. In another portion of the decree the Inquisition gives the words of Cardinal Bellarmine, in which he states that the declaration of the Index was 'made by his Holiness (Paul V.), and published by the Congregation of the Index.' But nobody doubts that Paul V. made the decree through his vicars, and approved of its promulgation. The only question to the point is, was the decree promulgated by the Index as the decree of the Pope, or as the decree of the Congregation itself? The words of the Index and of the Holy Office make it clear that the decree was published as the decree of the Index.

The Inquisition also speaks of the decree of 25th February, 1616, as its own decree, and not as the decree of the Pope. 'It was decreed at the Holy Congregation held before his Holiness on the 25th February, 1616.' The note of the Vatican MS., 3rd March, 1616, speaks of it as 'the order of the Holy Congregation.' No doubt, the Pope, as President of the Holy Office, was present on the occasion; but this presence does not interfere with the fact that the decree was the decree of the Inquisition. By his simple

presence, and by his approval of the decision, he does not appropriate to himself, as Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, the declaration of his vicariate congregation. The decree was passed as the decree of the Holy Office, and executed the following day, in the name of the Holy Office, by its officers. Nor, again, does the fact that the Inquisition says that the Copernican theory was 'declared and *defined* to be contrary to Sacred Scripture' render this decision of the 25th February, or the decree of the 5th March, the decisions of the Pope defining a doctrine *ex cathedra*. All the statement means is, that the decisions were final, inasmuch as no appeal was allowed from them to any higher tribunal. In fact, the Inquisition speaks of its own decree of 1633 in the same way: 'By this *our final* sentence' (per questa *nostra difinitiva* sentenza), though these very words, and other phrases which we shall see immediately, show clearly that it recognised that decision to be its own and not the Pope's.

The Holy Office makes evident the nature, not only of the decrees of 1616, but also of the decree of 1633. Its words are :—

> By this *our* final sentence . . . *we say, pronounce, sentence, declare*, that you . . . have rendered yourself *in the judgment of this Holy Office* vehemently suspected of heresy. . . . From which (punishments) *we are content* that you be absolved . . . *we ordain* that the book of the Dialogues of Galileo Galilei be prohibited . . . *We condemn* you to the formal prison of *this Holy Office* during *our pleasure* . . . And so *we say, pronounce, sentence, declare, ordain, condemn, and reserve* . . . So *we the undersigned Cardinals pronounce.*

What words can make it more clear that the cardinals of the Holy Office acted in their own name, and did not, consequently, promulgate any decree in the name of the Pope? If there be any, we know them not. Not even our opponents, with all their self-declared learning, can find more luminous expressions of the truth that no approval *in forma specifica* was given to the decree of the Holy Office.

The abjuration of Galileo adds its authority to the testi-

monies that we have examined. In it Galileo states:— 'I have been *pronounced by the Holy Office* to be vehemently suspected of heresy.' When we remember that it was the Holy Office itself which drew up this abjuration for Galileo, we cannot reasonably deny our assent to the truth that the decree of 1633 was the decision of the Inquisition and not of Urban VIII. as Pope.

It has been objected that Urban VIII., in 1633, directed that copies of the sentence passed on Galileo be transmitted to all apostolic nuncios, &c., in order that these things might be known to all. Here, our opponents say, is sufficient proof that Urban made the condemnation his own; and, consequently, gave it approbation *in forma specifica*. There is here, however, no difficulty. The action of Urban would prove nothing more than that he approved of the condemnation, and thought the knowledge of it useful to all. It would in no way indicate that he made the condemnation his own pontifical act. It would in no way proclaim an *ex cathedra* definition binding the whole Church by its irrevocable force. This is rendered absolutely certain by a fact which Dr. Salmon, from whose *Infallibility of the Church* we have taken this and the following difficulties, does not mention. It was not Urban himself who gave this order, it was a session of the Holy Office (16th June, 1633), presided over by Urban. Consequently, the decision was not the decision of Urban as Pope. It was merely a command of the Inquisition.

It has been asserted that the words of Sixtus V. show that the decree of the Index was issued in the name of the Pope. In remodelling the Index he declared that the cardinals of the Congregation 'are to examine and expose the books which are repugnant to Catholic doctrines and Christian discipline, and *after reporting them to us* they are to condemn them *by our authority*.' Clearly, our opponents cry in triumph, the books condemned by the Index are prohibited by Papal authority. But, surely, no Catholic ever denied that the Index condemns books by the authority and with the approval of the Pope. What Catholics deny is, that the decisions of the Index are always made his own

by the Pope, and promulgated as such. That they are not, is clear even from the very words which are urged against us. Sixtus says, '*they* (the cardinals) are to condemn them.' The decision, then, is *their* decision. It is the decision of the Roman Congregation, to which the Pope cannot delegate his gift of infallibility, but to which he has delegated authority to condemn books.

Again, it has been stated that, at least subsequently, the desired approval *in forma specifica* has been given to all the decrees of the Index, for Alexander VII. (1664) in his Bull, *Speculatores*, confirmed the previous decrees with the words: 'Cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis, auctoritate Apostolica tenore praesentium confirmamus et approbamus.' This is a pretty example of anti-Catholic logic. For the purpose of our opponents it matters not what the *tenor praesentium* is. 'They have eyes and see not' that in his Bull Alexander VII. expressly states what the *tenor praesentium* is, and, consequently, how far he gives his approval to the previous decrees of the Index. He declares that, owing to the absence of an authentic catalogue of prohibited books, much confusion arose. To remove this confusion he ordered a correct catalogue to be drawn up. He then, by his apostolic power, declares the newly-arranged catalogue to be authentic in the following words:—

> Nos, de praedictorum Cardinalium consilio *eundem indicem generalem*, sicut praemittitur, *jussu nostro compositum atque revisum* et typis camerae nostrae apostolicae jam impressum, et *quem praesentibus nostris pro inserto haberi volumus*, cum omnibus et singulis in eo contentis, auctoritate apostolica, *tenore praesentium*, confirmamus et approbamus.

The Pope, then, merely confirms the general index as faithfully containing the correct prohibitions of the Index. He, consequently, issues not a doctrinal, but a disciplinary decree. He gives no approval *in forma specifica* which makes the decrees his own. He utters no *ex cathedra* definition on a question of faith and morals.

We have seen, then, that, even in the hypothesis of the decrees being not disciplinary but doctrinal, the Popes did

not give an infallible decision against the doctrine of Galileo because they never gave confirmation *in forma specifica* to the decrees of the Roman Congregations. In the next place, even if we admit that such approval was given, still other defects show that no infallible decision *ex cathedra* was intended. The third condition for an infallible decision is absent in the case of the decrees of the Holy Office of 25th February, 1616, and 22nd June, 1633. They were addressed only to an individual, and were not, therefore, decisions which bound the universal Church. No doubt the condemnation of Galileo was sent by order of the Holy Office to apostolic nuncios, &c., *that it may be known to all*, but that transmission did not change the nature of the decree. It did not make it a general decision binding the whole Church. It merely indicates that a knowledge of the condemnation was considered useful for those to whom it was sent. No doubt, too, the decision of 1633 ordered a public edict to be drawn up and promulgated condemning the *Dialogues* of Galileo. But that subsequent edict was not made a papal edict, nor did the decree itself thereby become a general decision binding all. The decree remained particular in its nature; and, consequently, it could not be an infallible decision of the Pope.

The decree of the 5th March, 1616, was promulgated for the whole Church. It was, however, as we have seen, only a disciplinary act of a Roman Congregation, and, therefore, lacked the first and second conditions for an *ex cathedra* definition of the Pope. But even if these conditions were present, it still would be without the fourth condition required for an infallible definition. To teach a doctrine as true and in conformity with Scripture, or to condemn a doctrine as false and opposed to Scripture, does not suffice to render a decision infallible, even when it has been promulgated for the whole Church. It is necessary, moreover, that the decision be promulgated as irrevocable, so that not only is no appeal allowed against it, but the case can never be re-opened on any pretext. No sign of such an irrevocable nature is contained in the decree of the Index. The extrinsic authority of Bellarmine and other contemporaries

of Galileo, to whom we have already referred, is sufficient of itself to rule such an irrevocable nature out of court. It is lawful for us to conclude, then, that, even for this reason, the decree of the Index did not claim to be an *ex cathedra* definition of the Roman Pontiff.

We have now carried out our twofold purpose. We have shown that the teaching of Galileo was condemned by the Roman Congregations in itself as false and opposed to Sacred Scripture. We have shown, too, that no *ex cathedra* definitions of the Popes were involved in the condemnation of Copernicanism. The mistake which the Congregations made does not, consequently, invalidate the claim of the Catholic Church to the gift of infallibility. Nor does it prevent us from having due respect for decisions of Roman Congregations no more than rare mistakes destroy our respect for the decisions of ordinary civil tribunals. It was beside our purpose to speak of the many historical falsehoods which for years hung round the name of Galileo. No charge, however grave, no accusation, however gross, was thought beneath the assertion of those whose only purpose in life seemed to be to vilify the Church of Rome. Time has brought its own revenge. The falsehoods of earlier days have recoiled on those who made them. The world knows these men no more. They are consigned to the oblivion of dishonoured graves. The Church of Rome, which they tried to tarnish, still lives on. New charges are brought against her by her implacable foes. But they, too, will pass away, whilst she will ever march in triumph, proudly wearing the badge of truth. In her triumphal march she employs human means. These must, from time to time, be the cause of accidental errors like that which occurred in the case of Galileo. They do not, however, interfere with her vital principles or impede her in her victorious progress through the ages, for she has the Spirit of God brooding over her. His divine guidance will ever make the voice of nations proclaim that she and she alone is the One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church which was founded by Christ on earth.

JOHN M. HARTY.

MR. LECKY'S MAP OF LIFE[1]

'La vie n'est pas un plaisir ni une douleur, mais une affaire grave dont nous sommes charges, et qu'il faut conduire et terminer à notre honneur.'—TOCQUEVILLE.

THE closing quarter of the year 1899 was enriched by the publication of two remarkable books, the one the work of a Catholic, the other of a Protestant author. These were Mr. Lilly's *First Principles in Politics*, and Mr. Lecky's *Map of Life*. It is with the latter work that I am the more immediately concerned in this paper.

Wherever the English language is read the name of Mr. Lecky is held in veneration as a historian and philosopher. With, perhaps, the single exception of Mr. Gairdner, he is without a rival in the different branches of science he has made his own. In him we find that rare combination of gifts, so requisite in every writer of history, profound erudition, laboriousness in research, judicial temper, and a playfulness of fancy which imparts an indefinable charm to whatever comes from his pen. He approaches every question with a calmness, and a freedom from bias which never fails to secure for him the confidence and sympathy of his readers; and though at times one may feel disinclined to accept his conclusions, this feeling of disagreement is short-lived, and even helps to impart a fresh zest to the approval with which we accept most other propositions.

That an author of Mr. Lecky's knowledge and experience should set himself to discuss the great problems of human life, the principles which ought to regulate and govern human conduct, and the elements which go to the building up of human character in its best forms, is something for which all students of sociology must feel profoundly grateful. And in the *Map of Life* are to be found the views and reasonings of the great historian on almost every subject deserving of thought and attention at the present moment.

[1] *The Map of Life, Conduct, and Character.* By William Edward Hartpole Lecky. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1899.

There are few things, surely, more serious than human life and character, with their countless ramifications influencing and shaping the course of events, colouring the nation's views and convictions, brightening or clouding the outlook for posterity. George Eliot, whose intimacy with the philosopher Lewes served probably to influence her views of life, constantly inculcated the importance of making the most and the best of our present existence. In fact, she went so far as to declare that it was little short of criminal to give any thought to the chimera of a future life so long as the stern actualities which hem us round in our present state claim so potently our attention. This is one extreme. As a type of another, and, I fear, a very common one, I may mention the case of the actress, who replying to a newspaper editor who had written asking her for her views of life, sent him a few days since the following reply: 'My only principle in life is to eat, drink, and, if possible, to do what I like.' Midway betwixt these extremes stands the *gravior et sanior pars* of our people to whom life, and character, and conduct are of vast importance, and that not merely because of their influence upon our present life, but also in that they perceive the reality of the continuance of their effects beyond the grave. To such as these Mr. Lecky's book will be especially welcome.

Than the desire for happiness there is no feeling more deeply implanted in our nature. But, as Mr. Lecky points out in his opening chapter, it is the circumstances of our lives and the dispositions of our characters which mainly determine the measure of happiness we enjoy.

> Man comes into the world with mental and moral characteristics which he can only very imperfectly influence, and a large proportion of the external circumstances of his life lie wholly or mainly beyond his control. At the same time, everyone recognises the power of skill, industry, and perseverance to modify surrounding circumstances; the power of temperance and prudence to strengthen a naturally weak constitution, prolong life and diminish the chances of disease; the power of education and private study to develop, sharpen, and employ to the best advantage our intellectual faculties.

If many of us are unhappy is it not evident that that

state of mind is mainly the outcome of our deliberate and voluntary acts? This brings us face to face with the vast question of free will and determinism. According to the determinists the crucial question is not so much as to whether a man can do what he desires, but whether he can do what he does not desire. In other words, can the human will be said to act without a motive; and is that motive in its final analysis anything but the strongest pleasure? He insists that 'the will is nothing more than the last and strongest desire, or it is like a piece of iron surrounded by magnets, and necessarily drawn by the most powerful.'

On the other hand, the supporters of free will maintain that there is a clear distinction between the will and desires, and that though closely connected, no sound analysis will permit us to confuse them. Various motives pass before the mind, yet we are fully conscious of the fact, that the mind has the power of choosing and judging, of accepting and rejecting. It is also apparent that the will itself becomes stronger by exercise, as the desires do by indulgence. No man that lives can prevent himself from regarding certain acts with an 'indignation, shame, remorse, resentment, gratitude, enthusiasm, praise, or blame, which would be perfectly unmeaning and irrational if these acts could not have been avoided. The feelings of all men and the vocabularies of all languages attest the universality of the belief.'

Happiness, then, may be regarded as a condition of mind, to which character and circumstances largely contribute. According to Dugald Stewart, the great secret of happiness is to study to accommodate our own minds to things external rather than to accommodate things external to ourselves. Mr. Lecky says that the English character on both sides of the Atlantic is an eminently objective one, shrinking from anything in the shape of introspection and self-analysis. The ordinary Englishman is adverse from the idea either of dwelling upon his emotions, or of giving free latitude to their expression. His watchwords are reticence and self-restraint. Even in times of great calamity and sorrow, demonstrations of grief which in other countries

would be deemed perfectly natural, are looked upon among us as something shameful and unmanly. 'The English tendency is to turn away speedily from the past, and seek consolation in new fields of activity.'

The raising of the level of national health may be regarded as one of the surest ways of raising the level of national happiness. Fashion can do much in this direction, for it exercises a far-reaching influence over vast multitudes of men and women as regards their dress, their education, their hours, their amusements, their food, their scale of expenditure. It is, however, open to question whether sanitary reform, of which so much is heard nowadays, has been an unmixed blessing, even when promoted by Government. For it 'enables great numbers of constitutionally weak children, who in other days would have died in infancy, to grow up and marry, and propagate a feeble offspring.' The more salient articles of the sanitary creed are few and simple. They consist in moderation and self-restraint in all things—a free use of exercise, fresh air, and cold water; a limited use of hard work, occasional change of habits, and abstinence from all things which are manifestly injurious to health.

No men are more to be pitied than those whose lives are aimless and unoccupied. In fact, 'one of the first conditions of a happy life is that it should be a full and a busy one.' Aristotle lays it down as a principle of wisdom that we should be more intent upon avoiding suffering than in attaining pleasure. Experience has taught many that the things which are most struggled for, and most sought after, are not the things which fill us with the purest happiness. Many a millionaire would give the world to be to-morrow as he was yesterday—that fleeting yesterday which passed like the water under the arches of the bridge unnoticed and unappreciated. This reflection led Schopenhauer to remark that human felicity is invariably described in the Idyll in its simplest form as containing the greatest amount of happiness. The advantages of advanced civilisation are immense; yet it generally entails a lower range of animal spirits, and an increased sensitiveness to

pain. 'Some philosophers have contended that this is the best of all possible worlds. It is difficult to believe so, as the whole object of human effort is to make it a better one.'

The highest and the purest natures are not necessarily the happiest. A nature strung to the saintly and heroic level will invariably find itself jarred by the world; it will sometimes raise quite a storm of opposition, and will wring its hands over many things which natures of a coarser fibre will accept with the greatest placidity. I am sure many of our Catholic saints were regarded by most of their contemporaries as little better than busybodies. Hence the impossibility of identifying virtue with happiness.

To cultivate and to foster what is really unselfish in our nature is one of the first lessons, not only of morals, but also of wisdom. Even amongst men who are the most common-place, when viewed from the intellectual standpoint, we meet with some of the finest examples of self-sacrifice, courage, resignation under misfortune, magnanimity and forgiveness under injuries. Yet we must never lose sight of the fact that untold evils have sprung from misguided, unselfish actions. 'Crotchets, sentimentalities, and fanaticisms cluster especially around the unselfish side of our nature, and they work evil in many curious and subtle ways.' Thus measures guaranteeing men, and still more, women, from excessive labour, and surrounding them with costly sanitary precautions, may easily handicap a sex or a people in the competition of industry, and even drive them from the great fields of industry altogether. Injudicious suppression of healthy open amusements invariably lead to other pleasures, for the most part secret and vicious. Injudicious charities tend to discourage industry and thrift, and generally end by increasing the poverty they were intended to alleviate. Disproportioned compassion never proceeded further than when it rendered impossible the erection of a Pasteur Institute in England, and gave itself up to denouncing the most carefully limited and supervised experiments on living animals in the hope of discovering remedies for some of the worst forms of human suffering. Sensitive ladies of fashion who are amongst the first to

inveigh against all experiments on living animals, and even against field sports, such as hunting, fowling, coursing, will not infrequently be found supporting, with perfect callousness, styles of dress and headgear which entail the utter extinction of some of the most beautiful species of birds which visit our shores, and that with an exercise of cruelty repugnant to every man of ordinary feeling.

A man without ideals is, at best, only a poor creature. Make yourself acquainted with any man's ideals, and you possess a safe means of judging his character. In fact ideals go largely to the building up of character. To have them a man must not be a sluggard. Idleness is ever the fruitful parent of immorality; so much so that Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to affirm that when the circumstances of a man's life do not assign to him a definite sphere of work, it is his first duty to find it for himself.

No more pernicious instance of false ideals can well be imagined than what Mr. Lecky terms the glorification of the *demi-monde* in some societies and literatures of the present hour. The words he employs when denouncing this horrible evil are anything but too vehement. He says:—

> In a healthy state of opinion, the public ostentatious appearance of such persons, without any concealment of their character, in the great concourse of fashion and among the notabilities of the State, would appear an intolerable scandal, and it becomes much worse when they give the tone to fashion, and become the centres and the models of large and by no means undistinguished sections of society. The standard of popular morals is debased. Temptation in its most seductive form is forced upon inflammable natures, and the most pernicious of all lessons is taught to poor, honest, hard-working women.

Before attempting to measure the scale of any man's moral guilt it is of the utmost importance that all due allowance should be made for the circumstances of the case. Thus it would be little better than absurd to judge a man like Charlemagne and his contemporaries by the strict rules of nineteenth century ethics. Great crimes they undoubtedly committed, but these misdeeds of theirs are infinitely less heinous than they would have been under the wholly different circumstances of our own day. Take the offspring

of drunken, ignorant, and profligate parents, born to abject poverty in the slums of our great cities. From earliest infancy drunkenness, blasphemy, robbery, prostitution, the grossest indecency, have formed their daily atmosphere. The very mould of their features, and the shape of their skulls mark them off as certain recruits for the criminal class. Free will, though still capable of exercise in their case, must perforce have become enfeebled by a long succession of vicious hereditary influences. Who, we may ask, would dream of comparing the moral guilt of the crimes committed by wretches engendered under the above circumstances, with those which are perpetrated in the homes of the refined and the educated? Again, diversity of character in the agent must not be lost sight of. The habitually sober man can form but a weak idea of the craving for strong drink felt by a confirmed drunkard. Nor can a man whose passions are well under control easily conceive the strength of the temptations felt by a profoundly sensual nature. It may safely be said that society judges far too severely crimes arising from drink and passion; and, on the other hand, far too leniently those which are the outcome of ambition, cupidity, malevolence, and gross selfishness.

The ethics of war receive very careful exposition at Mr. Lecky's hands. Deeply seated international jealousies and antipathies are said to be the chief danger to the peace of nations To-day, unfortunately, 'after eighteen hundred years' profession of the creed of peace, Christendom is an armed camp.' An observation which Mr. Lecky makes in connection with the subject of war strikes me as very appropriate at the present moment. He says:—'It is indeed a strange thing to observe how many men in every age have been ready to risk or sacrifice their lives for causes which they have never clearly understood, and which they would find it difficult in plain words to describe.'

According to Mr. Lecky, moral compromise, an evil-sounding expression, is a necessity of human existence. He cannot see how Cardinal Newman's doctrine to the effect that 'it were better for the sun and the moon to drop

from heaven, for the earth to fail, &c., than that our soul should commit one single venial sin, or steal one farthing without excuse,' could ever have been acted upon. He cites the many untruths which the conventional courtesies of society prescribe. 'Then,' he insists, 'there are falsehoods for useful purposes. Few men would shrink from a falsehood which was the only means of saving a patient from a shock which would probably cause his death. No one, I suppose, would hesitate to deceive a criminal if by no other means he could prevent him from accomplishing a crime.' Conflicts between military duty and religious duty frequently occur. Thus English soldiers have refused to escort or protect idolatrous processions in India, and to present arms in Catholic countries when the consecrated Host was being carried in procession.

In the legal profession moral compromise is also of frequent occurrence. How far may a lawyer support a bad case? What are the just limits of cross-examination? Is it, for example,

> Permissible in cross-examination to browbeat or confuse an honest but timid and unskilful witness; to attempt to discredit the evidence of a witness on a plain matter of fact about which he had no interest in concealment by exhuming against him some moral scandal of early youth which was totally unconnected with the subject of the trial, or by pursuing such a line of cross-examination to keep out of the witness-box material witnesses who are conscious that their past lives are not beyond reproach?

The position of the private member of Parliament is known from experience to Mr. Lecky. He tells us that he is required, again and again, to give an effective voice in the great council of the nation, and that on questions of grave importance with a levity of conviction upon which he would not act in the most trivial affairs of private life. Great political parties are not even free from inconsistency. There is hardly a principle of political action that has not in party history been abandoned, and not unfrequently parties have come to advocate, from very much blended motives of patriotism and self-interest, at one period of their history the very measures which at another period

they most strenuously resisted. Take the Reform Bill of 1867. At that date, the Tories, under Disraeli, rejected Mr. Gladstone's measure of Reform on the ground that it was an excessive step in the direction of democracy. Returned to office and power, Disraeli, by means of what Mr. Lecky terms 'a masterpiece of unscrupulous adroitness,' induced his own party to carry through Parliament a measure of a far more democratic character than Mr. Gladstone's Bill ever claimed to be, and which a few months previously they had defeated and denounced in the most unsparing terms.

As a case illustrative of conflicting ethical judgments, Mr. Lecky puts forward the example of Governor Eyre at the time of the Jamaica insurrection in 1865. Another instance is furnished by the Jameson Raid into the Transvaal, which is stigmatized by the Unionist Member for Dublin University as 'one of the most discreditable, as well as mischievous events in recent colonial history, and its character was entirely unrelieved by any gleam either of heroism or of skill.' Yet, over this very question a large portion of English society adopted 'a disgraceful attitude.' The trail of finance, we read, runs over the whole story. Mr. Lecky has evidently no sympathy with the statesman for ever associated with Mr. Balfour's unconscious pun abuot the extension of *roads*. Of him he writes in the following strain :—

When holding the highly confidential position of Prime Minister of the Cape Colony, and being at the same time a Privy Councillor of the Queen, he engaged in a conspiracy for the overthrow of a neighbouring and friendly State. In order to carry out this design he deceived the High Commissioner, whose Prime Minister he was. He deceived his own colleagues in the Ministry. He collected, under false pretences, a force which was intended to co-operate with an insurrection in Johannesburg. He took an active part in smuggling great quantities of arms into the Transvaal, and at a time when his organs in the press were representing Johannesburg as seething with spontaneous indignation against an oppressive Government. He was also directly connected with the shabbiest incident in the whole affair, the concoction of a letter from the Johannesburg con-

spirators, absurdly representing English women and children at Johannesburg as in danger of being shot down by the Boers, and urging the British to come at once and save them.

It is clearly evident from all this that Mr. Lecky is not disposed to make the same allowance for Mr. Rhodes that he does in the case of Charlemagne, and other hoary offenders against the moral code.

Probably the most deeply interesting and absorbing chapter in this great work is that devoted to describing the need for moral compromise in the Church. The so-called Reformation, according to Mr. Lecky, was a great outburst of religious zeal 'aiming at the restoration of Christianity to its primative form, and a repudiation of the accretions of superstition that had gathered around it.' As a historian he does not hesitate to say, that the Church of England is essentially a Protestant Church, even though it retained to a greater extent than other Churches the tenets and formularies of the Church it superseded. It is the embodiment of that spirit of compromise and conservatism for which the people of England have ever been noted. Two distinct theories have ever found supporters in the English Establishment. According to one school, the Church of England is nothing more than the Pre-Reformation Church purged from the abuses that had gathered round about it in the course of time. The second school insists, as it ever has insisted, that the Church of England from the middle of the sixteenth century has been one of several Protestant Churches, retaining, perhaps, a certain amount of harmless non-essential forms of ecclesiastical organization, but agreeing with all other Protestant bodies in what is essential and fundamental. However ridiculous it may seem, yet there is no gainsaying the fact, that for centuries these two distinct schools have flourished side by side in the Church of England as by law established. The one insisting on the need of a divinely-appointed episcopacy, and claiming to be a true branch of the Catholic Church of Christ; the other condemning the Catholic Church as the embodiment of all that is blasphemous, idolatrous, superstitious, and deceitful: the harlot of the Apocalypse, drunk with the blood of the saints.

Since the inception of the Oxford movement the so-called High Church party has been in the ascendant. The Evangelicals, or Low Churchmen, who at one period seemed to have a monopoly of the brightest intellects in the Establishment, have been gradually losing ground, until at the present moment it is hard to find one name of the first rank amongst them. Referring to the Ritualists, Mr. Lecky says, that 'the whole tendency of their devotional literature and thought flows in the Roman channel, and even in the most insignificant matters of ceremony and dress they are accustomed to pay the greater Church the homage of constant imitation.' He also thinks that the craving evidenced by so many for bright attractive services is due to the spread of æsthetic tastes among the people, and to the closing of places of amusement on Sunday. 'There is,' we read, 'a type of mind which finds in such services a happy anodyne for half-suppressed doubt. Scepticism as well as belief sometimes fills churches.' There is no getting away from the fact, that the Church of England, as an Establishment, does impose certain special obligations on its ministers. It is their primary duty to celebrate public service so that every member of the Church of England may be able to join in it. In this connection Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to say, that it is a gross scandal, following a gross neglect of duty, that this primary obligation has been defied, and that services should nowadays be held in English churches which worshippers of a former generation would have failed to recognise. Most reasonable people will feel the force of this remark.

The grosser and more material concepts of religion, which in their day were natural and probably indispensable, are gradually giving way to purer and higher conceptions. 'The Divine Spirit filters down to the human heart through a gross and material medium.' Yet even now superstition and illusion play no small part in holding together the great fabric of society. 'There are elements in religion which have their roots much less in the reason of man than in his sorrows and afflictions, and are the expression of wants, moral appetites, and aspirations which are an essential, indestructible part of his nature.'

Mr. Lecky is careful to distinguish between the sacerdotalism of the Catholic and the sacerdotalism of the Anglican Church. Amongst Anglicans, he insists, it is undisciplined and unregulated. In the Catholic Church 'confession can only be made to a celibate priest of mature age, who is bound to secrecy by the most solemn oath, who confesses only in an open church, and who has gone through a long course of careful education specially and skilfully designed to fit him for the duty. None of these conditions are observed in Anglican confession.'

There is no more fascinating chapter in this deeply thoughtful book than that in which its author deals with the management of character. Man, like a card-player, receives his cards from nature—his disposition, his circumstances, the strength or weakness of his will, of his mind, of his body. Diversity of tastes throws much light on the basis of character. 'Habit will make a Frenchman like a melon with salt, and an Englishman with sugar.' Youth has its own pleasures; it is then that the power of enjoyment is most keen, but accompanied with an extreme, sensitiveness which renders the most trivial sufferings of the child as acute, though not so prolonged, as those of a grown man. A sad childhood introduces the elements of morbidness and bitterness into character, and these are rarely eliminated later on in life. The excessive glorification of athletic games may easily lead to a declension in love, reverence, and enthusiasm for intellectual pursuits. The great perfection of modern systems of education is that they strive to make knowledge and virtue attractive. They also tend to multiply innocent and beneficent interests, tastes, and ambitions. Possibly the education of the will, which was the ancient Catholic idea, is not so much attended to as formerly. Buoyancy of temperament, which is mainly physical, does not increase with civilisation or education. It is more common among Irishmen than among Englishmen. Yet even amongst Irishmen it co-exists with a strong vein of very genuine melancholy, and it is often accompanied with a keen sensitiveness to suffering. The training of the imaginative side of our nature forms no small

part in the management of character. It is a most useful faculty to the historian, and even to the statesman. Many important discoveries in science can be traced to the power of the imagination which enables us to realize in some way the things and conditions that are unseen. But nothing is more to be guarded against than excessive indulgence in emotion that does not lead to action. 'It has been often noticed that the exaggerated sentimentality which sheds passionate tears over the fictitious sorrows of a novel or a play is no certain sign of a benevolent or unselfish nature, and is quite compatible with much indifference to real sorrows and much indisposition to make efforts for their alleviation.'

It would be difficult to conceive a greater mistake in the education of youth than the constant association of virtue with gloomy colours and constant restrictions. Some people are only too prone to make a mortal sin out of every peccadillo; hence the loss of all sense of proportion and perspective in morals. The habit of moderate and restrained enjoyment may easily be shattered by painting things as absolutely wrong which alone are culpable in their abuse or excess.

Than the present there was never any age in which money was more plentiful in every class. Extreme poverty is a terrible misfortune, involving as it does an existence almost purely animal, with nearly all man's higher faculties undeveloped. Money is a good thing, if for no other reason, because it lends itself so easily to transformation into a multitude of other good things. It gives us the power of education, a greater chance of recovery in time of illness, the delights of travel, and, best of all, it gives us time. 'All one's time to oneself,' as Charles Lamb put it. It does not follow that the pleasures of life increase in proportion to the growth of our wealth; in fact, for a ridiculously small sum we may purchase what is destined to be a source of unfailing delight to us during our whole lifetime:—

The two or three shillings that gave us our first Shakespeare would go but a small way towards providing one of the, perhaps, untasted dishes on the dessert table. The choicest masterpieces

of the human mind—the works of human genius that through the long course of centuries have done most to ennoble, console, brighten, and direct the lives of men, might all be purchased—I do not say by the cost of a lady's necklace, but by that of one or two of the little stones of which it is composed.

Swift was wont to say, in his own biting fashion, that there would be fewer unhappy marriages in the world if only women thought less of making nets, and more of making cages. Marriage is a thing which is certain to influence a man's character, intellect, and disposition. If it does not strengthen and elevate him, it will perforce drag him down. Before marriage it is mostly the shape, the figure, the complexion, which claim attention; later on the mind and character of the parties assert themselves. In marriage the claims and prospects of the unborn should never be far out of sight. Probably the happiest marriages are those in which in tastes, character, and gifts of mind the wife is rather the complement than the reflection of her husband. 'Strength may wed with weakness or with strength; but weakness should beware of mating itself with weakness. It needs the oak to support the ivy with impunity.' The troubles, the anxieties, the sorrows of wedded life tend, as a rule, to deepen character. There are, however, some natures so intensely frivolous that even this discipline will not influence them. 'A fly,' according to Emerson, 'is as untamable as a hyæna.'

When everything has been said it is clear that a man's success in life will depend more on character than on either intellect or fortune. One gift there is we should all earnestly long for, and that is tact, which consists not merely in 'saying the right thing at the right time, and to the right people, but quite as much in the many things which are left unsaid, and apparently unnoticed, or only lightly and evasively touched.' The presence or absence of this gift is one of the chief causes, according to Mr. Lecky, why the relative value of different men is often so differently judged by contemporaries and by posterity. 'The man of perfectly refined manners does not consciously and deliberately on each occasion observe the courtesies and amenities of good

society. They have become to him a second nature, and he observes them as by a kind of instinct, and without thought or effort.'

'You value life,' says Franklin; 'then do not squander time, for time is the precious stuff of life.' And yet it is a commonplace to speak of the waste of time. Want of method, want of punctuality, want of moderation, want of intensity, are the chief causes leading to the loss of time. The busiest men generally find time for every favourite pursuit. It has even been noticed that the man who, during the course of an active professional life, longed for more time to be devoted to some hobby, does less when his time is completely at his disposal than he did formerly in the hard-earned intervals of a crowded life. A large portion of our life is spent in sleep, and perhaps no part of it more usefully. For

> Sleep not only brings with it the restoration of our physical energies, but it also gives a true and healthy tone to our moral nature. Of all earthly things sleep does the most to place things in their true proportions, calming excited nerves, and dispelling exaggerated cares. How many suicides have been averted, how many rash enterprises and decisions have been prevented, how many dangerous quarrels have been allayed, by the soothing influence of a few hours of steady sleep!

One by one the years course over our heads till the time comes when all the alternatives of life are sad, and the least sad is a speedy and painless end. As Madame de Staël has it: 'On depose fleur de fleur la couronne de la vie.' An apathy steals over every faculty, and rest—unbroken rest—becomes the chief desire. In this connection Mr. Lecky mentions a curious epitaph he discovered in a German graveyard. It runs: 'I will arise, O Christ, when Thou callest me! but oh! let me rest awhile, for I am very weary.' Mr. Lecky concludes his remarks on time as follows:—

> He who would look time in the face without illusion and without fear should associate each year as it passes with new developments of his nature; with duties accomplished, with work performed. To fill the time allotted to us to the brim with action, and with thought, is the only way in which we can learn to watch its passage with equanimity.

This reminds one of the saying of Spinoza, that the proper study of a truly wise man is not how to die, but how to live. For if life in all its aspects is true to the Christian standard, the grave is robbed of all its terrors, and death comes to find us heaving a sigh of the deepest relief, and ready to meet the Bridegroom.

It is only with extreme reluctance that one can bring himself to find fault with anything contained within the covers of such a storehouse of wisdom and learning as this book. Still there is no disguising the fact that it contains a few statements here and there against which the Catholic reader must protest, and that most emphatically. I am not to be understood as charging Mr. Lecky with the wilful misrepresentation of facts. On the contrary, I would say that where I feel constrained most strongly to dissent from him, he is urging some principle, putting forward some view, which he has satisfied himself to be true and correct. There is nothing probably more dangerous or mischievous than what is known as a half truth; or the partial enunciation of a case based upon insufficient evidence, or a want of grasp of all its circumstances. Thus, dealing with the question of Catholic types of morals,[1] after acknowledging that nowhere in the world can more beautiful and more reverent types be found than in some of the Catholic countries of Europe, which are but little touched by the intellectual movements of the age, Mr. Lecky continues as follows:—'It is no exaggeration to say that in Catholic countries the obligation of truthfulness in cases in which it conflicts with the interests of the Church, rests wholly on the basis of honour, and not at all on the basis of religion.' This, to my mind, is a perfectly revolting statement, and its inherent objectionableness grows in intensity when levelled against the members of that Church which is 'the pillar and the ground of truth.'

Again,[2] Mr. Lecky touches on the question of university training for the Catholics of Ireland, and says that in his opinion there is no belief better founded than that which, although sanctioning State subsidies for the education of

[1] Page 45. [2] Page 134.

priests, yet thinks that nothing can well be more injurious, both to the State and to the young, than that the higher secular education of the Irish Catholic population should be under the complete control of the Irish clergy ; and that, as a consequence, the Irish Catholics should be completely separated during the period of their education from their fellow-countrymen of other religions. Still, if a great body of Catholic parents persistently desire this control and separation, legislators will be justified in modifying their policy to meet their views. As regards Trinity College and kindred institutions, Mr. Lecky *naïvely* tells us that 'everything that could be in the smallest degree repugnant to the faith of a Catholic has been eliminated from the education which is imposed on them.' But does Mr. Lecky really expect us to believe that the atmosphere of Trinity College is one in which a sincere Catholic could ever feel at home? Evidently, he has but a very poor opinion of his Catholic fellow-countrymen. In fact, he expressly says that 'the trend of Catholic opinion in Ireland is clearly in the direction of denominationalism as the trend of Nonconformist English opinion is in the direction of undenominationalism.' So evident is this, that many are prepared to advocate increased endowment for some Catholic university, even though it be distinctly sacerdotal, whilst strenuously upholding the undenominational institutions of the country 'which they believe to be incomparably better.' Time, however, can alone prove this assertion.

Mr. Lecky, when dealing with the political ethics of the Catholic Church, touches with some degree of asperity on such events as the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the painting of the murder of Coligny on the walls of the Vatican 'among the triumphs of the Church;' the case of Ferdinand II. of Naples who received Pius IX. when he fled to Gaëta in 1848, and whose government, according to the late Mr. Gladstone, was 'a negation of God.'

> Every visitor to Paris [he says] may see the fresco over the high altar of the Madeline, in which Napoleon I. is represented seated triumphant on the clouds and surrounded by an admiring priesthood, the most prominent and glorified figure in a picture of the Last Judgment.

It is only with an effort one can keep from smiling on reading this. It is puerile, and unworthy of a great philosopher. Time, too, I should say, is necessary in order that the action of French churchmen in the Dreyfus case, and that of our own clergy in that of the Irish Land League, may attain its proper historical perspective.

Knowing as he does our deficiencies in the matter of higher education, and the causes to which this want is to be attributed, Mr. Lecky does not hesitate to institute a comparison between the Catholic clergy and the clergy of the English Establishment. No sensible man can see the point of his comparison, when he considers the inequalities of the persons compared. You might as well censure a man with only one leg for his inability to keep pace with a trained athlete.

> Compare [he says] the amount of higher literature which proceeds from clergymen of the Established Church with the amount which proceeds from the vastly greater body of Catholic priests scattered over the world, compare the place which the English clergy, or laymen deeply imbued with the teaching of the Church, hold in English literature with the place which Catholic priests, or sincere Catholic laymen, hold in the literature of France, and the contrast will appear sufficiently evident.

But, then, is it a contrast of men of equally favourable circumstances? This question, it seems to me, touches the pith of the matter. Can you reasonably expect to find the same turn for literature in a hard-worked English, Irish, or French priest, who is frequently at a loss to find time even to read his Office, that you generally notice in the case of a wealthy, leisured clergyman of the Church of England? And even in the case of the Catholic priests who can and do write, there is invariably the difficulty of publication, and, when this is conquered, the apathy of the public. Mr. Lecky, however, is sufficiently complimentary to our great workers in the past. He says:—

> In past ages some of the greatest works of patient, lifelong industry in all literary history were due to the Catholic priesthood, and especially to members of the monastic orders. Even in modern times they have produced some works of great learning, of great dialectic skill, of great beauty of style; but with

scarcely an exception these works bear upon them the stamp of an advocate, and are written for the purpose of proving a point, concealing or explaining away the faults on one side, and bringing into disproportioned relief those of the other. No one would look in them for a candid estimate of the merits of an opponent, or for a full statement of a hostile case.

But will Mr. Lecky expect us to believe that these qualifications are never absent in the case of English Protestant writers, whether lay or Churchmen? My experience of their writings, at all events, does not warrant such credence on my part.

Mr. Lecky has something to say as to the influence and mission of the religious newspaper. He cites the *Guardian* as his ideal, and asks us to compare it with the newspapers which are read, for the most part, by the French (why not the English?) clergy, and which must influence their views and opinions. He candidly admits that few English journalists have ever excelled Louis Veuillot in ability, and few papers have ever exercised a more widespread influence than the *Univers* when directed by him; but when he proceeds to say that—

> No one who read those scandalously scurrilous and intolerant pages, burning with an impotent hatred of all the progressive and liberal tendencies of the time, shrinking from no misrepresentation of fact and from no apology for crime, if it was in the interest of the Church, could fail to perceive how utterly out of harmony it was with the best lay thought of France,

We feel inclined to say, in Mr. Lecky's own words, that here, indeed, is no 'candid estimate of the merits of an opponent.' One looks in vain for any expression of opinion in this book as to the merits of the Catholic Press as we have it in Ireland and England.

This concludes my strictures of the few points on which the Catholic reader is at variance with the learned and accomplished author of the *Map of Life*. We cannot but respect his views; it is a gain, in fact, that he has formulated them so plainly. But, however open-minded we may be, they fail to carry conviction. We may even reasonably hope that in some future edition of this charming work its author may see his way to modify or to eliminate them altogether.

There is one sentence in the book, murmurous of tender yearning, which has come before my mind several times since I first read it. It occurs in connection with the author's remarks upon the man who has completely abandoned dogmatic systems without losing his appreciation of the moral beauty which has grown up around those same systems, and runs as follows :—'The music of the village church, which sounds so harsh and commonplace to the worshipper within, sometimes fills with tears the eyes of the stranger who sits without, listening among the tombs.' Reading these words one is forcibly reminded of the fact that not only is Mr. Lecky a great historian and a learned philosopher, but that he has also turned his hand from time to time to the making of verses.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

NOTES OF A VISIT TO ROME: ST. PETER'S

I.

AS we approach Rome from Civita Vecchia, for a considerable portion of the way we traverse the Campagna di Roma, once the scene of countless flourishing cities. Over this vast waste there is now neither dwelling nor scattered hamlet, nor fertile fields, nor trim gardens, such as usually mark the approach to a populous city. All is desolate—fallen monuments of Rome's imperial days, crumbling towers of Gothic times, forsaken habitations of later periods—are all that remain to tell the tale of ruin and departed glory. Despite its loneliness and stillness, this weird landscape is not, however, without a certain element of natural beauty, especially when, as we first saw it on the evening we reached Rome, the rays of the setting sun were producing their magic tones on the dusky sward, changing ever and anon till the daylight faded into the swift twilight—ere it sank to rest.

After about an hour's journey the railway reaches the banks of the Tiber, which bears us company till we arrive

at our longed-for destination. The first prominent object that reminds us of our near approach to the Eternal City is the Basilica and lofty campanile of St. Paul's '*fuori le mura*,' which stands about three miles outside Rome. Soon we are in shadow of the fortifications of the city, which we skirt for a considerable distance, passing the gate of St. Paul, the gate of St. Sebastian, the gate of St. John Lateran, and the Porta Maggiore; and, finally, entering through the historic walls, we are in Rome. As we slowly steamed into the station, and the announcement 'Roma!' fell upon our ears, a feeling to be felt only for once in a lifetime came upon us. The goal was reached, the long-coveted prize was won. It was like the fulness of some unexpected joy, to feel we had touched classic ground of bygone Latium; or, better still, to realize we were about to tread the sacred soil of everlasting Rome.

Any other city, however great or distinguished, is at most only the capital of a country, but—Rome—the great, the ancient, the Eternal City, is the acknowledged metropolis of the world, the queen of nations, the home of saints and heroes, the cradle of patriots and poets, the seat and glory of religion and art. All that we had read, thought, admired and fancied from our earliest years; all that had awakened our youthful enthusiasm in the classic story of ancient Rome, or in the marvellous history of its Christian days, seemed to flash back on our thoughts in that one moment when we first realized that we had set foot upon its scene. The headquarters of our party in Rome were at the Hotel d'Angleterre, in the Via Bocca di Leone, which lies between the Corso and the Piazza di Spagna, running parallel to both, and within a few seconds' walk of either. This is one of the most convenient centres in Rome. In the itinerary programme arranged for each day, the starting time was usually fixed for half-past nine o'clock, the day's excursions closing at sundown, when the chimes of the *Ave Maria* filled the evening air. However, some of us availed of stray intervals to gather further experiences and obtain interesting side-lights of the sights and scenes of Rome.

On the morning after our arrival, rising early, we proceeded to the Piazza di Spagna, which derives its name from the Palazzo di Spagna, occupied as the Spanish embassy since the seventeenth century. In front of the latter rises the column of the *Immaculata*, erected by Pius IX., to commemorate the promulgation of the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, 1854. The lower part of the white marble shaft is encircled by a band of filigreed bronze, the pedestal being surrounded by figures of David, Moses, Isaiah, and Ezekiel. Surmounting this beautiful column is a bronze figure of the Immaculate Conception. Overlooking the Piazza, and reached by an imposing flight of one hundred and thirty-seven steps, rises the church of Trinita de' Monti, with its dual towers and obelisk in front, a familiar picture in the views of Rome. From the balustraded plateau on which the church stands we enjoyed our first view of the Eternal City. In the silence of the morn, in the warming light of the glowing sunrise, we contemplated with rapturous emotion, one of the finest prospects of Rome. Although it is modern Rome only, the multiplied domes, and campaniles of her churches, the towers of her convents beneath the far-off heights of Monte Montorio, and Monte Mario give this scene an inexpressible charm altogether peculiar to itself. Right opposite, and towering above all, rises the dome of St. Peter's, and its pillared rotunda of creamy Tavertine, which, under the influence of the brilliant sunlight, look as if they had been finished but yesterday.

To the votary of art there are many special associations connected with this spot of vantage overlooking Rome. Close to the church of Trinita de' Monti is the house of Claude Lorraine, with its Doric porch, which he so often loved to introduce into his paintings. Within the church itself is the tomb of the great artist. Those who know his paintings, and remember the strange effects of distance, and the beautiful perspectives, peculiar to many of them, will quickly recognise the scene from which he drew many of his inspirations. Those who have gazed on this view of Rome in its morning brightness, or again in its sunset glory, and watched the gold-tipped clouds fade in the sapphire-tinted

west, will hardly fail to behold realised the pictures of Claude Lorraine. At the opposite side, and adjoining the church of La Trinita, is the house of Nicholas Poussin, and near at hand is the home once occupied by Salvator Rosa. To their canvasses, too, the scene we looked upon has often lent its influence. The Trinita de' Monti is still the favourite residence of artists, and of the 'Gradinata,' or flight of steps leading up to it many will have read as the rendezvous of Italian peasants, who hire themselves for models to painters during the season in Rome.

The first formal visit of our party to the shrine of the Apostles was made on the Wednesday morning after our arrival in Rome. In a few seconds after we left our hotel we entered the Corso, the main thoroughfare of the city. Reaching the Piazza Venezia we turned to the right, and passing through some narrow streets were soon on the banks of the Tiber. The Castle of St. Angelo, time-worn, heavy and imposing, now came in view. Crossing the famous bridge, flanked by ten colossal figures of angels, and having at its extremity the statues of SS. Peter and Paul, erected by Clement VII. (1530), and entering from the Borgo Nuovo into the Piazza Rustucucci, St. Peter's rose before us.

With the first view of the great Basilica many writers have expressed their disappointment. Sharing, perhaps, their impressions by anticipation, we had prepared ourselves to be likewise disappointed. But the writer was not. Yet we cannot say the scene caused us any emotional surprise. We felt as if we had seen it all before, for what Catholic has not been familiar from his childhood with the view of St. Peter's, its colonnades, obelisk, and fountains? To us it looked like a vast enlargement of some well-known picture; but even so we were not prepared for the extent of the Piazza, the magnificence of the semi-circular quadruple colonnades, the vast flight of steps, and the ethereal delicacy and beauty of the tall fountains. Strange to tell, within this open space and square, and the eclipse between the colonnades, it is said two hundred thousand men could be drawn up in rank and file, horse, foot, and guns! The

main building, almost five hundred feet in height, produces an overwhelming effect upon the mind of the spectator. The colour of the Tavertine stone, of which the vast pile of building is constructed, is so bright and so susceptible of light and shade, that no picture can ever convey a true idea of the effect of St Peter's under the brilliant Italian sunshine. The details of the façade of the church are so harmonized as to give at first an impression of grand simplicity. As one approaches, owing to the length of the Latin cross,[1] the dome disappears from sight, and the immensity of the great front is all one can grasp.

Ascending the flight of steps that leads from the Piazza, one enters the vestibule, with its magnificent arcades of marble columns terminated at the end by the equestrian statues of Constantine and Charlemagne. This portico is so vast that it is said many of our European cathedrals would fit within its area. Five doors corresponding with those of the vestibule lead into the church, the centre portal being Filarate's masterpiece, executed in bronze. The door to the extreme right is the 'Porta Santa,' built up with a partition of marble, which is removed only on the solemn occasions of a jubilee. Through this our readers will remember the Pope first passed, on the inauguration of the present Jubilee, on Christmas Day last.

The first view of the interior of St. Peter's gives an impression that can never be lost or forgotten, but neither can it ever be repeated. It fills the eyes with tears, and oppresses the heart with a sense of absolute and breathless wonderment. It was not merely admiration that took possession of us at the sight, but a strange feeling we cannot analyze; a sensation full of satisfaction would, perhaps, nearest express it—yet a sensation we are powerless to describe. Our first impulse was to walk aside, and gaze silently through the sunlit atmosphere, that seemed laden with a mist of gold, on the glorious lines of arch and roof, that followed on and on to the distant choir. As we passed up the nave and through the arcade of noble arches adorned

[1] The ground plan of St. Peter's represents the form of a Latin cross.

with all that ornament and sacred art could devise, caught glimpses of the side chapels, tombs, and wealth of mosaics on every side, we felt that nothing ever written of St. Peter's could be an exaggeration. As a marvel of beauty, magnitude and magnificence, verily it stands unrivalled amongst the works of human hands.

After the first feeling of wonder is over one is struck with a familiar object which rises before one like the memory of some oft-dreamt dream. It is the great canopy of bronze with its twisted columns resplendant with ornament that overshadows the tomb of the Apostles. From the base of the pillars to the top of the cross that surmounts it this baldachino is one hundred and twenty feet in height. Yet from the vastness of the building, of which it is the central feature, no such idea of size is realized. Beneath the canopy is the Papal Altar, where formerly on great festivals the Pope was wont to celebrate Mass. An oval space in front surrounded by a marble balustrade which supports triple clusters of ever-burning lamps (ninety-three in number) reveals the crypt which encloses the relics of SS. Peter and Paul. This sacred spot is reached by a double flight of marble steps, within the curve of which is Canova's beautiful statue of Pius VI. The Pope is represented in a kneeling posture facing the golden gates of the tomb. We were admitted to descend in parties of ten. As we knelt where so many have longed to kneel, it was difficult for the moment to realize the privilege vouchsafed to us—for had we not reached the very centre of the Christian world—the very heart of Christendom?

When the tribute of our Catholic devotion ended, and after an earnest, resting, lingering gaze on the Apostles' tomb, we ascended to examine somewhat in detail the magnificent Temple of Faith that enshrines their relics and their memories. Beneath the lofty dome we paused. Far above, as in the vault of heaven itself, were the figures of the Evangelists enshrined in glory, while along the frieze beneath, in huge letters of purple-blue mosaic, on a golden ground, ran the words: 'Tu es Petrus et super hanc Petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam et tibi dabo claves regni caelorum.'

Since we had entered the Cathedral its wonderful proportions had grown upon us. On every side the Latin Cross seemed to have opened out in lengthened beauty, and now we began to realize in some little way the details of that splendour with which the labour of ages, the wealth of kingdoms, the spoils of ancient times, and the proudest inventions of modern magnificence, had combined to enrich the noblest shrine of Christian times. From the 'Confession,' as the great canopy beneath the dome is called, the eye is naturally carried on to the bronze tribune which fills the end of the choir and encloses the Chair of St. Peter, the *sedes* being supported by the colossal figures of the four Doctors of the Church—St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Athanasius, and St. Chrysostom. Beneath the tribune are the altar of the choir and the stalls of the canons and the dignitaries of the Cathedral. On the right is the monument of Urban VII., by Bernini, and at the left the more gorgeous tomb of Paul III., by Gughlielmo della Porta, erected under the supervision of Michael Angelo. On each of the four massive piers supporting the dome are two recesses, the lower containing respectively the statues of St. Helena, St. Veronica, St. Longinus, and St. Andrew. In those above, where the balconies appear, the relics of these saints are preserved. No one under the rank of a canon of St. Peter's is allowed to visit these. In one the head of St. Andrew is enshrined. In another, a portion of the true Cross, and in a third the Spear that pierced the side of our Lord. But, perhaps, the most interesting relic here preserved is the supposed towel of Veronica or the handkerchief presented to our Lord on His way to Calvary.

On proceeding from the tribune along the south side of the church, we meet the tomb of Alexander VIII., and further on that of Alexander VII. Beyond the southern arm of the Latin cross, towards the Clementine chapel, are the tombs of Leo II. and Innocent II. Near the chapel of the Choir is that of Innocent VIII. Above a door opposite this monument is the simple sarcophagus containing the remains of Pius VII. Beyond the chapel of the Presentation is the tomb of Clementine Sobeski Stuart, wife of the

Pretender, who died in Rome, in 1835, and opposite to which are those of 'James III.' and his two sons, by Canova. To English visitors the latter is, in a way, perhaps, the most interesting monument in St. Peter's. Strangely enough, its expense was defrayed by George IV., and, as the epitaph recites, it was erected as a monument 'to the memory of James III., Charles III., and Henry IX., Kings of England.' According to the sympathies of those who read it, the epitaph is read with a smile or a sigh. The Baptistry occupies the last chapel on the south side of St. Peter's, the base of the font being portion of the sarcophagus of the Emperor Otho II.

As we cross the marble pavement—in the floor opposite the centre door of St. Peter's is a disc of porphory taken from the old cathedral, and on which the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire were formerly crowned. Kneeling here, Charlemagne was crowned eleven hundred years ago. The first chapel on the northern side of the nave is that of the 'Pieta,' which contains Michael Angelo's earliest work, representing, in purest marble, our Blessed Lady supporting the dead body of her Divine Son. This is the most exquisite piece of sculpture in St. Peter's. In the same chapel is a spiral column ornamented with foliage of most delicate workmanship. It bears an inscription which tells that it was brought from the Temple of Solomon, and that against it our Blessed Lord leaned when He was disputing with the doctors. Between this chapel and that of St. Sebastian is the plain sarcophagus of Innocent XIII., opposite which is the tomb of Christiana, Queen of Sweden. On approaching the third chapel we meet the monument of Innocent XII. and that of the Countess Mathilda of Tuscany. The body of the latter, who was a devoted champion of the Church, was removed to Mantua by Urban VIII. The chapel of the Blessed Sacrament, with its priceless tabernacle of lapis-lazuli, contains the tomb of Sixtus IV. Beyond it are those of Gregory XIII. and Gregory XIV. In the chapel of our Lady, so called from an ancient miraculous image that it contains, is the tomb of Benedict XIV. Close by the right transept is that of Urban VIII., by Bernini. From

this we turn to that of Clement XIII., Canova's great work, considered to be the most magnificent monument in St. Peter's. The kneeling Pope at the top is a marvellous effort of sculpture. The figure of Religion stands at the side of the tomb, holding in her arms a ponderous cross, her brow encircled with gilded rays. The Genius reclining at the foot of the tomb, extinguishing the torch of life, is beautiful; but the lions resting at either side of the bronze portals beneath can never be sufficiently admired. They are faultless, matchless, living lions in repose, surpassing anything the ancients have left or moderns achieved in this branch of art.

Our notes of the monuments of St. Peter's may not close without reference to one which, like a few other objects we have described, is familar to Catholic eyes; that is, the bronze statue of St. Peter enthroned, which rests at the right-hand side of the nave, close to the north transept. This is an object of wonderful veneration. Hundreds, nay thousands, daily kiss the foot of this holy statue.

As we inspected the various chapels of St. Peter's, we were struck with admiration by the magnificent pictures in mosaic with which they are filled. These are twenty-nine in number, and were copied principally from master-pieces in the Vatican Gallery and other churches in Rome. The Transfiguration of Raphael, and the Miracle of the Blessed Sacrament, and Domenichino's Last Communion of St. Jerome, are the most strikingly beautiful. It is only on the closest inspection, and under the influence of certain rays of light, that we detect that they are not painted, but were wrought, bit by bit, in infinitesimal particles of mosaic. In the left aisle of the church, high up, is a niche reserved for the temporary resting-place of the last Pope until the death of his successor, when they are removed for permanent burial. This custom was, however, departed from in the case of Pius IX., since his remains have long since been removed to the simple tomb, erected according to his will, in the Basilica of San Lorenzo 'outside the walls.'

Having secured an idea of the interior of St. Peter, we next visited the sacristies, which are entered by a marble door close to the south transept. This *annexe* was erected by Pius VI., in 1755, the cost being, as estimated in our money, £180,000. It consists of three large halls and a corridor, adorned with columns and inscriptions taken from the former cathedral. Opening off the sacristry is the Treasury of St. Peter's, which contains a collection of vestments, church plate, and ornaments, representing gifts to the different Popes from the sovereigns and peoples of the world. Many of the jubilee gifts of Leo XIII. are shown here. The Reliquary, or chamber in which the memorials of the Passion and the relics of many of the saints are preserved, was finally visited. Here, as at the 'Confession,' we were admitted in separate parties. A description of the relics would carry us far beyond the limits of our space, and must be reserved for a special task.

It is impossible to form an idea of the immensity of St. Peter's without ascending to the dome. A broad paved stairway of very gentle incline leads up to it. The roof of St. Peter's is like a little town in itself. Here houses and ranges of workshops for artisans engaged in the constant repairs of the church are erected; but these, as also the eighteen cupolas of the side chapels, are all lost in the immensity of the vast plain.

It is only from this point we can understand the proud boast of Michael Angelo, when he proposed 'to place the Pantheon in mid-air.' Here we can fairly realize the magnitude of the dome, and the rotunda on which it rests. From the roof the ascent to the dome is made by a succession of mural staircases ingeniously constructed, from which passages lead out both upon external and internal galleries. We soon began to have some idea of the immense height we had already gained. Within the dome the mosaic figures of the Evangelists, the symbols, and the cherubs emblazoned on the vaulted ceiling seemed to stare at us in all their gigantic proportions. From the highest gallery beneath the lantern, looking into the abysmal depth of the church below, we could hardly realize that the minute moving forms were human

beings! The last flight by which we ascended is very narrow, sloping inwards (somewhat dizzily) to suit the inclination of the rapidly narrowing curve. Lifted as in mid-air, higher than the flight of birds, we looked out in mute astonishment on the prospect that lay beneath us, and beyond. Rome, old and new, with its ruins, palaces and churches stretched away on every side. The gardens, and the palace of the prisoner Pontiff of the Vatican, lay at our feet. In the distance the beautiful amphitheatre of hills which enclose the Campagna di Roma, and behind them the summits of the loftier Apennines, still crowned with snow, the Tiber in its long sinuous windings through the gloomy plain, and yonder far the blue Mediterranean gleaming in the sunlight, formed such a scene! The gallery is protected by a railing unperceptible from below. From this last stage an iron ladder, almost vertical, leads into the ball of the Cross.

Time now warned us that our visit to St. Peter's must draw to a close. We descended, some of us not a little fatigued, perhaps, from the re-action of our enthusiasm, perhaps from the exertions we had almost imperceptibly gone through, in that memorable forenoon. We passed out into the great vestibule, and from the porch we again looked down and over the great piazza enclasped within those mighty colonnades, curving out like giant arms always open to receive the Children of the Nations who come up to the great Temple—to marvel, to reflect, and to pray.

Once more when we had passed the sparkling fountains and the historic obelisk, we looked back with exultation on the colossal vision, that mighty dream in stone—St. Peter's—and feasted our gaze on the wondrous dome, 'the diadem of the Papacy, suspended between heaven and earth.' Is it not, we thought, truly an emblem of that Institution which we behold ever erect, and immovable midst the passing waves of time, and on which the last sun of humanity will set!

J. B. Cullen.

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

WE shall now consider Alclyde and Wales under another aspect; and in doing so we derive much light from the writings of St. Patrick. He informs us that his father and grandfather were in Holy Orders; that himself was conversant when young with holy Romanized Catholics (*Romanorum sanctorum*); that he relied on their obedience and zeal in enforcing the excommunication to be launched against the plundering soldiery and their impious King Coroticus. Now it is beyond question that such communities existed in Wales. In proof of it we may point to the well-established hierarchy there. We can mention the bishopries of Landaff, Lan Padern, Bangor, St. Asaphs, Worcester, and Morgan, besides the Metropolitan See of Caerleon or St. David's.[1] This statement of Geoffrey of Monmouth is confirmed by Venerable Bede. Alluding to the efforts made by St. Augustine to secure the co-operation of the old British bishops for the conversion of the Saxons, Venerable Bede states that there attended at the synod of the 'Oak,' at which St. Augustine presided, seven Welsh bishops.

Now a like state of things was impossible in Dunbarton or Strathclyde Here was a principality surrounded on the north and west by the pagan Scots and Picts, and on the south and east by the Anglo-Saxon worshippers of Woden. Nor were the Strathclyde Britons themselves less pagan. Jocelyn informs us that Roderick, who was prince of Strathclyde, happened to have been baptized by St. Patrick. He became convinced, whatever may have been the tenor of his own life, that religion would have a most civilizing effect on the Britons of Strathclyde. He, accordingly, invited St. Kentigern or Mungo to evangelize and convert them To meet and welcome St. Kentigern, who came from Wales Roderick with his people set out from Dunbarton. We

[1] *Geoffrey of Monmouth*, lib. viii., ch. iv.

have the authority of Jocelyn for the statement that Kentigern addressed the Alclyde Britons not as Christians, but as pagans. To use his very words, St. Kentigern undertook to prove to them 'that the idols were dumb, the vain invention of man, fitter for the fire than for worship. He showed that the elements in which they believed as deities were creatures and formations adapted by the disposition of their Maker for the use, help, and assistance of men.' Such is the picture of the Strathclyde Britons given us by the faithful historian. But, lest it may appear overcharged, I would have it reviewed by a Scotch historian, and his verdict on Jocelyn's judgment is as follows:—

In the supposed address which Jocelyn puts into Kentigern's mouth we have, probably, a correct enough representation of the paganism which still clung to the people, and influenced their belief—a sort of cross between their old pagan heathenism and that derived from their pagan neighbours, the Angles.[1]

Again: 'There were only very few Christians.'[2]

That St. Patrick sent a letter to such people is not to be thought of. The idea that they could be relied on for giving effect to excommunication is absurd. Why, even if some of them happened to be guilty of the terrible outrage denounced by St. Patrick, they, as infidels, would be no subjects for excommunication. From Alclyde, then, viewed intellectually and religiously, Coroticus could not have hailed. He came from Wales. In returning from Ireland, laden with the plunder of wealth and human beings, he found a ready sale of his captives among the pagan Scots and Picts. Coroticus and his soldiers, having passed over to the Scottish coast, disposed of the captives along the western isles, and down along Pictish Galloway, on their way to Wales, and thus verified the description by St. Patrick. ('Elongati et deportati sunt in per longa terrarum.')

I might at once have proved the Welsh descent of Coroticus by the testimony of Irish and foreign writers; but I preferred the evidence, however indirect, of Scottish witnesses.

Jocelyn, Abbot of Furness, in his *Life of St. Patrick*,

[1] Skene, vol. ii., p. 191. [2] Ch. xi

expressly states[1] that Coroticus came from a certain part at the extremity of Britain, which was latterly called Wales. ('In quibusdam finibus Britanniae quæ modo Walia dicitur').

Touching the change of name from Cambro-Britain to Wales, we may remark that we have the authority of Gerald Barry for the statement, that the name of *Wales* had been applied by the conquering Anglo-Saxons to the district held by the old Britons, and that of *Welsh*, which signified foreigners, applied to themselves.[2] They are represented by Taliesen, or rather some one in his name, as singing thus:—

> Their Lord they will praise,
> Their speech they will keep,
> Their land will they lose,
> Except wild Wallia.

The writer of the old Life of St. Patrick in the *Book of Armagh* notices the new nomenclature of Wales. The index to one of the chapters to the Life refers to Coroticus equivalently as King of Wales.

Documentary and traditional evidence points to Wales as immediately colonized from Gaul. Giraldus, who attributed the name of Wales to the Anglo-Saxons,[3] called the Gallo-Britons wanderers and foreigners, as having come from Gaul. The connection of Wales with Gaul is established either by the supposed Saxon derivation of the name *Waloon*, or by its formation from the Gaulish element *Gallo*, for the letters *g* and *w* were then convertible.[4]

Sometimes in the Gallic compounds the initial letter *g* was

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[1] Chap. cl.

[2] *Descriptio Cambriae*, i., ch. vii.

[3] 'Saxones occupato regno Britannico quoniam lingua sua extraneum quemlibet Wallum, et gentes has sibi extraneas Wallenses vocant et inde usque in hodiernum barbara nuncupatione, et homines Wallenses et terra Wallia vocatur.' (*Descrip. Cambriae.*) But see what has been stated with regard to *Gall.* Du Cange, to prove that Walles was used for Walloons (Gallo-Belgians), quotes a distich on St. Louis by Philip Monckes:—

> 'Adonc moru li queni Odaexes
> Qui tint quitte Flandres et Walles.'
>
> (*Sub v. Wallus.*)

[4] Baxter's Glossary: 'Provinciam quae Wales dicitur Galli per *g* efferunt, Gales appellantes.' (*Sub v. Gallia.*)

altogether omitted. Hence the word *Allobrox* a Piedmontese or Savoyard.[1] The nomenclature, then, recently given to Wales from Walia or Waloons took the Irish form of *Aloo*. Accordingly the biographer of the old Life of St. Patrick called Coroticus King of Aloo.[2]

Contemporaneously with the writer of the *Book of Armagh*, the British Nennius in his *History of the Britons*, while deriving Coroticus from a Welsh origin, would attribute the Irish raid to revenge. He states that the Scots or Irish effected a settlement in south Wales, and continued there till they were driven away by Cuneda, the father of Coroticus.[3] And in another passage, Nennius, speaking of Mailcun, says that he was a powerful prince among the Britons; that his principality lay in north Wales; for his great grandsire (Atavus), or great grandfather's grandfather, Cunedag, coming from the north one hundred and forty-six years previously, settled in Wales, and expelled, with great slaughter, the Scots thence who never returned. Coroticus was son to Cunedag; now Mailcun was a contemporary of Gildas, who wrote about the year 560, and if from this number we deduct 146 we will be brought to the time of Cuneda's son, Coroticus, who was excommunicated by St. Patrick.

Coming down from the ancient historian of the Britons to modern times, the learned historian of Cardiganshire informs us that Coroticus not only lived there, but gave his name to it.[4] In this judgment he is followed by the

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[1] Du Cange.

[2] A late President of the Royal Irish Academy, Sir Samuel Ferguson, suggests that *Aloo* is the genitive case of *Ail*, rock; that is, rock of Dunbarton. But *Ail* by itself was never used to signify Aclyde. Moreover, the word *Ail* never took the form of Aloo in any case. Thus we have in the *Annals of Ulster*. 'Anno 658, "mors Guerit regis Alocluaithe;" and in the year 870, "Obsessio Ailecluithe."'

The conjecture of Sir Samuel Ferguson is as groundless as another of his on a kindred subject. He incorrectly tried to spell a Scottish birthplace for St. Patrick out of an evidently wrong reading in a manuscript (Brussels) Life. The Brussels manuscript gives *thabur indecha ut procul*, a corrupt form of *Taberniae haut procul:* yet Sir Samuel made out of the first, the most corrupt, part *decha ut* the Daclenclut about Dunbarton. *Proceedings: Royal Irish Academy*, November, 1884, and January, February, 1885.

[3] *Brit. Historia.*

[4] *History and Antiquities of Cardigan*, by S. R. Meyrick.

profoundly learned Mr. Haddan;[1] and in a short notice of Coroticus, written for Smith's *Biographical Dictionary*, its writer, a learned antiquarian and a Scotchman, had to admit that Coroticus was a Welshman.

Having now established the Welsh origin of Coroticus, we are helped by St. Patrick's letter to him to an important conclusion. The letter was to be read for the soldiers, whom our saint says 'he will not call his citizens nor fellow-citizens of the holy Romanized fellow-citizens, but fellow-citizens of demons.' Here the saint while disowning them clearly implies fellowship with them; and adds that, as they ignore him (*mei non cognoscunt*) by the destruction of his people, they verify the sacred proverb: 'Propheta in patria sua honorem non habet.' These words of the saint clearly prove that the country of Coroticus was his country.

It is suggested by Scotch that fellow-citizenship here may mean only being under a common Roman sway. But on such a wrong view St. Patrick could have made the same complaint against raiders from Mounts Atlas or Taurus, which is absurd; besides, he spoke of a special country as his in the same sense as our Divine Lord spoke of His own country.

The English Martyrology, the renowned Camden, and the *Annals of Wales*[2] insist on south Wales as the saint's birthplace. Thus the *Book of Armagh* is not alone in connecting St. Patrick, apart from his alleged sister, nephew, and fellow-labourers, with south Wales.

I have now to animadvert briefly on some writings on this subject that have appeared in late issues of the I.E. Record. There is nothing strange to me in these writings save the impertinences and errors with which they are interspersed. The bibliographer (he calls his writings a bibliography), after thirteen years of preparation, attacks my position in the I. E. Record for February. In opening his attack he at once is guilty of sixteen misrepresentations of me by using the words *Burium* and *Burian*. I never used them, but *Burrium* and *Burrian;* never used *Burium*, as it represents no existing place nor Usktown. In order to the more

[1] *Councils and Eccles. Documents*, vol. ii., p. 314
[2] *Monumenta* (M. H. B. 830–831).

clearly undertanding the lie of the ground, I may here give the several readings of our saint's birthplace :—

(*a*) The Armagh MS. gives Bannavem Taberniae.

(*b*) The Bodleian gives Banavem Taberniae.

(*c*) The Cottoniana gives Banavem Taberniae.

(*d*) The St. Vedast gives Bonaven Taberniae.

(*e*) The Brussels gives Ban navem thabur indecha.

By the way, our critic says that the best manuscript is in favour of *Banaven*. Now, none of the five existing manuscript copies of the *Confession* contains *Banaven!* In reference to my reading of the above by *Bona venta Burrii*, our bibliographer states :—

(1) That I change the first part of the reading to *Bona* or Bene-ven. Why, I only follow copy *(d)*.

(2) That to introduce a capital letter with *ven* is contrary to manuscript evidence. Why, I have shown from Eusebian recensions in Trinity College, Dublin—after which St. Patrick's writings were most probably modelled—that the use of capitals for common letters was usual, and the *Book of Armagh* gives instances as *temtatio Nem* with others from the *Confession*.

(3) He objects that the letter *t* in *Ta* is opposed to existing evidence. It is not so ; for the reading in (*e*) manuscript gives a small *t*. The same may be seen in Vita Quarta (*Trias Thaum*). The *Book of Armagh*, in fact, gives a capital where we would put a common letter, and *vice versa*.

(4) That the most unwarantable change is that of *berniae* into *Burrii*, not Burii, as he says. First of all, I have shown elsewhere, that the final *ae* does not form part of the word Taberniae, but, like the *ha* at the ending of the E form, belongs to the next sentence. The intelligible translation of this sentence requires the separation of the *ae*. Now, then, as manuscript (*e*) justifies the use of *bur* for *ber* we have to account only for *ni* in *burni*. Besides copy (*e*), the Lives 2, 3, 5, 6, with O'Flaherty, warrant *bur* in the form *Taburni*. The form *bur* is also suggested by *Hurnia*, given by Cardinal Moran from an Irish manuscript as the alleged residence of St. Patrick.

Now, as to the substitution, or mistake, of *n* for *ri*, we

have a striking example of it in Ware, who, followed by Lanigan, mistakes Murin for Munu. He mistook the *n* in Munu for *ri*, and the last *u* for *n*, and thus gives us Murin, quite unknown, for Munu (Fintan). In like manner, two living annotators of the *Book of Armagh* cannot distinguish between *ri* and *n*: one of them ends a word in pia*n*, the other in pia*ri*.[1] The elements for *ri* and *n* are almost identical. There are then manuscript authority, text, and the force of the context in favour of the reading *Burrii*.

The bibliographer objects that '*Venta* as obviously connected with the Welsh word *Gwent* is *therefore* not a Roman word, and that in composition *Gw* is changed into *w*, as in *Caerwent*.'

(1) The connection of one word with another does not make them the same.

(2) The national Cyclopædia states, under the word *Winchester*, that it was called by the Romans Venta Belgarum, subsequently Witan Coaster, and then Winchester by the Saxons; therefore, *Venta*, as used by the Romans, was a Roman word, and had the power of inflecting *Burrium* as Belgarum. Hence too, we have Venta Icenorum, and *Venta Silurum*, in south Wales. *Win*, in Winchester, is only a corruption of *Venta*, as the other part *chester* is a corruption of *Castrum*, a word used by the Romans.

(3) What has the digamma *gh* mentioned by the bibliographer to do in connection with Venta? for this word is not compounded, but simply *Venta* qualified by *Bona*. He appears to argue, by instancing *Caerwent*, that as *Caer* was British *went* should be also. But we have the *Civitas Legionum* represented by Caerleon; and though *caer*, the representative of *civitas* be British, it does not follow that the next part *leon* is not Roman: a *pari*, the connection of *Caer* with *went* does not prove that *vent* was British. Furthermore, two different languages may go to form a word. Thus the Irish words *Muman*, Laigen, Ulla (Munster, Leinster, Ulster), are perfected by the Saxon *ster*. At all events, I have given proof that *Venta*, as being used by the Romans, was a Roman word, notwithstanding the denial

[1] Fol. a. 2, l. 10.

of bibliographer. Finally, if Polydore Virgil and all others be correct in identifying *Caerwent* with the *Venta Silurum* on the Wye, the conclusion of the bibliographer should be not that *Venta* came from the Welsh *went*, but that this was borrowed from the Roman or Romanised *Venta*. *Venta*, used by Roman soldiers or colonists, was rustic Latin, and not incongruous in the mouth of the saint who styled himself *rusticissimus*.

The bibliographer tries to show that a different reading of the *Confession* could be given by *Bona Venta Buri*. He states that in Celtic dialects, British and Irish, the letter *B* is liable to be exchanged for *M*, as in the word Strath-bungo for Strath Mungo, which would give Muri for Buri; that the British called the Antonine Wall *y Mur*, and that thus we would be brought to the Aremuric city where we learn St. Patrick was made captive.

But (1) on what evidence, manuscript or printed, is the *ri* in *Burrii* cut away? (2) The *M* in Mungo or *B* in Bungo, when aspirated, gives the same sound, and thus there was a tendency colloquially to confound the letters with the sounds. It was otherwise with *Venta Burrii*, preserved from corruption in manuscript as if in a cast-iron mould. Moreover, the independent forms *venta*, corrupted into *ventar* or *nentur*, and *Burrii*, corrupted into *Hurni*, as I have shown elsewhere, were not compounds as Strath-bungo. We have evidence that *Bungo* is a corruption of *Mungo;* but there is none that *Burrii* was a corruption of *Muri*, or that this form was ever known up to the present time. (3) y *Mur*, a British word used for the Wall, could not inflect like a Latin word into *Muri*. (4) Even though *Muri* meant the wall, this would not justify the bibliographer in making it signify a city as he states: *Civitas Aremuric*. (5) Or if a wall be equivalent to a city on the borders of Caledonia, how is it reconcilable with his statement to the effect that 'Aramuric was near the Tuscan sea'? And if our writer, instead of servilely copying Dr. Moran, had gone to original manuscripts and to their editor, Colgan, he would have taught him[1] there was no such word as Aremuric, but

[1] Vid. Vita. 5 ta.

armoric (sea-bordering): thus bibliographer who began with assumption ended in absurdity. But we have had enough of this meaningless reading of the *Confession*.

The bibliographer is in error in stating that the first Life by Fiacc, St. Patrick's disciple, must have been written before the year 540, as if he was the author of it. Every scholar knows that, owing to the allusion to the destruction of Tara, the Life could not have been written before the year 570, and, owing to the peculiarities in the Irish, was not written before 700. The scholium on the Life with the new name *Nentur* did not appear till the ninth century.[1]

He is in error in stating that about St. Patrick's birthplace *alone* any doubt has been raised, and insists it was always known. But the *Book of Armagh* states there was doubt as to a more striking object—his burial-place: *Ubi sunt ossa ejus nemo novit.* [2]

He is in error in asserting that 'our ancient Irish records are unanimous in pointing to the *neighbourhood* of Dunbarton as the saint's birthplace.' The first, second, third, fourth, and seventh Lives assure us the birthplace was *in* Nemptur: no Life unless one written so late as in 1185, by a Welshman, placed it *away* from Dunbarton.

He is mistaken in thinking he can 'poison the wells' or frighten me from my position by stating that 'it is discreditable to Irish tradition, scribes, and the Irish nation.' I recognise as truly Irish only those, whether living or dead, who preferred truth to national sentiment.

He is in error in giving the sea between Ireland and Scotland as the sea mentioned by Probus, *Mare Occidentale*, and descriptive of St. Patrick's birthplace.

He is boldly in error in stating there is 'not a single line to produce for the dechristianizing and barbarism of Dunbarton;' for I have produced pages from Skene and Jocelyn to whom he refers us.

I have shown elsewhere by a comparison of the five different MSS. on St. Patrick's birthplace that the admittedly

[1] Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 435.
[2] Fol. 15 bb.

corrupt reading *Bonaventabur-niae* was originally *Bonauenta Burrii ac*, and have proved to demonstration that out of this was eviscerated the component part, but deformed, *uentur*. The scholiast having glossed this as Alclyde was followed by all the Irish Lives, except Probus, who, following more or less the *Confession*, said our saint was born in Banave, in the Tiburnian region.

During the interval between our saint's *Confession* and the alleged hymn of Fiacc the name of the birthplace got badly copied,[1] and the name of the street resulted in *nentur* : and in times of confusion, when the Danes had invaded our shores, the gloss on the word gave it as equivalent to Alclyde.

Our bibliographer urges that the *cultus* paid to St. Patrick in Kilpatrick and the authority of the Aberdeen Breviary are proof of the Scottish birthplace, and are independent of the scholiast's gloss. These, taken on their merits, I contend, prove nothing to his purpose.

I will consider now, firstly, the grounds for devotion at Kilpatrick ; and, secondly, the authority of the Breviary of Aberdeen. The author of the sixth Life thus writes :—

> Gormas, who was born blind, heard in sleep a voice which directed him to go and take the hand of Patrick, just baptized, and with it make the sign of the cross on the ground, and that on doing so a fountain would spring up, whose waters, applied to his sightless eyes, would give sight. He made the sign of the cross, the fountain sprung up, and the waters applied gave sight. The illiterate blind man became able to read and write at once . . . The loving devotion of posterity caused an oratory to be built over the well.

The same author, in the year 1185, thus proceeds :—

> There is a stone near the fountain and oratory which the inhabitants of the country call St. Patrick's stone, because on it he said the first Mass. Whoever swears falsely, by laying his hands on the rock, makes it exude, but, swearing truthfully leaves the stone dry . . . Let it suffice to have mentioned the miracle, which Bishop Mel testifies to have often witnessed.

[1] 'Post exitum Patricii alumni sui ualde ejus libros conscripserunt.'—(*Book of Armagh*, fol. 21, C. 2.)

Why, all the Lives state that our saint was ordained over the Gulf of Naples; but I suppose he came to Caledonia to say his first Mass!

The *Tripartite Life* tells us that Gormas used Patrick's hand before his baptism, and that the blind man was a priest unable to read, to whom our saint was brought for baptism; yet we are asked, for the sake of the well, to believe all this! The Lives give the miracle on the strength of *they say*. If, as stated by the Welsh Jocelyn, Gormas went to have the cross made on the ground by Patrick after his baptism, we must then suppose him to have been at home; yet we never heard that Patrick's father dwelt on the site of the well.

St. Mel, the reputed nephew of St. Patrick, is adduced as a witness to the miraculously sweating stone. Well, there is not the slightest allusion in any of the Lives of St, Mel to his ever having known anything of the stone or well, or to have been at all in Scotland.

Such historical errors and spurious miracles being deemed insufficient to establish a Scottish birthplace, Jocelyn adds another miracle. It runs thus:—

> On a certain promontory, overhanging the eminent city of Nemthor, was a citadel whose ruined walls can still be traced. The lord of the place subjected to a hard service St. Patrick's nurse, whom he had enslaved. She had to sweep daily all the offices of the municipality, and carry away the ordure from the stable. When St. Patrick prayed for her not a trace of the horses' ordure was to be detected there or in the neighbourhood, without any human effort . . . The miracle was not evanescent, for it continued to the present day (an. 1185). The inhabitants of this place and of the neighbourhood attest that, if as many beasts of burden as the place could contain were gathered within the fortification, a particle of ordure from them could not be detected. This famous place, called Dunbarton, cannot be unknown to those anxious to learn of a miracle talked of by the *inhabitants* of the country.

The writer of the above, or rather the voice of the Dunbartonites through him, placed the scene first in a citadel near Nemthur, and ends by changing it to Dunbarton or Nemptor. Now, in attesting to the reality of this wretched imposture, in 1185, could the inhabitants of

Alclyde have believed in an Alclydan birthplace for St. Patrick? Did truth require such discrediting falsehoods? Are we Irish expected to believe them? If we believe them we justly lay ourselves open to the reproach of the Bollandists in their remarks on St. Patrick.[1]

The dedication of a holy well in honour of St. Patrick in the valley of the Clyde, as in other countries, may have been before the time of the scholiast; but till his blundering gloss or conjecture on the supposed *nentur* there was no idea of connecting the place with our saint's birthplace.

Secondly, I now deal with the Breviary of Aberdeen. Our bibliographer writes: 'The Breviary informs us that Kilpatrick, near Dunbarton, was the birthplace of St. Patrick. . . . that evidence should be held to decide the question . . . when submitted to the test of comparison with other early sources of information it is found to be so faithful.'

The Aberdeen Breviary now lies before me, and on the question at issue, it appears more valueless than the 'fabulous' Lives. For these had the conjecture of the scholiast as a reason for mentioning Dunbarton, but the first lesson for the 17th March in the Breviary has no authority for stating our saint was *conceived* there. *Dunbartanae conceptus, et in Kilpatrick natus.* All the Irish Lives, knowing no better than the conjecture of the scholiast, give the city of Dunbarton as the birthplace. The Breviary of Aberdeen had not the least authority for making the place of conception different from that of the birth, and this birth to be in Kilpatrick.

But there was this plain reason for honouring Dunbarton, on the one hand, by the conception in that it was the scene of the standing miracle down to the year 1185, about the ordure of the horses, and, on the other hand, for honouring Kilpatrick by the birth in that it was the scene of the miraculous well and sweating stone of perjurers.

We are challenged to submit the Breviary to a comparison with really authentic documents. Very well: it

[1] 'Natio fabulis poetarum facilis ad credendum,' 17th March.

states that Palladius, immediate predecessor of St. Patrick, was sent to Scotland by Pope Celestine, where he died, after having evangelized the country for many years; but the *Book of Armagh* assures us he was sent to Ireland, lived there only for a short time, a year according to the Lives, and died in returning immediately to Rome.

The Breviary states that Palladius instructed and baptized Servanus and Ternanus, Scotchmen; and that Servanus was consecrated by Gregory the Great; but St. Gregory did not live till two hundred years after Palladius; and the scholiast on Aengus makes Ternanus not a Scotchman, but an Irishman, or Palladius himself! Thus Scotland, in the words of Skene, is derived of two traditionary apostles.

The Archbishop of St. Andrews had the supposed remains of Palladius disinterred at Fordun, and placed in the year 1494 in a silver shrine;[1] but the Breviary states he died not at Fordun, but at Lanforgund in the Mearns; now Langforgund was not in the Mearns, but in a differen diocese in Gowry; furthermore, as stated by Skene, Palladius was never in Fordun or in Langforgund.[2]

The Breviary (lesson iv.) states that the nation of the Scots in a great measure was converted under Pope Victor (an. 203); but as admitted by Skene, there was not a nation of Scots for hundreds of years subsequently.

The Breviary is at variance not only with historical facts, but with itself; for, while its Calendar calls Palladius apostle of the Scots, its Lection states they had been principally converted by Marcus and Dionysius (203). And to reconcile the title of apostle in Palladius with the alleged conversion of Scots two hundred years previously, the Breviary, following John de Fordun, travesties the history of the Church, and mischievously plays into the hands of Presbyterianism by stating[3] that during two hundred and thirty-three years the supposed Scots had only priests and monks till Palladius came. Who ordained, I wonder, the

[1] Hector Boethius, *Scotch History*, vii., fol. 28.
[2] *Celtic Scotland*, vol. ii., p. 30.
[3] Folio 24*b*.

priests! No wonder that even Skene asks, what sort of a Church had they between 203 and 431?

On the consecration of St. Patrick, the Breviary is at variance with the *Book of Armagh*, 'the oldest,' as Skene remarks, 'we now possess on St. Patrick.' 'The Breviary of Aberdeen decisive of the question'! Why, the authority of the Breviary on a historical point that turned up a thousand years previously is as unsavoury to the critical sense as the alleged miracle touching the ordure of the horses in Dunbarton.[1]

Our bibliographer states:—'When, about eight years ago, excavations were made along the line of the Antonine Wall, I was enabled to see and examine part of them. This may suffice for the present'! This reminds us of a scene in the *Antiquary* by Sir W. Scott. Jonathan Oldbuck prided himslf on having a little property rich in Roman remains. He brought a visitor, Mr. Lovel, to admire a sacrificing vessel lately unearthed, with the letters A. D. L. L., which he explained as meaning *Agricola dicavit Libens Lubens;* but the strolling beggar, Ochiltree, came on the scene, and said he saw the letters cut twenty years previously for a rustic bridal party, and meant, in reference to the party, 'Aiken's Drum Lang Ladle.'

In conclusion, the reader will bear in mind that the argument founded on the *Cultus* at Kilpatrick and on the Aberdeen Breviary has been patiently weighed on its own merits. In doing so, I have abstracted from the certain reference to Usk in St. Patrick's *Confession*, and from the evidently corrupt reading *nentur*, the conjectural gloss[2] on which led to the supposition of a Scottish theory.

But why pursue the subject any further? His 'case appears thrown up by the bibliographer when he says there are points about Emptor, and one or two other words about which we may not be quite certain: we may acquiesce in the limitation of our knowledge.' But everything depends

[1] 'The dates attached to the saints in the Scottish (Aberdeen) Calendar are in the main fictitious.'—(Skene, *Celtic Scotland.*)

[2] The glossarist on *nentur* states that, on the occasion of St. Patrick's captivity his parents were killed; but the contrary is stated by the saint himself.

on the two or three words of the *Confession*. If his knowledge is limited on these words he had no right to obtrude on the public; and as one of the public I may say he has given me neither light nor guidance. Again, he writes, 'Emptor's explanation is difficult, but the whole question is not of vital importance to those who believe ancient records and traditions (what as to those who repudiate them?); for neither records nor traditions enter into minute particulars such as we could recognise at the present day.' In other words, Scotch traditions are sufficient, *for* they give no satisfactory answer to the inquirer of the present day. The matter is bad, but its handling is worse, because wofully illogical.

Finally, who could believe on the strength of inconsistent statements that St. Augustine went to convert England before his own Rome was converted, or that St. Columba went to the northern Picts while his own Ireland was pagan? Yet, with no better reason, are we asked to believe that St. Patrick, reared on the border line of the northern and southern Picts, left them for the conversion of the Irish, partially 'believing in Christ.' St. Patrick, with other virtues to a sublime degree, possessed well-ordered charity; and if he were born and lived in the midst of the Scotch pagan from Galloway to Caithness, they assuredly had the first claim to the exercise of his well-regulated charity.

SYLVESTER MALONE.

[This controversy must now cease.—ED. I. E. R.]

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

IF the four Gospels had never been written, or if all four had perished, the Catholic Church would still be essentially what she is. The faith of Christ had been widely preached, thousands of Jews and Gentiles had been converted, Christian communities had been established; in a word, the Church was complete in her essential constitution, before the first of the Gospels was produced. And, if any or all of them had perished, the same living voice of the Church that had sufficed for faith and salvation before their composition, would still have remained sufficient; for it has never been proved, and never can be, that Christ meant the written word, whether in the Gospels, or in the whole New Testament, or in the entire Bible, to supersede the living voice of the teaching Church. To the Apostles He had given command: 'Going into the whole world, preach (κηρύξατε = announce as heralds) the Gospel to every creature. He that believeth, and is baptized, shall be saved.'[1]

Neither here nor in any other part of Scripture is there any intimation that a time was to come when the world was to take its faith, not from preachers, but from the written word. Hence St. Irenæus, writing in the end of the second century, says:—

> What if the Apostles had not left us the Scriptures? Would it not still be necessary to follow the tradition which they handed down to those to whom they gave charge of the churches? To which tradition many nations of those barbarians, who believe in Christ, assent, without paper and ink, having salvation written by the Holy Ghost in their hearts, and diligently regarding the ancient tradition, believing in one God, &c.[2]

I have begun with this thought, not in order to show, against Protestants, the insufficiency of their rule of faith, though it does show this, but having in view the attacks of Rationalists on the Gospels. Rationalists seem to believe

[1] Mark xvi. 15, 16.

[2] *Contra Haer.*, iii. 4.

that if they could succeed in destroying the authority of the Gospels, they could get rid of the supernatural, and demolish the foundations of Christianity. In reality, apart from the fact that the Church has accepted and declared the authority of the Gospels, and in this way staked her own authority upon theirs, she is quite independent of them, both in her constitution and her faith. Put them out of sight for the moment, and there still remain to us, from the first century, four Pauline Epistles, namely, the Epistle to the Romans, the two Epistles to the Corinthians, and that to the Galatians, the authenticity of which few even of the Rationalists have been bold enough to question. Now, in these Epistles, the Divinity of Christ, His resurrection from the dead,[1] the necessity of grace as a supernatural means towards the attainment of a supernatural state; in a word, all the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, are clearly and unmistakably put forward as the faith of the Christian Church at the very beginning. And what is true of these Epistles of St. Paul is true also of the writings of the apostolic fathers, some of whom, like St. Clement of Rome, belong to the first century. Hence, even if we abstract from the living voice of the Church, the Gospels are not the only evidences of the Christian faith, and their authority, apart from the fact that the Church has guaranteed it, is not vital to the existence or faith of the Catholic Church.

But if we could afford to dispense with the Gospels, and still maintain our faith intact, Rationalists, on the other hand, cannot afford to accept them. To men who start with a denial of everything supernatural, who scoff at miracle and prophecy, and reject the doctrine of Christ's Divinity, the Gospels are very inconvenient documents. On every page miracle and prophecy are written broad; Christ is miraculously conceived, and born of a virgin; miracles fill the record of His public life; and after His death He rises from the dead, appears on many occasions in His risen body, and in the end ascends in glory, in the sight of His

[1] 1 Cor. xv.

Apostles, into heaven. Hence Rationalists recognise that their views are inconsistent with the Gospels, if the latter are to be regarded as authoritative; and so, apparently without ever asking themselves whether they ought not to reconsider their own position, they set themselves to work, each in his own way, according to his own fancies or predilections, to undermine and destroy the Gospel authority.

I have no intention at present of writing a history of the ever-varying and mutually destructive theories of the leading lights of Rationalism. Such a work would, no doubt, be interesting, and would afford abundant evidence of the frivolous character of most of the reasons on which the various systems are based. But any such work would be altogether foreign to my present purpose. It will be more congenial to me, and more profitable, I believe, to the reader, to briefly classify their errors, and then deal not with individual opinions, but with the classes of error.

The views of Rationalists regarding the origin of the Gospels may all be reduced to two classes. Some deny that the Gospels were or could have been written before the second century. To this class belong Strauss, and all the Mythical school, and also the Tübingen school, headed by Baur. Strauss tells us that the picture of the personality and actions of Christ painted for us in the Gospels was impossible until a sufficient interval after Christ had elapsed for the growth of myths, and such an interval throws the Gospels back to the second century. Baur, too, and his school, though for different reasons, arrive at the same conclusion. Starting with a theory of early Church history, according to which two great hostile sections, Petrines and Paulines, existed in the early Church, Baur contends that only those books are genuine which disclose this hostility, and that with the exception of five books, all the books of the New Testament, the Gospels included, are spurious, and date only from the second century.

To the second class of Rationalists belong all who, while admitting that the Gospels are in some sense genuine, and date from the first century, yet endeavour in one way or another to deny their authority.

I shall endeavour in this article, and in those that may follow, to prove against the first class, that the Gospels are authentic, that they date from the first century, and are the work of Christ's Apostles, as in the case of St. Matthew and St. John, or of disciples of the Apostles, as in the case of St. Mark and St. Luke. Then, against the second class I shall show that the Gospels, being admittedly authentic, possess authority, and claim the assent of any reasonable man. I am not aware that any attempt has hitherto been made by a Catholic writer to treat this question in English; and I consider it important that the attempt should be made, because Rationalists are so bold and confident in their assertions, that the uninitiated reader is in danger of being led to conclude that there is little or no evidence in favour of the Gospels.

That we may begin on firm ground, where there is no room for cavil or question, I shall start with the end of the second century, and then go backward from that date towards Apostolic times. Now, at the end of the second century, Strauss himself admits that the same four Gospels that we receive were everywhere known and recognised in the Church as the genuine works of the Evangelists whose names they bear.

> It is certain [he writes] that towards the end of the second century the same four Gospels which we have still are found recognised in the Church, and are repeatedly quoted as the writings of the Apostles, and disciples of the Apostles whose names they bear, by the three most eminent ecclesiastical teachers —Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, and Tertullian in Carthage. There were, indeed, current other Gospels, used not only by heretical parties, but sometimes appealed to by orthodox teachers—a Gospel of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians, a Gospel of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Thomas, of Matthias, of the Twelve Apostles—but the four were at that time, and from that time downwards, considered as the peculiarly trustworthy foundation on which the Christian faith rested.[1]

With this admission before us, it is unnecessary to quote from Irenæus, Clement, or Tertullian, to prove that they knew our Gospels, and received them as authentic. But,

[1] *Leben Jesu*, § 10, p. 47.

though I will not delay upon unnecessary quotations, I wish to make a few remarks upon the evidence which these writers afford, that the Gospels were known and recognised not only in their time, but for a considerable time before it.

Irenæus himself, who died in 202 A.D., tells us that he had been a disciple of Polycarp, who had been a disciple of St. John the Evangelist:—

> I can recall [says Irenæus] the very place where Polycarp used to sit and teach, his manner of speech, his mode of life, his appearance, the style of his address to the people, his frequent references to St. John, and to others who had seen our Lord; how he used to repeat from memory their discourses, and the things which he had heard from them concerning our Lord, His miracles, and His teaching, and how being instructed himself by those who were eyewitnesses of the life of the Word, there was in all that he said a strict agreement with the Scriptures.[1]

Now if, as our adversaries admit, Irenæus knew the Gospels, and regarded them as authentic, does it not follow that Polycarp too, his master, must have known and received them? Can we suppose that Irenæus would accept as the genuine works of Apostles or disciples of the Apostles recent books about which he had never heard from his master Polycarp? And, again, can we suppose Polycarp to have received the Gospel of St. John, if St. John had never spoken of it, and if, as our adversaries would have us believe, it saw the light only in the middle of the second century? 'There are, in fact,' says Dr. Salmon, Provost of Trinity College, in his *Historical Introduction to the New Testament*, 'three links in the chain—St. John, Polycarp, Irenæus; and I do not see how it is possible to dissever any one of them from the other two.'[2]

And it is important to note that St. Irenæus not only received the Gospels as the genuine works of those whose names they bear, but that he even accepted, in a very full sense too, their inspiration. There is a passage in his work *Against Heresies*, where he is arguing against those who held that Jesus was at first an ordinary man, who became Christ only when the Holy Ghost descended upon Him in

[1] Epistle to Florinus, Euseb. H. E., v. 20.
[2] Salmon, fifth edition p. 35.

His baptism. Irenæus argues against them from Matt. i. 18, where the manuscript he was reading seems to have read 'Christ,' not 'Jesus,' nor 'Jesus Christ,' nor 'Christ Jesus.'[1] And his argument supposes his belief in the inspiration of the Scriptures. 'Matthew,' he says, might have said: "Now the generation of Jesus, was in this wise," but the Holy Ghost, foreseeing the depravers of the truth, and guarding beforehand against their fraud, says through Matthew: "Now the generation of Christ was in this wise." It is clear, then, that Irenæus acknowledged not only the authenticity, but also the inspiration of the Gospels. And yet we are asked to believe, because these Gospels tell of miracle and prophecy, in which Rationalists cannot bring themselves to believe, that they are works very little older than Irenæus. Is it conceivable that works produced shortly before his time could have attained so soon to such a position in the Church, that a scholar like Irenæus would not only ascribe them to the Apostles, but found what he evidently regarded as a decisive argument upon their slightest word?

Clement of Alexandria presided over the catechetical school of that city, then one of the most literary cities in the world, from the years 192-202. As I have already remarked, nobody denies that Clement knew and received the four Gospels. But what I want to emphasize is, that Clement, like Irenæus, witnesses not only for his own time, but for an earlier period. He tells us that he had studied under masters of many nationalities both of the East and the West.

> And these men [he continues] preserving the true tradition of the blessed teaching directly from Peter and James, from John and Paul, the holy Apostles, son receiving it from father (but few are they who are like their fathers), came by God's providence even to us, to deposit among us these seeds (of truth) which were derived from their ancestors and the Apostles.[2]

Hence we are justified in concluding that Clement's views regarding the Gospels represented the true tradition of the blessed teaching preserved directly from the Apostles.

[1] The Latin Vulgate has: 'Generatio autem Christi sic erat,' but the weight of ancient authority is in favour of the reading *Jesu Christi*.

[2] Stromata, 1. i. 11.

Again, as Dr. Salmon points out:—

When we compare the quotations of Clement and Irenæus, a new phenomenon presents itself, which throws back the date of the Gospels still further behind their own times. We become aware of the existence of various readings. In fact, in some of the texts, where the reading is now controverted, there are second century witnesses on opposite sides. And the general type of the text in use in Alexandria was different from that in use in the West. Thus you see that the Gospels were not only in existence at the end of the second century, but that they had by that time been copied and recopied so often, that errors from transcription and otherwise had time to creep in, and different families of texts to establish themselves.[1]

The same sort of evidence is derivable from the writings of Tertullian. His own acceptance of the Gospels is not questioned, and cannot be. But his writings, moreover, prove that they had been accepted and translated into Latin long before. Thus he finds fault with the Latin rendering of the first verse of St. John's Gospel that was current in Africa in his time. He would prefer the rendering, 'In principio erat ratio, et ratio erat apud Deum, et Deus erat ratio,' substituting in each case the word *ratio* for the word *sermo*, which was in use in the current rendering.[2] Yet so strong was the force of usage that in the same work (ch. xx.) he quotes the opening verse of the fourth Gospel in the very form to which as a critic he took objection. The same thing is met with in other parts of his works. It follows, then, that in the time of Tertullian, and the period of his literary activity lasted from about 197 to 230, that a definite and stereotyped rendering of the Gospels into Latin was already current in Africa. Now, even if we admit, with Zahn, that Tertullian does not speak of a written Latin version, but only of the oral interpretation usually adopted in the liturgical assemblies, still it follows that the Gospels must have been known for a considerable time in Africa, else he could not speak of a usage of translating in a certain

[1] Salmon, p. 37.

[2] Adversus Prax, ch. v. 'Jam in usu est nostrorum, per simplicitatem interpretationis *Sermonem* dicere *in primordio apud Deum fuisse* cum majis *rationem* competat antiquiorem haberi.'

way, a usage too so fixed and consecrated that he follows it even when he disapproves of it.

From the evidence of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian, therefore, it follows that the Gospels must have been well known in the Church, and received as authentic, not only at the end of the second century, but for a considerable time before. And these witnesses, be it noted, speak for portions of the Church wide apart. Indeed, if we take into account the Asiatic origin and education under Polycarp of Irenæus, and his residence in Gaul, the cosmopolitan character of the education of Clement, and the wide reading of Tertullian, we are justified in concluding that these three witnesses, of themselves, prove that, considerably before the end of the second century, the four Gospels were received as the genuine writings of the Evangelists whose names they bear everywhere throughout the whole Christian world. To unprejudiced minds this evidence in itself might well suffice to settle the question. The authenticity of many of the classics is not so well attested, and yet nobody questions their genuineness. The first six books of the Annals of Tacitus are known only through one manuscript that first saw the light in the fifteenth century. The Roman History of Paterculus is known only through a single manuscript, and that too a very corrupt one, and the work is not referred to before the time of Priscian, a grammarian of the sixth century, and yet no one doubts its genuineness. Cicero and Horace quote the plays of Terence as his ; and though they lived a hundred years after him, their evidence as to the authenticity of the plays is deemed sufficient. And if in ages to come it were proved that we, at the end of the nineteenth century are unanimous in describing the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* to Gibbon, or *Ivanhoe* to Scott, this evidence, even if there were no other, would probably suffice to satisfy every reasonable mind.

From what I have been saying, however, it is not to be inferred that we have no earlier evidence in favour of the Gospels than that derived from the writings of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian. I hope to show that we have much valuable evidence at considerably earlier periods.

The next witness to which I will appeal in favour of the Gospels is a document commonly known as the Muratorian Fragment. It was discovered in the Ambrosian library at Milan, and first published in 1740, by the Catholic scholar Muratori. It is interesting to know that the manuscript, which in the opinion of experts belongs to the seventh or eighth century, was brought to Milan from the old Irish monastery of Bobbio founded by St. Columbanus. Westcott, who examined the manuscript, says that it contains a miscellaneous collection of Latin fragments, including passages from Eucherius, Ambrose, translations from Chrysostom, and brief expositions of the Catholic Creed. But its special interest lies in the fact that it contains the earliest known attempt to give a list or catalogue of the New Testament Books that were received as genuine. According to the common opinion, the list of which the existing manuscript contains a copy, was drawn up about 170 A.D., and is therefore an earlier witness in favour of the Gospels than those with which we have dealt. The evidence for its date is derived from the Fragment itself, for it refers to the Pontificate of Pope Pius I., as very recent. Now though there is some difficulty as to the exact dates, it is certain that Pius reigned not later than from 142 to 157; and the question is, how long after his time would a writer be likely to refer to his times as very recent.[1] I believe we ought to conclude that it was within twenty years, perhaps much less. For it is to be noted that the writer not only refers to the times of Pope Pius as *very recent*, but he also adds *in our own times*.

Now this document, drawn up about 170, perhaps 160 A.D., and representing the faith of some portion of the Church, most probably the Church of Rome, at the time, affords indisputable evidence that the four Gospels were then not only regarded as authentic, but held to be inspired. It is true that only two of the Gospels, those of SS. Luke and John, are mentioned, but it is admitted

[1] 'Pastorem vero nuperrime temporibus nostris in urbe roma herma conscripsit, sedente (in) cathedra urbis romae ecclesiae Pio ēps, fratre ejus.'

on all hands that in the original the opening, which had apparently perished when the existing manuscript was copied, contained reference to SS. Matthew and Mark. Indeed this cannot be denied, for the Gospel of St. Luke is referred to as the *third*, and the Gospel of St. John as the *fourth*. The whole fragment is very interesting, but I must content myself with giving here those parts of it that bear upon our present subject. It will be noted that the Latin is corrupt; I may add that it seems almost certain that the present Latin text is a translation, by one who lacked even a schoolboy knowledge of Latin, from a Greek original. The following, then, is the text that concerns us at present, after the facsimile published by Tregelles:—

quibus tamen interfuit et ita posuit.
Tertio (tertium)[1] Evangelii librum secundo (secundum) Lucan.
Lucas iste medicus post acensum (ascensum) XPI,
Cum eo (eum) Paulus quasi ut juris studiosum
Secundum adsumsisset, numeni (nomine) suo
ex opinione concribset (conscripsit); dum tamen nec Ipse
dvidit (vidit) in carne, et idē prout assequi potuit;
ita et ad (ab) nativitate Iohannis incipet (incepit) dicere.
Quarti Evangeliorum Iohannis ex decipolis (discipulis).
Cohortantibus condescipulis et eps suis
dixit: conjejunate mihi odie (hodie) triduo (triduum), et
quid cuique fuerit revelatum, alterutrum
nobis enarremus. Eadem nocte reve-
latum andreae ex apostolis, ut recognis-
centibus (recognoscentibus) cuntis (cunctis) Iohannis (Joannes) suo nōmine
cunta (cuncta) describret (describeret) et ideo licit (licet) varia sin-
culis (singulis) evangeliorum libris principia
doceantur, Nihil tamen differt creden-
tium fidei, cum uno ac principali spū de-
clarata sint in omnibus omnia, de nativi-
tate, de passione, de resurrectione,
de conversatione cum decipulis (discipulis) suis,
ac de gemino ejus advento (adventu),
Primo In humilitate dispectus (despectus), quod fc-

[1] The bracketed words are not in the manuscript, but are corrections suggested by Cornely.

tu (fuit), secundum potestate regali preclarum quod foturum (futurum) est. quid ergo mirum, si Iohannes tam constanter
sincula (singula) etiā In epistulis suis proferat dicens in semeipsu : Quae vidimus oculis
nostris et auribus audivibus et manus nostrae palpaverunt, haec scripsimus vobis ;
Sic enim non solum visurem (visorem), sed et auditorem, sed et scriptorē omnium mirabiliū dui per ordinem profetetur (profitetur). Acta autē omniū apostolorum
. . . . . .
. . . Pastorem vero
nuperrim et (nuperrime) temporibus nostris In urbe
roma herma conscripsit, sedente (in) cathetra (cathedra) urbis romae ecclesiae Pio epṣ, frater (episcopo fratre)
ejus ; et ideo legi eum quidem Oportet, se puplicare (publicare) vero in ecclesia populo Neque inter
profetas (prophetarum) completum numero (numerum) neque Inter
apostolos In finē temporum potest.

This is not the place to enter into a critical examination of the peculiarities of this ancient Fragment.[1] It may be useful, however, to direct the reader's attention to the character of the evidence it furnishes in favour of the Gospels. Not only do the second and ninth lines refer to St. Luke and St. John as the authors of the third and fourth Gospels respectively, but the passage contained in lines 16-26 declares that the various accounts of the Nativity, Passion, and Resurrection of our Lord—in a word, the various Gospels—were all written under the guidance of the same Spirit; so that, though different subjects (*principia*, probably the same as στοιχεῖα, heads of doctrine) may be treated of in the different Gospels, this matters nothing to the faith of believers, since, in reality, *all proceed from the same Divine Spirit*. It would be hard to express more clearly belief in the inspiration of our four Gospels than it is expressed here. The last lines that I

[1] Those who desire to do so for themselves will find much valuable help in Cornely's *Introd.*, vol. i., pp. 168-173; in Westcott's *Canon of the New Testament*, Appendix C; and in Dr. Tregelles' work on the subject (Oxford, 1867).

have quoted, 73-80, are deserving of note too, not only because they serve to fix the date of the Fragment, but also because they show how the early Church would have regarded later works, such as our adversaries hold the Gospels to be. It would seem that there was a disposition on the part of some to set the Pastor, or Shepherd of Hermas on the same level with the writings of the New Testament. Against these the Fragment declares that it is a recent work, and, *therefore*, though it may be read for edification, it can never, till the end of time, be publicly received in the Church, whether among the prophets, whose number was already complete, or among the Apostles; that is, neither in the Old Testament nor in the New.

The next witness that I will cite is Tatian the Assyrian. Tatian was at first a pagan, then a Christian and a disciple of Justin Martyr, and, lastly, a heretic. It is generally held that his works were written during the third quarter of the second century. Now, Tatian, among other works, composed a *Harmony of the Four Gospels*, or rather a compilation based upon them. Eusebius refers to the work: 'Tatian,' he says, 'the former leader of the Encratites, having put together, in some strange fashion, a combination and collection of the Gospels, gave this the name of the *Diatessaron*, and the work is still partially current.'[1] From the way in which Eusebius speaks it is plain that he considered the *Diatessaron* (διὰ τεσσάρων, the Gospel by the four) to be based on the four Gospels received in his time; and these, I need hardly add, were unquestionably the same four that we have now. Till recently the work of Tatian was known only through a commentary on it by St. Ephrem; but in 1883 an Arabic translation of the original work, which was in Syriac, was discovered in the Vatican Library by Father Ciasca, O.S.A. This, together with a Latin translation of it, was published by Father Ciasca, in 1888, as a present for the jubilee of our Holy Father Leo XIII. As I have already indicated, the work is an attempt to compile a life of our Lord from the

[1] *Eccl. Hist.*, iv. 29

four Gospels. It begins with the prologue of St. John's Gospel regarding the Word's eternity; then takes up the first chapter of St. Luke; and so passes freely from one Gospel to another, evidently regarding all four as of the same authority, and recognising no other. It is worthy of note, too, that it makes use of a part of the last chapter of St. John's Gospel, the genuineness of which has, in modern times, been called into special question. Thus Tatian's evidence in favour of our Gospels, notwithstanding some omissions, is complete and unassailable.[1]

From Tatian I go back to his master, St. Justin Martyr. If the disciple was familiar with our four Gospels, we may expect to find that the master also knew and used them. Justin was of Greek origin, but he was reared in Palestine, in the Roman colony of Flavia Neapolis, near the site of the ancient Sichem, in Samaria. Of the many writings attributed to him, three are admitted by all to be undoubtedly genuine—the two Apologies, and the Dialogue with the Jew, Tryphon. All these were written probably not later than the year 150. After a careful examination of all the evidence, Dr. Hort concludes that—

> We may, without fear of considerable error, set down Justin's first Apology to 145, or, better still, to 146, and his death to 148. The second Apology, if really separate from the first, will then fall in 146 or 147, and the Dialogue with Tryphon about the same time.[2]

Now, let us inquire what evidence these three works, written before the middle of the second century, afford in favour of our four Gospels. I shall begin by stating what all, even the most advanced Rationalists, admit.

In the first place, Justin knew the substance of our Gospels, wherever he may have found it, for he refers to all the chief incidents of our Lord's life, and to most of His discourses, at least as recorded in the Synoptic Gospels. In the second place, he tells us that he had written sources on

[1] Harnack, in his *History of Dogma*, vol. ii., p. 42, says: 'He (Tatian) was the first in whom we find the Gospel of St. John alongside of the Synoptists, and these four the only ones recognised.'

[2] *Journal of Class. and Sacr. Philology*, iii. 139.

which he relied in his accounts of our Lord's life. In the third place, he calls these written sources: The Memoirs of the Apostles (τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων),[1] and says that they were written by Apostles and by those who followed them: a description which suits exactly our four Gospels, two of which were written by the Apostles Matthew and John, and two by the disciples Mark and Luke. In the fourth place, he tells us that these Memoirs of the Apostles were read on Sundays in the liturgical assemblies of Christians :—

> And on the day called Sunday (τῇ τοῦ Ἡλίου λεγομένῃ ἡμέρᾳ), he says, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the Memoirs of the Apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, he that presides verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things.[2]

Now, surely, we are entitled to ask what became of the Memoirs of the Apostles, which were honoured side by side with the Prophets of the Old Testament in the days of Justin, if they are not the same Gospels that were everywhere known and recognised less than fifty years after, in the days of Irenæus, Clement, and Tertullian? If they were different what became of them? Can there be any reasonable doubt that they were our present four Gospels, seeing that these were, as we have shown, everywhere received and honoured in the Church in less than fifty years afterwards? Lastly, let me give an idea of the extent to which Justin was acquainted with the substance of our Gospels. I will do so by quoting the exhaustive summary of Westcott, regarding our Lord's infancy and the last days of His life :—

> He [Justin] tells us. that Christ was descended from Abraham through Jacob, Judah, Phares, Jesse, and David: that the angel Gabriel was sent to foretell His birth to the Virgin Mary: that this was a fulfilment of the prophecy of Isaiah (vii. 14) : that Joseph was forbidden in a vision to put away his espoused wife, when he was so minded : that our Saviour's birth at Bethlehem

[1] Ap. I., chaps. 66, 67; Dial. chaps 100, 101, 103, 104, &c.
[2] Ap. I., ch. 67.

had been foretold by Micah: that His parents went thither from Nazareth, where they dwelt, in consequence of the enrolment under Cyrenius: that as they could not find a lodging in the village they lodged in a cave close by it, where Christ was born, and laid by Mary in a manger: that while there wise men from Arabia, guided by a star, worshipped Him, and offered Him gold, and frankincense, and myrrh, and by revelation were commanded not to return to Herod, to whom they had first come: that He was called Jesus as the Saviour of His people: that by the command of God, His parents fled with Him to Egypt, for fear of Herod, and remained there till Archelaus succeeded him: that Herod being deceived by the wise men commanded the children of Bethlehem to be put to death, so that the prophecy of Jeremiah was fulfilled, who spoke of Rachel weeping for her children: that Jesus grew after the common manner of men, working as a carpenter, and so waited in obscurity thirty years, more or less, till the coming of John the Baptist. . . .

Then he narrates Christ's triumphal entry into Jerusalem from Bethphage, as a fulfilment of prophecy; the (second) cleansing of the Temple; the conspiracy against Him; the singing of the Psalm afterwards; the Agony at night on the Mount of Olives, at which three of His disciples were present; the prayer; the bloody sweat; the arrest: the flight of the Apostles: the silence before Pilate; the remand to Herod; the Crucifixion; the division of Christ's raiment by lot; the signs and words of mockery of the bystanders; the cry of sorrow; the last words of resignation; the burial on the evening of the day of the Passion; the resurrection on Sunday; the appearance to the Apostles and disciples, how Christ opened to them the Scriptures; the calumnies of the Jews; the commission to the Apostles; the ascension.[1]

This summary, I hope, proves abundantly that the sources used by Justin told substantially the same story that is told in our four Gospels; equally implied a belief in the supernatural; and were therefore equally incompatible with the views of Rationalists.

J. MacRory, D.D.

To be continued.

[1] Westc., *Canon of the New Testament*, 7th ed., pp. 104, 105, 107.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

INTERPRETATION OF FACULTY TO DISPENSE.

Rev. Dear Sir,—Will you kindly reply to the following question in an early issue of the I. E. Record, and so help to settle a dispute among certain theologians and canonists of whom your humble servant is one. When a bishop gives 'to all the confessors of his diocese' the faculty or privilege of granting certain dispensations, can priests use this faculty in the tribunal of penance only, or can they use it outside the tribunal?

A Munster Priest.

A faculty to dispense granted by a bishop to the confessors of his diocese may, we think, be used outside the tribunal of penance. For in the first place the natural interpretation of the bishop's words is that, by the expression 'confessors' or 'approved confessors' of his diocese, he merely wishes to define the class of persons to whom he grants the faculty to dispense. Now a priest who habitually has the faculties of a diocese is a 'confessor' or 'approved confessor' of that diocese, even when he is not actually engaged in hearing confessions. It follows, therefore, from the terms of the bishop's concession that such a priest can exercise the faculty to dispense outside the tribunal of Penance.

But, moreover, it is an accepted principle of Canon Law, that a *general* faculty to dispense—as distinct from the dispensation itself or from the faculty to dispense in a particular case—is *latae interpretationis*. So that, even though it may be contended that by the expression 'confessor' or 'approved confessor,' the bishop seems to have had in mind to grant the faculty to dispense to priests only while in the actual exercise of their jurisdiction in the Sacrament of Penance, it must be admitted, we think, that the interpretation given above is, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, also reasonable and admissible. If so, seeing that the faculty is *latae interpretationis*, we may still hold that a priest can exercise his dispensing faculty outside the tribunal of Penance.

It will, perhaps, be sufficient to quote Marc's opinion in support of our response: 'Potestas dispensandi,' he writes, 'etiam delegata cum sit bono publico favorabilis late interpretanda est' (vol. i., n. 242). Again, 'Qui habet privilegium *pro foro Poenitentiae* . . . valde probabiliter eo uti potest etiam, *extra Sacramentum* etiamsi facultas concepta esset his terminis "sacerdoti confessario." Haec enim verba stricte denotant sacerdotem pro confessione approbatum non autem audientem confessiones' (n. 251).

ARE THE CHILDREN OF HERETICS IRREGULAR?

Rev. Dear Sir,—Does the son of a Protestant in Ireland require a dispensation from his bishop in order to receive Holy Orders? Is the same true of more distant descendants of Protestant parents?

Conversus.

1. Heresy entails an irregularity not only on heretics themselves, but also within certain limits on their descendants. Moreover, the irregularity arises for children, even though only one of the parents be a heretic.

2. The irregularity ceases for children if the heretical parent be converted.

3. If the father be a heretic the irregularity extends to children and grandchildren; if the mother only be a heretic, to children only.

4. Heretics in this connection are those who have been born in a heretical or schismatical sect, and those who have left the Catholic Church and joined such a sect;[1] also, heretics, who having been personally excommunicated and denounced, fail to make their submission within a year.

5. All such persons and their descendants, with the limits above stated, are prohibited from receiving not merely Holy Orders but minor orders, and even tonsure.

6. Bishops cannot, unless in virtue of special faculties, give a dispensation in this irregularity.

7. A dispensation is necessary, even in this and other such countries where heresy widely prevails.

D. Mannix.

[1] Children born before the apostacy of their parents do not become irregular by reason of that apostacy.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE ABBOT OF MONTE CASSINO

LEO XIII. BENEDICTINOS NIGROS LAUDAT, DATQUE 25000 LIB. ITAL. PRO EXORNANDO S. BENEDICTI SEPULCHRO. EPISTOLA DILECTO FILIO BONIFACIO M. KRUG ABBATI CASSINENSI

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Monachorum coetus, qui nomen a Benedicto auctore unaque cum sanctissimis legibus miram, in hominum utilitatem, agendi perpetiendique vim mutuavit; is plene est, qui diuturno saeculorum spatio optime de religione veraque humanitate est meritus. Quam nos laudum praeteritarum gloriam reputantes certumque habentes eadem ex Benedictinorum opera, aetati nostrae commoda comparari posse, quam sunt prioribus allata; eos peculiari caritate amplexi, antiquae amplitudini restituendos suscepimus, neque ideo patrono alio uti fruique, quam Nobis ipsis voluimus. Quum autem veteris dignitatis memoriam repetimus, convertitur sponte animus ad Cassinense Coenobium; ubi Ordo vester maxime floruit totque insignes viri in publicae religiosaeque rei utilitatem formati sunt. Quam ob causam decere visum est, ut qui argumentis aliis voluntatem Nostram in Benedictinos sodales, pontificia largitate, testati sumus; aliquod in Cassinensi Coenobio caritatis Nostrae monumentum extare decerneremus. Cum igitur comperissemus eo nunc curas vestras animosque intentos ut cellam ac tumulum, quae sancti Conditoris vestri exuviis honestantur, splendidiore cultu exornetis; placet in eam rem symbolam quoque Nostram conferre. Damus ergo adtribuimus XXV millia nummum libellarum italicarum: eamque summam ad vos tradidimus perferendam dilecto Filio Nostro Francisco Satolli S.R.E.Cardinali, cuius religionem in sepulcrum Benedicti patris factis probatam non ignoramus. Ex auctis vero sancto Conditori vestro honoribus id plane futurum confidimus, ut exempla eius ac documenta egregia id dies magis ad commune bonum apud alumnos valeant vigeantque. Idque ut cedat divinorum munerum ubertas faxit; quorum auspicem esse volumus Apostolicam benedictionem, quam

tibi, dilecte fili, monachis Cassinatibus universoque Ordini amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die IX Martii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

LETTER OF POPE LEO XIII. TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH

EPISTOLA DILECTIS FILIIS PRAESIDIBUS COMITATUUM OPERIS A PROPAGATIONE FIDEI. LUGDUNI ET PARISIIS

LEO PP XIII.

DILECTI FILII, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM

Ad venerandas insignesque Orientis Ecclesias vix dum, Deo Nobis provide praebente initia, animum adhibuimus, strenuos vos adiutores consilii Nostri experti sumus, praesidiis, quae ad apostolicas alendas Missiones undique conferuntur, large satis in Orientalium utilitatem derivatis. Voluntatem hanc vestram utpote quae Nobis grata cumque votis Nostris coniuncta, frequenti quidem meritaque commendatione prosequuti libenter sumus. Eam autem non imminutam profecto, quin immo auctam vestrae nuper litterae demonstraverunt, Nobis quam quae maxime acceptae. Iis namque nuntiabatis, largius catholicorum liberalitate in Institutum vestrum influente, copiosiorem vos Nobis in Orientalium emolumentum hoc anno subministrare opem, largioremque adhuc futuro tempore subministraturos, si spem, quam de fidelium liberalitate coepistis, non fallat exitus. Id vobis ut cedat vehementer optamus, nimium enim refert ut ea praestentur quae orientalium bono ecclesiarum constituimus. Habetote igitur grati benevolentisque a Nobis animi testimonium. Divinarum autem gratiarum auspex sit Apostolica benedicto, quam vobis, dilecti filii, et comitatibus, quibus praeestis amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXI Martii MDCCCXCVIII, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo primo.

LEO PP. XIII.

BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF THE VENERABLE CAESARE SPORTELLI, C.SS.R.

DECRETUM NUCERINA PAGANORUM BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS VEN. SERVI DEI CAESARIS SPORTELLI SACERDOTIS PROFESSI E CONGREGATIONE SSMI REDEMPTORIS

Sancto et Apostolico viro Alphonso Mariae de Ligorio quem cum sua religiosa familia in Ecclesiae praesidium et incrementum Deus Optimus Maximus opportuno tempore excitavit, praecipuum adiutorem atque alterum veluti auctorem Congregationis Ssmi. Redemptoris divina Providentia adiunxit Servum Dei P. Caesarem Sportelli. Hic, die 19 Iunii anno 1701 Mola Bariensi natus ex piis honestisque parentibus Bernardino et Barbara Pavia, inde a pueritia mitem et ad sacra proclivem praetulit indolem. Annum decimum sextum aetatis agens Neapoli humanioribus et severioribus disciplinis sedulam dedit operam laude et praemio pluries cohonestatem. Eximii sacerdotis Falcoia e Piis Operariis, postea Episcopi Stabiensis, usus est consilio, cuius etiam regimini in spiritualibus se totum subiecit. Emenso utriusque iuris curriculo, inter Doctores et Advocatos Neapolitanae Curiae relatus est; atque in agendis causis egenorum rationes libentius suscipiebat tuendas opera et impensis suis. Erudiendis educandisque puellis prospicere cupiens, a sua genitrice adiutus Institutum Piarum Magistrarum Roma Neapolim deduxit. Adhuc laicus quasi angelus consolator publica valetudinaria frequenter adibat, et suae pietati indulgens plures horas in templo coram Ssmo. Eucharistiae Sacramento vel ante Deiparae Virginis imaginem devote insumebat. Meliora aemulatus charismata, persequi statuit vestigia Beati Alphonsi de Ligorio qui forensi curia relicta et clericali militiae adscriptus iam prima Congregationis Ssmi. Redemptoris iecerat fundamenta. Eidem libentissime se dedit comitem anno aetatis suae trigesimosecundo, atque in eius fide iugiter mansit, peculiarem finem pro viribus tuendo novae Congregationi a legifero patre praestitutum, sacrarum missionum. Sacerdotio insignitus a praelaudato Falcoia, qui ad Episcopalem sedem Stabiensem iam fuerat evectus, iisdem sacris missionibus constanter adlaboravit. Hisce aliisque inspectis, ipsomet S. Alphonso imperante plurium domorum rector et universae Congregationis a consiliis fuit. Tandem infirmitatibus et laboribus fractus, imminentem obitum praesentiens, extrema Ecclesiae sacramenta recepit, atque elatis in caelum oculis piissimam animam Deo reddidit die 19 Aprilis anno 1750 in Festo Patro-

cinii S. Ioseph Sponsi B. M. V. Eius sanctitatis fama in vita et post mortem celebrata atque in dies magis clara et perdurans pluribus confirmata est attestationibus tum iudicialibus per Ordinarium Processum Nucerinum Paganorum super ea constructum, tum extraiudicialibus per litteras postulatorias complurium Rmorum. Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, cleri et populi Nucerini, atque ipsius Rmi. P. Matthiae Raus, Rectoris Maioris Instituti Ssmi. Redemptoris, de Causa beatificationis et canonizationis huius Servi Dei rite introducenda. Quibus omnibus a Rmo. P. Claudio Benedetti eiusdem Instituti Postulatore Generali ad Sacram Rituum Congregationem delatis, Emus. et Rmus. Dnus. Cardinalis Hieronymus Gotti huius Causae Relator, in Ordinariis Comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit: 'An sit signanda Commissio Introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur?' Porro Emi. et Rmi. Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, omnibus mature perpensis, auditoque voce et scripto R. P. D. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, rescribendum censuerunt: 'Affirmative seu Commissionem esse signandam, si Sanctissimo placuerit.' Die 28 Novembris 1899.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII per infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitas Sua Rescriptum Sacrae ipsius Congregationis ratum habens, propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Venerabilis Servi Dei Caesaris Sportelli, sacerdotis professi e Congregatione Ssmi. Redemptoris, die quarta Decembris eodem anno.

C. Ep. Praenestinus Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praefectus.*
L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

A University for Catholics, in Relation to the Material Interests of Ireland. By Edward Thomas, Bishop of Limerick. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 2, Lower Abbey-street. Price 6*d.*

This first pamphlet of the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' gives us more hope for the settlement of the University question than all the debates in Parliament that have taken place during the past five years. The Bishop of Limerick has brought home to the door of every Irish homestead the conviction of injustice and wrong from which the whole country suffers. He has made clear what had hitherto been only dimly seen by the masses, that the University question is a practical question for every farmer, every shopkeeper, every artisan and labourer in Ireland.

As the pamphlet has only just come into our hands, we can not do more than express our appreciation of the great and practical service Dr. O'Dwyer has rendered to the cause of faith and fatherland by this simple and popular statement of Ireland's grievance. We trust that the pamphlet will be scattered broadcast through the country, and that it will find its way into every home in the land. When the first edition is exhausted, as no doubt it will be very soon, we trust that the 'Catholic Truth Society' will find it possible to issue it for half, or even less than half, its present price. The Society has made a good beginning, and deserves to be congratulated on this first result of its zeal. Its efforts to circulate good Catholic literature will be followed with interest and sympathy by the whole country; and, assuredly a great and blessed work lies before it, and a great reward is in store for those who, directly or indirectly, give it a helping hand.

Leaves from St. Augustine. By Mary Allies. Edited by T. W. Allies. London: R. & T. Washbourne, 18, Paternoster-row. Price, 5*s.*

Anthologies, Dr. Garnett tells us, are the order of the day. Abridgments of all that has been said and written in every department of knowledge are in growing demand in the world

of letters. And the explanation obviously lies in the fact that a veritable forest of literature has grown around every subject under the sun. If we roam at will through one of those forests we shall infallibly get entangled in the brushwood and the saplings. 'A pathless immensity stretching' to the skies, away 'beyond our vision and beyond our reach,' can never be traversed by a single explorer much less by an unsophisticated wanderer. If we hope to derive any benefit whatever from our reading, we must husband our efforts for what is indispensable in the wisdom of all the ages. We have no time to spare for mediocrities, even though good, and *a fortiori* none to waste on bookmaker's prattle.

These remarks apply with all their force to the literary remains of the early Christian Church. If anyone doubts the vast range and extent of patriotic literature, a glance of Migne's catalogue of three or four hundred volumes will speedily disillusion him. A lifetime could never master them. When a scholar of Mr. Allies' great learning and wide experience declares that a heart of oak, cased in triple brass, is needed for her who set her frail bark to traverse the ocean of St. Augustine, and to give in the compass of a small volume a notion of the beauty, the vastness, the proportion, and the grandeur of that master-mind, we may safely conclude that a random attempt to read all the writings of all the fathers would leave as slight a mark behind as the foam that gathers round the keel of a passing boat.

And yet it behoves every student of our Christian heritage to know something of those inspiring teachers. The historical aspect of theology becoming more and more important every day, can be gleaned only from their writings. The capacity of Christian doctrines to develop is a secret not to be learned in the schools; our highest authorities and most trusted leaders tell us it is to be sought out in the fathers. We know that the full bearing of any doctrine, its many-sided significance, its active, living force, its ramification into other parts of the sacred sciences, are not to be met with in our scholastic handbooks. And we feel, when we come to express our ecclesiastical knowledge in words, that the stereotyped propositions laid down, explained, proved, and defended in the manuals to which we have been accustomed, are bald, lifeless, circumscribed formulas when compared with the selfsame truths set forth in the glory of a scholar's

style. How many of us read the sermons of Cardinals Manning and Newman without realizing for a long time that the lessons they inculcate are identical with our own collection of eternal verities? Whence comes the difference? From many sources, doubtless. Still, there has scarcely ever been a Catholic preacher or apologist who did not acknowledge that much, if not most, of his power, came from the perusal of the fathers of the church.

For the reasons we have thus glanced at we are glad to meet a book like that of Miss Allies. The honoured name she bears is proof positive of its worth. It would be impossible to find a more intelligent or sympathetic guide to St. Augustine. She reveals to us the intellect, the will, and the heart of the great, good bishop. Robert Browning once said that the highest object of human genius was the revelation of a human soul. Here we have the revelation, not of an ordinary human soul, but of the soul of a saint, a hero, a leader of men! We have derived genuine pleasure from the reading of these 'Leaves.' They prove how simple and intelligible St. Augustine is—without the commentators. And they make us look in wonder for the cause of all the controversy that has gathered round his name.

E. N.

Veneration of the Blessed Virgin. By Rev. B. Bohnes, O.S.A. New York: Benziger Brothers. $1 25.

It is consoling to Catholics, in the midst of all the wild writing they have had to read of late, to find so many genuine tributes to the Immaculate Mother of God from across the Atlantic. Devotion to the Blessed Virgin is one of the surest tests of a loyal Catholic heart; and if it had a firm hold upon the convictions and the affections of all our writers and speakers there can be little doubt that the storm which some seated in high places have sought to raise against authority and against the brethren, would never have offended pious ears. In the pages of the I. E. Record many edifying treatises on our Lady, coming from our American friends, have been reviewed within recent years: it is but a short time since the writer of this notice wished God-speed to an *Ave Maria* reprint in defence of the glorious prerogatives of Mary. The present work is the latest addition to the series, and to it, as to its predecessors, we extend a hearty welcome.

The Veneration of the Blessed Virgin is not a volume of sermons on the Mother of God. In fact, it contains very little by way of direct exhortation; but it imparts an amount of most useful information that could be woven, with the best results, into the texture of our pulpit discourses. It is quite an easy matter to talk vaguely and with a sort of high-sounding eloquence of the height and depth and immensity of Mary's gifts and graces. Given the most elementary grasp of the dogmas of our faith in her regard, and presupposing the characteristic word power of our countrymen, a priest with but slight practice in public speaking, could hold forth on the subject longer than his congregation would be willing to listen. Such, however, is not the class of preaching that tells in the long run. Solid instruction in dogmatic truths, and the facts of sacred history, must always be the ground-work of the spiritual edifice. In this, as in other matters, we long for facts; something tangible, something that will rivet our attention and remain fixed in our memories; and in this respect the present book will prove eminently useful.

It sets forth clearly the nature of our devotion to the Mother of God. It shows what kind of veneration has been paid her by the Church. It deals with the reasons why we should be devout to her. It traces the origin and growth of the devotion to her from her own lifetime to the present day. It explains the meaning of, and locates historically, every festival instituted in her honour. The place her titles and dignities held, in the early years of Christianity, in the writings of the fathers, even before the Council of Ephesus, the homage rendered her by architecture, painting, sculpture, music and poetry, are all touched upon. The space allotted to these latter very interesting questions is disappointingly meagre; but, considering the fact that the author addresses himself not to a cultured audience solely, or even primarily, the limitation is defensible. Many things are said, and said well, on the Litany of Loretto, the Holy Rosary, the Golden Crown, the Miraculous Medal of the Immaculate Conception, the 'Memorare,' the 'Salve Regina,' and the 'Angelus.' The reflections on the latter beautiful prayer are touching and thought-inspiring. Familiarity is so apt to beget, if not contempt, at least indifference, that it is well to be reminded of the profound meaning attaching to the hallowed words we all utter three times a day. A few chapters on the honour given to Mary by the

religious orders, especially by those closely connected with her in name and duties, and an account of the spread of devotion to her in America, bring this commendable work to a close.

THE REACTION FROM AGNOSTIC SCIENCE. By Rev. W. J. Madden. Freiburg: Herder.

A PLEASANT racy refutation of agnostic science. This is the second edition within one year, a fact which speaks eloquently for the worth of the book. We should be inclined to find fault with the author for having dealt so briefly with far-reaching difficulties, were it not that an honest statement of his purpose in the Preface disarms any such criticism. 'It is a short book. I have purposely kept it short. In a busy age it will have a better chance of being read.' Yes, and of being remembered. A learned refutation of agnosticism would necessitate a ponderous volume of facts and figures and Johnsonian argumentation which the masses for whom Father Madden writes, would not think of opening. Father Lambert, in his slender 'Notes on Ingersoll,' covered as much ground as the present writer. Yet, where is the director of souls in America or England who does not know the value of that famous pamphlet? A like career of usefulness may be before *The Reaction from Agnosticism*. It presents our teaching in a very readable, spicy style; it is filled with a sound Catholic spirit, and it leaves a decidedly enjoyable impression on the mind of the reader. The author's humour breaks out now and again into a phrase or expression, whose happy sarcasm makes us lay down the book to laugh. The poor toiler who returns to his home in the evening, after the burden of the day and the heats at the factory or in the mine, will find both recreation and instruction in these pages. They will supply him with answers to the objections raised by his sceptical companions, and they will afford him agreeable entertainment as well.

E. N.

CHRISTIAN EDUCATION; OR, THE DUTIES OF PARENTS. By Rev. William Becker, S.J. Freiburg: B. Herder. 5*s*.

IF the perennial importance of a subject to the Church and to the world is to be measured by the frequency and the constancy with which it is brought before the public, then, surely, the Education Question must have paramount claims on the time

and attention of the human race. In every shape and form it is brought before us and kept before us unremittingly. Every *dilettanti* theorist takes care to give us the benefit of his views on the subject, and the more peculiar these views are the louder is the wail he raises against existing institutions. The quarterlies, the monthlies, the weeklies, and even the dailies, harp upon the same string, and wake therefrom the most hopeless dissonance. 'Impressions' and 'practical conclusions,' the most confusing and contradictory, are gravely proclaimed by neo-evangelists from the housetops of the press—all for the edification, the culture, the elevation of poor, ignorant, stupid 'humanity' beneath! What with the voice of truth left crying in the wilderness, it is little wonder that we are tired of the polemical aspects of the Education Question.

But this book has nothing to do with controversy. It leaves all that severely alone. It assumes as first principles the teaching of the Church upon her own claims upon the rights of parents, and upon the needs of the state. It has to do with the moral side of the subject. It shows how parents are to bring up their children in the fear and love of God.

And a very thorough treatise on the duties of parents it is. Starting with the belief that all the efforts of pastors will be unavailing if not seconded by home influences, he proceeds to lay down the rules by which, in the first place, the child is made a good, capable citizen: and, in the second place—what is far more important—how his eternal destiny is to be safeguarded. In clear, catechetical form he develops this main idea, devoting eight sermons to the temporal concerns of the child, and the remainder to the spiritual. He lays great stress on the proper grounding of the little ones in their faith; on the removal of temptations and dangers as far as may be; on unceasing vigilance for their moral safety; on judicious punishment when necessary, and on good example. He never minces his words in denunciation of parental shortcomings. He deals fearlessly with the dangers that beset youth; sometimes, it is true, entering into details not of practical interest here in Ireland, but always earnest and striking. We must admit that we are inclined to agree with some of the author's critics in thinking that the discourses seem somewhat out of keeping with the dignity of the pulpit. Nor are we disposed to limit our animadversion to any isolated passages. Through the most of them we find a tendency

to descend to *minutiæ*, of real consequence in themselves, but sounding slightly grotesque when coming from the preacher of God's word. At the same time, we are fully prepared to concede that our objection may seem squeamish to American frankness. And, of course, now that the sermons are in cold print, they are to be treated as constituting a book to be read. Under the latter aspect, we have nothing but praise for the work, and wish it a wide circulation.

ADOREMUS. 100 Cantica Sacra ad tres voces aequales (C. I., II., et A. vel T. I., II., et B.). Edidit. Fr. Hamma, Op. 23. Ratisbon : Martin Cohen, 1899.

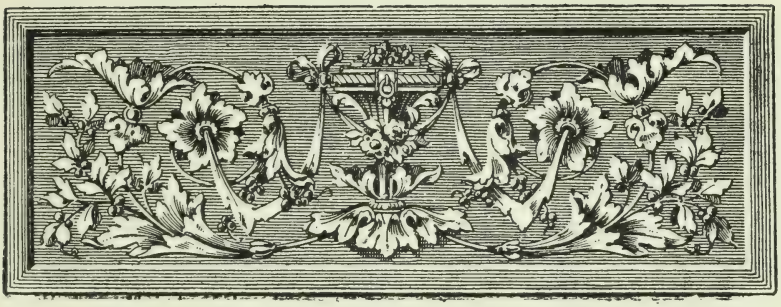
AN unpretending collection of simple settings for three equal voices. The compositions are mostly by the editor, partly by other composers of good name. The style is popular, with melodies more or less 'catchy,' though, on the whole, sufficiently choice to deserve recommendation. Separate voice parts are not issued, but the cheap price of the large collection makes the provision of copies for the singers a matter of small moment.

H. B.

AULA CANTORUM. 80 Cantica Sacra ad quatuor voces aequales (Ten. I., II., et Bass. I., II.). Pro totius anni Temporibus edidit. Fr. Hamma, Op. 24. Ratisbon, Martin Cohen.

To this collection of chants for four male voices the same remark apply as to the preceding collection

H. B.



EARLY NATIONAL SYNODS IN IRELAND

I.—INTRODUCTORY

BENEDICT XIV., confessedly the highest authority on the subject, adopts the common division of councils or synods into four classes; that is, general or œcumenical, national, provincial, and diocesan; and he describes the national synod as that in which the archbishops and bishops of a single kingdom or nation assemble together under the presidency of a patriarch or primate.[1] 'Such a national synod has sometimes,' he adds, 'been called universal, because it embodies the whole episcopacy of the nation;' and so early as the year 418 an African synod was called plenary in the same sense, as including a *full* representation of the *entire* African Church, or, as St. Augustine called it, 'Synodus plenaria totius Africae.' Such a synod usually includes the metropolitans and suffragans of several provinces, and hence has been called a 'synodus comprovincialis,' which seems to imply that in its essence it is still provincial, though consisting of the episcopal representatives of many provinces.

The term 'plenary' is that which is most in use at the present time, and has been officially applied to the Council of Maynooth, of Westminster, and of Baltimore. The

[1] Strictly speaking, there is no 'primacy' where there are no subordinate metropolitans. There may, however, be an archbishop who has no suffragans; but he cannot be regarded as a metropolitan, except, perhaps, in *posse*.

term 'national,' when applied to synods or churches, is not viewed with much favour in Rome. It seems to imply a distinct national or primatial jurisdiction, which hardly exists any longer in the strict sense of the term; and it is, moreover, apt to beget the idea of individuality and distinction rather than of absolute unity and conformity. National peculiarities will, no doubt, always exist in the Church; but the policy of its chief rulers has always been to promote, as far as possible, unity of government, of ritual, and of discipline throughout the world.

The subjection of national and provincial synods to the supreme authority of the Pope has been recognised from the beginning of the Church's history. It is not necessary to prove here that such subjection is involved in the very idea of the primacy of the Pope; for, if he is the Supreme Pastor and Doctor of the Universal Church, his jurisdiction extends to the laws and customs regulating the holding of synods, which are the living expression of the manifold spiritual energy of the Church. If these synods are not *de jure divino* in the strict and formal sense of the word, they are certainly *secundum jus divinum;* they are the natural and necessary outcome of the divine constitution of the Church; and the vigilance of the Supreme Pastor is nowhere more necessary than in promoting, regulating, and reviewing the action of those assemblies, which exercise so powerful an influence over the whole spiritual life both of the clergy and of the people.

The right of the Pope, therefore, to intervene directly, or by his legates, in the convocation and celebration of plenary and provincial synods, so far as he deems it necessary or useful, cannot be questioned. Of course, the legislation of the Church regulating this intervention has varied at different periods. Certain general principles, however, have been always recognised and acted upon, although the specific legislation has varied at different times. Thus the principle that '*Causae Majores*' were reserved to the Holy See has always been admitted, although there has been great diversity of practice in determining what the *Causae Majores* were. Another principle universally recognised

was, the right of appeal to the Pope from the judgment of any plenary or provincial synod, and such appeals have been made from the beginning of the Church's history. A third law, of strict and universal obligation, at least since the Bull of Sixtus V., requires that the decrees of all provincial synods shall, before publication, be transmitted to Rome, to be reviewed by the Holy See. If published without the review and sanction of the Holy See, they are altogether null and void, and have no force, even as diocesan laws.

Our present purpose is to show that the most important of these general principles were recognised and acted upon in our Irish Church from the very beginning, although for many ages Ireland might fairly be described, with reference to Rome, as one of the most remote countries in the world, situated, as Patrick himself describes it, 'at the very ends of the earth.' No doubt, the documents connected with the earliest period of the history of our Irish Church are very meagre; still, quite enough remains to show that in all its main features its discipline was identical with the discipline of the fifth century throughout all the churches of the West. The very keenness of the disputes about the form of the tonsure and the Paschal question only places the general uniformity of discipline in a clearer light.

The anxiety of our national apostle, though 'placed at the ends of the earth,' to keep in touch with Rome, is strikingly illustrated by one incident in his history which deserves more attention than it has usually received.

Under date of A.D. 441, the Annals of Ulster state:— 'Leo ordained 42nd Bishop of the Church of Rome; and Patrick the Bishop was approved in the Catholic faith.' This entry has puzzled Protestant writers; but its meaning is very clear to those acquainted with Catholic discipline.

Pope Leo the Great was consecrated on September 22, A.D. 440; but news of his elevation to the papal throne could scarcely reach Ireland before the beginning of the next year. Patrick was at that time preaching in the West of Ireland; and, in accordance with his custom, he was keeping the Lent at Croaghpatrick, in the county Mayo, when the news of the elevation of the new Pope reached

him. He at once despatched, from Cruachan Aigle, Muinis (his nephew), 'with counsel unto the Abbot of Rome, and relics were given to him there.'[1] That is, he sent Muinis to Rome to pay homage in his name to the new Pope, to give an account of his Irish mission, to ask the Pontiff's counsel in his difficulties, and to beg a supply of relics for the consecration of the new churches which he was every day founding. We know, too, that Muinis soon returned from Rome, crossing the Shannon at Clonmacnoise, with his case of relics;[2] that he brought the Pontiff's blessing to Patrick, confirming the commission which he had received from Celestine and his successor, to convert the 'Scottish' tribes to the faith of Christ. This is what the annalist means when he tells us that in A.D. 441, 'Patrick was approved in the Catholic faith.'[3] There was no one to 'approve' him but the new Pope, to whom Patrick had sent a special messenger to procure his approbation.

II.—THE SYNOD OF ST. PATRICK

Patrick could not hold a plenary synod in our sense of the word, for there was then, and long after, no archbishop or metropolitan in the country but himself and his comarbs or successors. But he certainly held a general synod, or, if you wish, a metropolitan synod of Ireland. He could not, of course, do this until he had completed his missionary visitation of the whole country, and established his own primatial see in Armagh. This was about the year A.D. 457.[4] The decrees of that synod are still extant, and, in fact, prove their own authenticity by many incidental references to paganism, to slavery, to clerics coming from Britain, to the Brehon Laws—all of which go to show the undoubted authenticity of the decrees of this synod. The heading is: 'Incipit sinodus episcoporum, id ist, Patritii, Auxilii, Issernini;' and, in accordance with Patrick's usual custom

[1] *Rolls Tripartite*, vol. i, p. 84.
[2] *Rolls Tripartite*, p. 85.
[3] *Annals of Ulster*, *loco citato*.
[4] The *Annals of Ulster* place the founding of Armagh in A.D. 444, that is when Patrick first preached in Oriel. He then founded a church on the plain of Macha, but did not found his cathedral on the height of Macha until A.D. 457—thirteen years later.

it begins with an act of thanksgiving: 'Gratias agimus Deo Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto;' and is addressed: 'Presbyteris, et diaconibus et omni clero Patritius, Auxilius Isserninus salutem.'

The absence of the name of Patrick's coadjutor and destined successor, Secundinus, goes to prove that this synod was not celebrated during his life, for he was the first of the Irish bishops to die nearly ten years before.[1] We must not, however, infer from the fact that only three names are mentioned, that there were only three bishops present. We may be sure that Patrick kept the law, and invited all the prelates who could come to be present at the synod, and that a large number were present. But it was not customary then, nor is it necessary even still, that all the prelates present sign their names, or that the decrees should run in the names of all. The celebrated jurist, Fagnanus, says that the decrees of a provincial synod are not attributed to the synod, but to the archbishop,[2] and that the ordinary formula is this: 'Nos Metropolitanus &c., decernimus.' Patrick might have used the same form, and have merely said—'Presbyteris et diaconibus et omni clero Patritius episcopus salutem;' but he adds the names of Auxilius and Isserninus, because they were destined like himself for the Irish mission from the beginning, and had a subordinate commission from Germanus, if not from the Pope himself, to aid Patrick in preaching the Gospel to the Irish. Moreover, having been trained on the Continent, they had acquired some knowledge of the Canon Law, of which the Irish-born prelates trained by St. Patrick himself could have known little or nothing at that time.

The decrees of this synod, as published by Spellman, in 1639, from a manuscript in the Cottonian Library, are incomplete. He gives thirty-four canons according to his own enumeration, which deal entirely with domestic questions concerning the Irish Church. But the large

[1] 'De quo fertur quod ipse primus episcopus sub humo Hiberniae exivit' —A.D. 448.

[2] See Bouix, p. 89.

continental Collection of Irish canons contains a great many decrees not included in Spellman's Collection, some of which are of the highest importance as evidence of the Canon Law of the eighth century, if not all of the time of St. Patrick himself.

It is now impossible to determine where this 'Synod of Patrick' was held. All the national assemblies of ancient Erin were held in some part of the Kingdom of Meath—at Uisnech, Tara, or Teltown (Tailtenn). We know also that the national synods of the twelfth century were nearly all held in Meath, and Adamnan also held his synod at Tara, even after it had ceased to be a royal residence. The presumption, therefore, is that Patrick's synod was held somewhere in Meath, probably at Teltown, for we find a reference in the *Life of St. Bridget* to a synod of clerics held at that place, the date of which would fit in very well with the time of holding this national synod. As Armagh was not founded, at least as the primatial see, before A.D. 457, and as Auxilius, who is said to have been present at the synod, died in A.D. 460, we may fix the date of the synod somewhere in A.D. 458, or 459.

We need not now refer to the canons regarding domestic discipline enacted by this synod. The most important of all was the decree establishing the primacy of Patrick's see at Armagh over all Ireland, and formally recognising, at the same time, the right of appeal to the Pope in the *Causae Majores*. The authenticity of the canon is undoubted, for it is contained not only in the *Codex of Irish Canons*, but also in the *Book of Armagh;* and it is quoted by Cummian, as we shall presently see, in his Letter on the Paschal Question, written probably in A.D. 634. The words of the second part of this canon regarding the appeal to Rome are worth quoting from the text in the *Book of Armagh*.

After declaring that the 'Prelate of Armagh' was to be

[1] Cardinal Moran tells us that the Imperial Library of Paris has two copies of this collection, one of the twelfth, the other of the eighth century. Darmstat has one of the ninth century; St. Gall has another ancient copy; the Vaticellian Archives of Rome have a copy of the tenth century; and the Cottonian Codex has a copy of the eighth century; and a Cambray MSS. has another of the same date. See *Essays*, &c., p. 125.

the judge of appeal, not only in ordinary but even in more difficult causes, it is significantly added:—'Si vero in illa (Cathedra Archiepiscopi Hiberniensium, id est Patricii) cum suis sapientibus causa facile sanari non potest, ad sedem Apostolicam decrevimus esse mittendam, id est, ad Petri apostoli cathedram auctoritatem Romae Urbis habentem.' Rome was thus declared to be the final court of appeal for the *Causae Majores*, in accordance with the general discipline of the Church at the time, as expressly laid down in the General Council of Sardica,[1] which was held more than one hundred years before the Synod of St. Patrick. This decree is attributed in the *Book of Armagh* to Auxilius, Patritius, Secundinus,[2] Benignus, two of whom in succession were coadjutors of St. Patrick, that is, Secundinus and Benignus, and would, therefore, naturally be represented as concurring in the decree; whilst Auxilius, the nephew and co-apostle of St. Patrick, would be added to give further weight to the synodical statute.

It it quite obvious, therefore, from the most ancient documents we possess, that the general practice[3] of referring the *Causae Majores* to the Holy See was a fundamental principle recognised in all the legislation of the early Church of Ireland.

III.—THE SYNOD OF MAGH LENE

But this principle was not merely recognised—it was acted upon. The first 'great cause' that arose in the early Church of Ireland was the famous controversy known as

[1] The Synod of Sardica, held most probably in A.D. 344, formally recognises the right of appeal to Rome in its third, fourth, and fifth canons; but the exercise of the right had long before been recognised in practice, and Pope Victor, so early as the beginning of the third century, claimed the right to decide the Paschal Controversy as one of those 'Causae Majores' that essentially devolved on his Supreme Tribunal.

[2] Secundinus could hardly have been present if the synod were held in 458.

[3] The *Codex Can. Hibern.* gives the general decree (adopted by St. Patrick) as the canon of a Roman Synod. 'Synodus Romana: si in qualibet provincia ortae fuerint questiones et inter clericos dissidentes non conveniant ad majorem sedem referantur'—that is the Apostolic See

Cummian cites it briefly as the decree which enacted that the graver causes should be referred to Rome. 'Juxta mandatum . . . ut si causae fuerint majores *Juxta decretum synodicam* ad caput urbium sint referendae.' See further on for explanation.

the Paschal Question. It is unnecessary here to explain the nature of this controversy, or describe the grave evils and angry passions which it excited even amongst the holiest men in Ireland, as well as in North and South Britain. The evil became so very grave that it was considered desirable to convene a national synod to settle, if possible, the question. But the old jealousy between North and South prevented the assembly of a plenary synod representing all the provinces of Erin. A considerable number of prelates, however, did assemble at Magh Lene, in the year 630, for the discussion of this, as well as of some other important questions; and even the North was not unrepresented, for the Comarb of Ciaran of Clonmacnoise was there, and although his monastery was on the ancient border line, his territory was commonly regarded as a part of the Kingdom of Meath.

What took place at the synod we only know from the letter of St. Cummian of Clonfert to Segienus of Hy; but that letter is one of the most important documents connected with the early Church of Ireland, and affords the most convincing proofs of the recognition of the Papal supremacy by the fathers of that Church.

Bede tells us that Pope Honorius wrote a letter to the 'Scots,' that is the Irish, who, he was informed, had erred on the matter of the observance of Easter, admonishing them to conform themselves in that matter to the observance of the universal Church. This letter was probably written in A.D. 628 or 629. Its immediate consequence was the convocation of this Synod of Campus Lene, as Cummian calls it; that is, the famous plain of Magh Lene, between Tullamore and Clara, on the very border line separating Conn's Half and Mogh's Half, which was the scene of the great battle in which Mogh himself was overthrown by his victorious rival. The synod was probably held at the old church of Templekieran, south of Durrow, rather than in Durrow itself, which was a Columbian monastery, and, therefore, opposed to any change in the ancient discipline.

We cannot say who presided; but as Cummain puts the successor of Ailbe at Emly first, and as the King of Cashel

lived in his diocese, we may fairly infer that he presided in the absence of the Primate, Thomian, who appears to have been adverse to changing the ancient discipline. Cummian states that the fathers of the synod at first resolved to celebrate the Easter of the coming year (631), in accordance with the practice of the universal Church as the Pope had admonished them, for 'our predecessors, as we know from the testimony of competent witnesses, some of whom are still living, but others resting in peace, had commanded us to accept without scruple and in humility the wise decisions brought to us from the fountain of our baptism and learning, and the successors of the Apostles of the Lord;' or, in other words, the Popes. It is important to note how the fathers of the synod, like their fathers before them, recognised Rome, as 'the fountain of their baptism and learning (sapientiae),' and 'the source from which they were to derive sound doctrine (meliora et potiora).' But before leaving, although they had said the final prayer, a certain whitened wall rose up, and, pretending to adhere to the traditions of the elders, refused to accept the decision of the synod directing the celebration of the coming Easter in accordance with the practice of the universal Church.

So, as the synod was now divided on this grave question, nothing remained but to go to the place which the Lord had chosen for a final decision, in accordance with the synodic decree which directed, 'Si causae fuerint majores, ad caput urbium sint referendae.' Here we find Cummian, in the year A.D. 634, quoting this as a synodic decree, and a *mandatum*, as he calls it, coming down to them from their fathers; that is, the synodic decree of the Synod of St. Patrick, to which reference has been already made. This was done; 'they sent to Rome, as to a mother, wise and prudent men in A.D. 631, as it seems, who returned on the third year after departure, that is 633, and told the Irish prelates how they had seen the whole world celebrating the Roman Easter together in the great church of St. Peter; they also carried back with them relics of the saints and martyrs; and we know that there was in them a divine virtue, for with our own eyes we saw a girl wholly blind opening her eyes at

the touch of the relics, and also many demons driven out of the possessed.'[1]

When the Roman messengers returned, a second synod was, it appears, convened at Campus Albus, or Magh Ailbe near Carlow,[2] to receive their report. In this synod it appears that St. Laserian of Leighlin presided, because it was held in his diocese, and he was most likely one of the delegates sent to Rome. The result was that the Roman Easter was received throughout the south of Ireland, and St. Cummian, who tells us himself that he had spent a whole year studying the question, was commissioned to write a letter to the Abbot of Hy, which was the stronghold of the conservatives, setting forth the true doctrine as well as the results of the Roman mission. The letter was not immediately successful in winning over the prelates of the north ; but, as we have said, it is an invaluable monument of the doctrine and the bearing of the primative Church of Ireland. So far as we can judge it was written in A.D. 634.

IV.—ADAMNAN'S SYNOD OF TARA

But neither the synod nor the letter finally settled the Paschal controversy, which for the next sixty years was not only warmly but violently discussed both in Ireland and North Britain. We know that it led to the great conference at Whitby, in A.D. 664, and that Colman of Lindisfarne, with his Irish monks, left his see, and migrated to the stormy island of Innisboffin, off the county Mayo, rather than accept the new discipline advocated by Wilfrid at the conference of Whitby. We are told also that the rival factions went with deadly weapons to the synods, prepared, if necessary, to defend their own opinions at the sacrifice of their lives. Some of the annalists, too, attribute the terrible evils that afflicted the country, towards the close of the seventh century, to the divine vengeance for the crimes arising from the prolongation of the foolish controversy. Adamnan

[1] See Cummian's letter in full in Migne's *Patrol.*, vol. xxxvii., p. 968.

[2] The Campus Albus lay on the right bank of the Barrow, and included the churches of Sletty and Leighlin (see Tripartite Life of St. Patrick), but some writers place it in the south of Kildare.

himself seems inclined to take the same view when he speaks of 'the stupid ingratitude of those who greatly abuse God's patient mercy.'[1] Indeed, Ireland was never more grievously afflicted than during the last decade of the seventh century. There was a cow plague lasting for three years, which carried off the most of the cattle, the chief wealth of the people. There was, as a natural consequence, a famine and plague of man, so that 'man would eat man.'[2] which never happened before in Ireland. The very fruit on the trees was blighted, and there was no food for man or beast. The Britons and Saxons, too, made hostile incursions on the eastern shores, committing slaughter and depredations. The very heavens were filled with portents of dread. 'It rained a shower of blood in Leinster this year (693 *recte*). Butter was also turned there into lumps of gore and blood, so that it was manifest to all in general; and a wolf was heard speaking with a human voice, which was horrible to all.' So the Four Masters tell us. 'It is not good for the land when the clergy are divided,' says an old writer, and it was amply proved then.

But a saviour was at hand in the person of the great Adamnan himself. He broke away from the stupid prejudices of his own monastery of Hy, and resolved at any cost to bring back his fellow-countrymen of the North to the discipline of the Catholic Church. For this purpose he made at least two journeys to Ireland. He came first, it seems, in 692, and spent some three or four years visiting the prelates and churches of the North, with a view to bring them to uniformity of discipline. Then he returned home to his island monastery; but he found his own monks so angry with him, that, according to some authorities, they expelled him from the island; yet he was not to be daunted. Returning to Ireland, in 697, he resolved to convene, at Tara, a great synod which would formally accept the new discipline, both as regards the Roman tonsure and the Easter question. There was no other man at the time who

[1] 'Valde stolidi qui ingrati Dei patientia male abutuntur.'—*Life of St. Columba*, p. 184.

[2] *Chronicon Scotorum*, A.D. 696.

could succeed in gathering such an assembly as Adamnan did, for he was widely known and universally esteemed for his sanctity, his great learning, and his apostolic labours. Loinsech, the High King at the time, belonged to his own tribe of the Cenel Conaill. The Primate, too, seems to have been his friend; and, if we can believe tradition, he wisely chose Tara as the seat of the great *Mordail*, or national assembly, which he induced the King and the Primate to convene on the royal hill, although the kings dwelt there no more. But the Rath of the Synods is still shown at Tara, and the Pavilion of Adamnan, and Adamnan's Cross, and Adamnan's Chair, and Adamnan's Mound, are still remembered in tradition, and are all shown on Petrie's map of Tara. There were present, we are told, thirty-nine ecclesiastics, over whom presided Flann Febla, the Bishop-Abbot of Armagh.[1] But he and Cennfailadh, Abbot of Bangor, seem to be the only prelates from the North present at the synod, so strong was the feeling there in favour of the ancient discipline. But the High King was present also, and forty-seven kings of various territories; so that, on the whole, it was a very imposing assembly. Amongst others present was the famous Muirchu Maccu Machtheni, the author of the 'Life of St. Patrick' in the *Book of Armagh*. Reeves says that the acts of this synod were transcribed from the *Book of Raphoe* by Michael O'Clery, and are still preserved in one of the Irish manuscripts in the Burgundian Library at Brussels. Perhaps they are now in Dublin; but we have not seen them. The leading decrees of the synod, however, are referred to by various writers.

1. First of all, the synod accepted the Roman discipline as regards the tonsure and the Paschal question, which was the primary object of Adamnan. On this point Beda says, though not expressly referring to the synod, that 'Pene omnes, qui ab Hiiensium dominio erant liberi, ab errore avito correctos ad unitatem reduxit (Adamnanus) Catho-

[1] The word *abb* or *abbot*, applied to a prelate at this period in our annals, does not imply that he was not also a bishop. The Pope is frequently called the Abbot of Rome, and St. Patrick himself is called Abbot of All Ireland—*Abb Erinn uile*.

licam, et legitimam paschae tempus observare perdocuit.' So that now all Ireland, except a few still under the influence of Hy, returned to Catholic unity of discipline.

2. He induced the assembly, which, as we have seen, was a mixed one, to sanction and promulgate the 'Law of the Innocents,' as it is called; that is, a law forbidding women to take any part in the bloody battles of the time, and also strictly forbidding the killing of either women or children as non-combatants in battle. And it would appear that this law was to be enforced not only by the temporal authority, but also by the spiritual authorities under penalty of excommunication.

This was, undoubtedly, a great social reform, which even St. Patrick was not able to carry out in his own time, so fiercely vindictive were the passions of the rival tribes in Erin, as the history of all that period clearly shows.

3. A third enactment, according to some authorities made at this synod, is called the Cain Adamnain, or Canon of Adamnan; about which, however, there is much difference of opinion. Some say, like Reeves, that it can hardly be the *Lex Innocentium* itself, but rather appears to have been a fixed tax which the prelates and chiefs freely imposed upon themselves and their people in favour of the monastery of Hy; and, doubtless, also in recognition of the signal services which Adamnan had rendered to the country by his untiring efforts in the cause of Catholic unity. We cannot now discuss the question further, merely observing that this seems to be the most probable explanation of the term. The visitation dues of the Primate were also called the *Lex Patricii*—Patrick's tax. It would appear, too, that a large number of disciplinary decrees, doubtless drawn up by Adamnan from various sources, were formally adopted by this great synod, and became thenceforward what we may call the common law of the Irish Church. In the Collection of Irish Canons, which was certainly published very shortly after this synod, we find constant reference to the decrees of 'the synod' without any further qualification. The learned Cardinal Moran thinks that 'the synod' here referred to is this great Synod of Tara; and we think a careful

examination of the decrees in the Collection will go far to confirm the justice of this view.

Examining this Irish Collection, we find four different kinds of headings made use of by the compilers, who keep them carefully distinct.

1. We find a very considerable number with the mere heading 'Patricius':—before the decree; or 'Patricius dicit;' or 'Patricius ait.'

2. Then we have a second class of decrees quoted with the heading: 'Synodus Hibernensis;' or 'Synodus Hibernensis ait;' or 'Synodus Hibernensis decrevit.'

3. Then there is a third and numerous class of the decrees which bear the heading: Synodus':—or 'Synodus ait;' or 'Synodus dicit;' or 'Synodus decrevit;' and those headings are oftentimes clearly contrasted with those of class 2, so as to show that the references are to different synods.

4. Lastly, there are a number of the decrees not derived from Irish, but from foreign authorities; and in these classes the headings expressly declare the sources from whence they are taken. Thus we have 'Gildas ait,' 'Synodus Cartaginiensis ait,' 'Romani statuunt,' 'Synodus Agathensis,' &c.

Now, it appears quite clear that the decrees of the first class which bear the name of St. Patrick are decrees of the Synod of Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus, to which we have already referred, and are properly and canonically attributed to Patrick, the metropolitan and president of that synod.

We think it highly probable that the second class, which are manifestly of a later date, and are attributed to the 'Synodus Hibernensis,' are the decrees of the Council Magh Ailbe, or the Campus Ailbe, in the county Carlow. For the Synod of Campus Lene, held three years before, was broken up in a hurry; and it is unlikely that the fathers, failing to agree on the Paschal question, would take that opportunity of drawing up a disciplinary code. Whereas, after the return of the Roman delegates, who were, doubtless, commissioned to convene a synod, nothing would

be more likely than that the assembled fathers, having accepted the Roman discipline, would also draw up with their wide knowledge and experience a disciplinary code to meet the wants of the Irish Church. So it came to be known, both at home and abroad, as the 'Synodus Hibernensis' by excellence.

The third class of the decrees, which are attributed to the 'Synod' simply, appear to belong to the great collection sanctioned and published by Adamnan and the Primate in the great Synod of Tara.[1] It seems highly probable that the great Irish Collection of Canon Law, afterwards carried to the Continent and frequently copied there, was compiled at, or shortly after, this great Synod of Tara; and the compilers, whilst carefully separating the decrees of 'Patrick' and of the 'Irish Synod,' would naturally quote their own new decrees as those of 'the synod' which had just been celebrated, and was well known to them all.

We hope to pursue this question on a future occasion.

✠ JOHN HEALY.

[1] Several disciplinary decrees are given in the extracts from the *Codex Can. Hibern.*, published by Martene, as Canones Adamnani. They refer mostly to abstinence 'from blood and from things strangled.' It is highly probable that the *Codex* was first compiled at Iona by Adamnan after the Synod of Tara; then, perhaps, somewhat enlarged there, and carried thence to the Continent by monks of Iona, who fled from the bloody raids of the Danes.

'THE BLACK FRIARY OF TRIM'

IN a previous number of the I. E. RECORD an article appeared on the 'Yellow Steeple' of Trim. Not more than fifty perches from this ancient monument, and quite close to the old church of St. Patrick, and the Athboy Gate, one of the principal fortified entrances to the town in former times, there once stood a stately pile of buildings known as the 'Black Friary.'

Owing to the character of its founder, the princely munificence with which he endowed it, as well as the central position it occupied in the very heart of the rich Palatinate of Meath, this religious house has been justly regarded as one of the most important institutes of the Dominican Order in Ireland. It was founded by Geoffrey de Geneville, Lord of Meath, in the year 1263, and placed under the patronage of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The founder belonged to an ancient Catholic family of Champagne in Normandy, brother of the famous Joan de Geneville or Joinville, the companion and historian of Louis IX., and his faithful comrade in arms throughout all his military expeditions in the East.

In the year 1250 Sir Geoffrey married Maud de Lacy, and through his marriage came into possession of the greater portion of the rich territory of Meath. Soon after his marriage, imitating the example of his illustrious brother, he joined the Crusades, and thirteen years afterwards, on his return from the Holy Land, was appointed Lord 'Justiciar'—or Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and took up his residence in Trim.[1] One of his first works was the building of a house in Trim for the Order of Friars Preachers.

De Burgo tells us that in the year 1756, just before the publication of his book, he paid a special visit to Trim, in order to verify certain statements he had made in reference

[1] *Hib. Dom.*, p. 263.

to the Trim foundation. On his arrival he found all the walls completely levelled; and the stones, he was informed, were sold for a small sum, and used in the building of dwelling houses, stables, boundary walls, and fences, so that when he came on the scene nothing was to be seen, except a few heaps of concrete rubbish—which still remain to mark the spot hallowed by so many interesting memories of the past. A few years before his visit the massive walls were still standing, and from them one could easily form a fair idea of the extent and magnificence of the original building.[1] 'Paucis abhinc annis muros videre erat, licet haud integros tum domus, tum aedium sacrarum, qui antiquae structurae magnificentiam ad oculum demonstrabant. Nuperime autem eo loco versans, paucissima duntaxat deprendere potui rudera, saxa siquidem inde ablata fuerunt et pro alienis fabricis diventita.'

It is quite certain that the entire structure was in existence and in good repair long after the destruction of monastic houses in Ireland. For we find that in the year 1584, Robert Draper, parson of Trim, and afterwards bishop of Ardagh, when sending a memorial 'to the Right Honorable the Lord Burghley, Lord High Treasurer of England,' for a university to be established in Trim, laid special stress on the fact that there was in Trim—

> One greate and large abbey, nothing thereof defaced; but the church and therein greate store of goodly roomes, in meetely good repair; the howse is put to no use, and will, I think, be easily boughte of the owner, Edward Cusack of Lesmollen. The said Edward hath also a fryary, in the said towne, a very fit place for a college, which also may be easily gotten of him. Further your suppliant hath a fryary having stanche and goode walls, for an hall, for foure or five lodginges—a cellar—a kitchen, a place for lectures with a pleasant backside conteyning three acres at leaste, all which your said suppliant will freelye give to the furtherance of this good worke.[2]

Beyond doubt, the abbey alluded to in the above communication was the abbey of canons regular of St. Austin, that stood on the site marked by the 'yellow steeple,' and the

[1] *Hib. Dom.*, p. 264.
[2] State Paper Office, Ireland, 15th May, 1584.

church defaced was the one in which the far-famed statue of our 'Lady of Trymme' was kept; the friary in the possession of the suppliant Robert Draper was the grey friary of the Franciscans that stood on the site of the present court-house; and 'the fryary that could be easily bought of Edward Cusack of Lesmollen,' was no other than the veritable 'Black Friary of Friars Preachers'—the subject of our present sketch.

There is an impression, especially in the neighbourbood of Trim, that the 'Black Friary' was the first house of the Dominicans established in Ireland. That impression is not founded on fact. In Dublin, Drogheda, Kilkenny, Waterford, Limerick, Cork, Mullingar, and other centres flourishing houses of the Dominicans were working earnestly and energetically for the good of religion for a considerable time before the 'Black Friary' of Trim was established. But though the Trim house was not the first in the order of time, it undoubtedly holds a high place in the order of importance. Shortly after its foundation, Dean Butler assures us this convent was far ahead of every other Dominican convent in Ireland, and gained such celebrity and distinction that a general chapter of the order was held in it on three different occasions—viz., in 1283, 1300, and 1315.[1]

This statement is copied without comment by Mr. Conwell in his *brochure*, entitled *A Ramble Round Trim*, and adopted by Dean Cogan in his learned work, *The Diocese of Meath*. Before endorsing the statement, we think it right to say, in order to guard against misconception, that at this time, and, in fact, for more than two centuries after the introduction of the Dominican Order into Ireland—from 1224, the date of the Dublin and Drogheda foundations, down to 1448—Ireland was not a distinct, independent province. All that time it was subject to the English provincial, who transacted the business of the twenty-four Irish houses through a vicar. The meetings, therefore, alluded to above, held in 1283, 1300, and 1315, could not, strictly

[1] *Dominican Friary*, p. 189.

speaking, be called provincial, much less general chapters, and could be said to be general only in this sense, that they comprised representative men from every house of the Order in England, Ireland, and Scotland, in contradistinction to those particular chapters held frequently in every convent where a chapter of the rules is read and expounded for the guidance and direction of the members of the community. But, whilst denying to the Trim house the privilege of three general chapters, in the strict sense of the word, we cannot withhold from it the high honour of having witnessed within its hallowed walls one of the most remarkable meetings ever recorded in the history of the Irish Church.

This meeting was held on the Feast of St. Matthew, in the year 1291, and it deserves special notice, inasmuch as it lets in a flood of light on the strained relations that subsisted in those days between the Church and State in this country. It was the largest and, perhaps, the most important ecclesiastical convention ever assembled in Ireland. It comprised all the archbishops, bishops, deans, and Church dignitaries of the kingdom, and was held under the presidency of Mac Molissa, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland. The chief object of the meeting was to strengthen and consolidate the powers of the Church, and defend its rights and liberties against the encroachments of the civil power.

The Crown and the more prominent members of the Anglo-Irish aristocracy were constantly intermeddling in the concerns of the Church, striving to intrude into her special domain, seeking to exercise rights of advowson to which they could lay no claim, and in sundry petty ways to hamper and impede the Church in the free and legitimate exercise of her powers. And yet these are the days, as some writers would fain have us believe, when the laity of all classes and conditions of life were absolutely under the feet of Churchmen!

To secure united action all the members of that celebrated convention bound themselves by oath to carry out to the letter the various enactments passed at the several

sessions. The following are a few of the most important ones. They speak for themselves, and in tones, too, the import of which it is impossible to mistake :—

1. First, they swore that if they or any of them, their churches, rights, jurisdictions, liberties, or customs, should, by any lay power or jurisdiction *whatsoever*, be impeded, resisted, or grieved, they would, at the common expense, in proportion to their respective incomes, support, maintain, and defend each other in all courts and before all judges, either ecclesiastical or secular.

2. If any of their messengers, proctors, or the executors of their orders should suffer any loss or damage in the execution of their business by any lay power or jurisdiction, that in each case they would amply and without delay make up to them all such losses and damages out of their own fortune, according to a rateable proportion of their revenues.

3. If any ordinary should pronounce sentence of excommunication against a delinquent, that all the other bishops should promulgate and with effect prosecute such sentence in their respective dioceses ; so that, if a person excommunicated in one place should fly to another, the place he continued in should be placed under an interdict, as also wherever he had his habitation or the greater part of his fortune, provided notice thereof be given in writing by the bishop publishing such sentence.

4. If any of the archbishops should prove cool or negligent in the execution of the said agreement, then they bound themselves, by virtue of the oath they had taken, in 500 marks to the Pope, and as much to their brethren who should keep up to the terms prescribed.

5. Lastly, they agreed that if any archbishop, bishop, or dignitary, absent at the time of the agreement, should, upon request, refuse to comply with the terms stipulated, then they engaged and promised to complain of him to the Pope, and to prosecute such complaint at their common charges ; and not only so, but that they would not afford him any aid, counsel, or assistance in any other affairs relating to him or his church.[1]

[1] Ware, *Bishops*, p. 70.

The foregoing resolutions are very definite, and proclaim trumpet-tongued that the Irish hierarchy were resolved to act as one man, and to resist, to the utmost of their power, all unwarrantable interference with their jurisdiction or the exercise of their lawful rights.

The Black Friary was the scene of many other stirring events during the three centuries of its chequered career. These events, and the lives of the great men who took part in them, the services they rendered to religion and literature, would be very interesting, but would far exceed the limits of one paper. I shall, therefore, for the present, pass over such eminent men as Darcy, of Platten Hall, near Drogheda, a distinguished *alumnus* of this house, and subsequently Bishop of Ardagh, and confine my attention to one to whom this religious institute owes its very existence.

On the 28th June, 1835, Dean Butler, of Trim, writing to an old college friend, Cosmo Innes, M.A., and Professor of History in Edinburgh University, says:—

> I am absolutely printing in Trim an account of the castle thereof. How you would despise my duodecimo blue pages, taken from abstracts and second-hand authorities; still the thing occupies and amuses me. My present object is confined to the castle; it may extend hereafter to the church and abbeys. I have thought so much of Geoffrey de Geneville and others—to many the names will be names only—that I have a most distinct conception of their persons and character; but I cannot personify my imaginings, and must leave the notices of my heroes in their original dryness and meagreness.[1]

The author of the *Discovery of the Tomb of Ollamh Fodhla* expresses his regret that the Dean did not give the public the benefit of his 'imaginings,' and present in popular book form a faithful portrait of his heroes.[2] I confess that I cannot share in that regret. For whilst one must admire the patient research of the worthy Dean, he cannot at the same time close his eyes to the fact that he possessed hardly any of these descriptive powers that are at the command of practised writers who can connect and arrange their

[1] *Memoir of Dean Butler*, by his widow, p. 84.
[2] *A Ramble Round Trim*, p. 56.

thoughts and express them easily. Besides, the very outline the Dean gave of Geoffrey, the young noble of Champagne—

> Wooing his wealthy bride in the Court of England, retiring with her to her great seignories in Ireland, joining with her in founding a religious house, taking the cross for the Holy Land, administering for a short time the government of his adopted country, busy for years in the councils and campaigns of the bold and politic Edward I., and closing his career by the resignation of the lordship of Meath to his youthful granddaughter and her ambitious husband, and ending his days in the cloister which he had built almost fifty years ago—[1]

all this and more shows the Dean failed to fully appreciate the character of his hero. In the Dean's mind Geoffrey was little more than a man of the world, well up to all the cunning and arts practised by courtiers in winning the affections of those whom they want to captivate; retiring with the bride he had thus wooed and won to her grand seignories in Ireland; and then catching up the spirit of chivalry and romance of the times, setting out with his cross to the Holy Land, to achieve fame by the rescue of Christian captives out of the hands of the Saracens.

This, I think, would hardly be a true portrait of Geoffrey, the founder of the Black Friary. In my mind, he was a man of noble character, with high ideals before him, with faith as the fountain and mainspring of his actions, and the guiding and ruling principle of his life. It was this spirit of faith that prompted him to found a religious house for the spread of the Gospel and the salvation of the poor. It was the same supernatural spirit that inspired him to leave his lordly mansion at Trim, his valued friends, and warm fireside and the thousand enjoyments of home life, and set off to the far East to brave the perils, the privations, and exceptional hardships involved in an every-day warfare with savages in those primitive times; and then, on his return, with a generosity begotten of faith, renounce all his possessions, and enter as a simple friar into the cloister established by himself forty-five years before.

But whilst forming a different estimate of Geoffrey's

[1] Butler's *Trim Castle*, p. 32.

character from that given by the Dean, I am in thorough accord with him when he applies to Geoffrey certain stanzas which were written by another crusader, and which give a beautiful picture of the sort of life Geoffrey may have been supposed to lead in the Black Friary at Trim :—

Ipse post militiae cursum temporalis
Illustratus gratia doni spiritualis
Esse Christi cupiens miles specialis
In hac domo, monachus, factus est claustralis
Ultra modum placidus dulcis et benignus
Ob aetatis Senium candidus ut cygnus
Blandis et affabilis ac amari dignus
In Se Sancti Spiritus possidebat pignus
Nam sanctam ecclesiam saepe frequentabat
Missarum mysteria laetus auscultabat
Et quas scire poterat laudes personabat
Ac caelestem gloriam mente ruminabat
Ejus conversatio dulcis et jocosa
Valde commendabilis et religiosa
Ita cunctis fratribus fuit gratiosa
Quod nec gravis nec fastidiosa.

The Dean rightly adds :—

We may easily suppose that the old crusader who had been engaged in the wars and embassies of the time had tales of travel and of danger which would make him a very acceptable companion in a monastery, and hence the concluding lines would be equally appropriate :—

Hic per claustrum quoties transiens meavit
Hinc et hinc ad monachos caput inclinavit
Et sic nutu capitis eos salutavit
Quos affectu intimo plurimum amavit.[1]

Lance, shield, and sword relinquished by his side,
A bead roll in his hand, a clasped book,
Or staff, more harmless than a shepherd's crook,
The war-worn chieftain quits the world,
To hide his thin autumnal locks where
Monks abide in cloistered privacy.[2]

On the 21st October, twelve years after the death of his wife, and six years after his entrance into the friary, he

[1] *Thesaurus Martene Nov. Anec.*, vol. iii.
[2] Wordsworth's *Eccl. Sketches*, p. 97.

founded, Geoffrey died, and was interred in the cemetery attached to the convent.

The burial-place of the De Genevilles is Clairvaux, and as the family were remarkable founders of religious houses, as well as celebrated crusaders, beautiful allusion to these two characteristic traits is made on the family vault. It is in Old French, and runs thus :—

> Tout cils, qui sont iseus di li doibvent avoir
> Esperance qui Die la mis en sa compagnie
> Quar les saints tes moignent qui faie
> Maison Dieux en terre il acquier propre
> Maison en cil

On another portion of the vault are the De Geneville arms. They consist of three barnacles, or, on a chief argent a lion naissant gules.[1] Dean Butler adds :—

> The barnacles are not the birds so called, but instruments of torture used by the Saracens, and resembling the instruments used for bruising hemp, and that many of the old Meath gentry, the Husseys, Prestons, as representing Loundres, Flemings, De la Hides, Cruises and others are entitled to quarter these arms,[2] of which the old rhyme says :—
>
> He is not worthy in court to dwell,
> Who knows not the arms of Genevell.

After the death of its founder, the convent continued in its career of usefulness down to May, 1539, when the Commissioners of Henry VIII. took possession of the premises and of every form of property that could be converted into money, and dismissed the 'Friars Preachers' most unceremoniously from the home that belonged to the community for centuries. On such occasions the commissioners, to give their proceedings an appearance of legality, were wont to present a deed of voluntary surrender to the monks for their signature; and when signed, those whose names were affixed to the instrument were entitled to a yearly pension, generally speaking, levied off the very lands that had been the property of the monks themselves. Hence we find on the 15th May, 1539, when Geoffrey Dardice,

[1] *Menestrier de l'onguie des Armories.* [2] Butler, p. 199.

abbot of the house of St. Mary's, Trim, surrendered, he was granted the yearly pension of £15; William Harte, 26*s.* 8*d.*; John Ashe, 20*s.*; Walter Caddell, 26*s.*; Patrick Smart, 20*s.*; Patrick Finglass, 20*s.*; David Young, 20*s.*; and Dominick Longe, 26*s.*

No such deed of *voluntary* surrender was signed by the Friars Preachers. All honour to them; they spurned the document, and with true apostolic spirit cast themselves upon the care of Divine Providence, and the generosity of a faithful, loyal, and devoted people. That their confidence was not misplaced, the subsequent history of the Order records. For we read, that the scattered members of the community continued to live in Trim and its neighbourhood down to the close of the last century. They stood as of old in the counsels of the Lord, and made His words known to the people. As an evidence of the esteem in which they were held, we find one of their number, John Dillon, sworn a freeman of the Trim corporation, in the year 1690, and his signature is still to be seen in the town records, J. Dillon, Prior Trimmensis, May 14, 1690. No doubt the members of the Order did not live in strict community life. But it must be borne in mind, that the necessities of the times forced them to take charge of the parishes around, to mix with the people, to administer to them the sacraments, to pour balm into the wounds inflicted by persecution, and to console and comfort in life and death a faithful but afflicted people. Seeing their devotion to duty, and admiring their grand unselfish character, a Protestant gentleman, Joseph Ashe, triumphing over the narrow-minded spirit of bigotry that was rife amongst a certain section of his co-religionists, set a small farm to them at Donore, about six miles west of Trim. There, near the conflux of the river Boyne and Deel, they built a neat but unpretentious convent. In that secluded picturesque spot the gallant little band, when there were few vocations for the mission, and few opportunities for educating priests, stepped into the breach, took charge of the parishes

[1] *Pat. Rolls*, 30, 2 Hen. VIII.

around, and attended to all the duties usually discharged by the secular clergy. The diocese of Meath, like many other dioceses in Ireland, undoubtedly owes much to the zeal and self-sacrificing labours of the Dominican fathers, especially during the last century. 'Quae regio in terris, nostri non plena laboris.' At all events, as far as the diocese of Meath is concerned, there is hardly a parish in which members of this distinguished Order have not made their mark.

It was only yesterday morning, after the celebration of the holy sacrifice of the Mass, when putting up the chalice still in use in the parish of Tullamore, that I noticed on the pedestal the following inscription: 'Ora pro anima Fratris Petri Gogherty Prioris Trimensis qui me fieri fecit 1713.'

Near the Donore convent, standing along the wall in the interior of the old church of Kilyon, where the Dominican fathers ministered, there is an upright stone still frequented by many a pious pilgrim, around which a thousand memories of holy deeds and pastoral zeal ascend and linger. This simple slab marks the grave of the Dominican fathers, where, after having fought the good fight, and preserved the faith, they are resting from their labours.[1]

Christians,
To God your dayly homage pay,
And for the following fathers pray:

Rev. Vincent Cusack, died June 5, 1737, aged 72.
Rev. James Dillon, D.D., died May 2. 1743, aged 84.
Rev. Francis Lynagh, P.P., and P.G., died Nov. 24, 1750, aged 99.
Rev. Michael Wynne, P.G., died May 5, 1758.
Rev. James Flynn, V. General of Meath, and P.P. of Rathmolyon, died March 17th, 1775, aged 54.
Rev. Thomas Hussey, P.P., and P.G., died Sept. 13, 1786, aged 97.

Requiescant in pace.

This monument was erected at his own expense, in pious remembrance of the above brethren, by the Rev. Michael Fleming, Vicar-forane of Meath, P.G., and Prior of Donore, April 17th, 1787.

[1] Vol. i., *Diocese of Meath*, p. 309.

No such monument marks the spot where the fathers of the parent house at Trim are laid to rest, for not only were the stones of their convent sold away, but even the tombstones shared the same fate, so that beyond a meagre outline of the abbey and the abbey well given in the Ordnance Survey, nothing is now left to tell the tale of the former greatness of the Black Friary, or recall the history of its illustrious founder, Geoffrey de Geneville.

PHILIP CALLARY, P.P., V.F.

FATHER HUGH MACCAUGHWELL, O.S.F.

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, 1626

HUGH MACCAUGHWELL was born at Saul in the barony of Lecale, in the county of Down, about the year 1571. As a boy he grew up within sight of the place where the three great saints of Erin, Patrick, Bridget, and Columkille had lain buried in the one grave for centuries.[1] From his childhood he had listened to the traditions about these saints, which the people of Saul and Downpatrick cherished carefully; he had learned by heart the history of their holiness, and wondrous power as it had been handed down from sire to son in every household around Saul; and from all this he had kept gathering memories which could not fail to be fruitful unto blessing in the years that were to come. Together with the traditions of the saints of Down there were others which Hugh learned in his childhood; but they were neither holy, nor happy in the deeds which they enabled him to recall, because they told of human cruelty and bitter wrong. Hugh was only two years old when Brian Mac Art O'Neill of Clanaboy[2] was invited by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to a banquet in Belfast; and there, in the midst of the festival, two hundred of Brian's retinue were slain before his eyes, and then he and his wife

[1] Saul is only two miles from Downpatrick. [2] The *Ards* in Down.

were carried off prisoners to Dublin. A year later the massacre of Rathlin Island took place, in which six hundred and fifty old men, maidens, and little children were butchered in cold blood. In 1577, when Hugh was six years old, one hundred and eighty unsuspecting men were set upon, at the rath of Mullaghmast, and treacherously slaughtered in two hours. Hugh Mac Caughwell was too young to understand the meaning of these crimes while they were being done; but he was old enough to hear the narrative of them as it was told by the fireside in winter, and to lay it up in his memory, to be recalled and understood fully in later years. Times like those in which Hugh was born were fitted to train men into rebellion against all earthly power.

Hugh's parents were not wealthy when he was born, but they were as noble as the highest in the land. The *Clan cathmael*, or family of the Mac Caughwell's, dwelt chiefly, it is said,[1] in the northern portion of the barony of Clogher, in the county of Tyrone, and traced back their pedigree to Niall of the Nine Hostages.[2] A branch, however, of this family was a sept of the tribe of Magennis of Iveagh, in the county of Down, and this branch claimed to be descended from Dichu, the first convert whom St. Patrick baptized in Ulster. The barony of Lecale was the ancestral territory of this branch of the Clancathmael, and from these Hugh Mac Caughwell was descended. His family was poor when he came into life; but poverty in Ireland scarcely means dishonour, and it could easily be accounted for during the centuries when English adventurers, under the mask of their new religion, were seeking to enrich themselves by turning the native Irish from their homesteads as well as from their churches. The MacCaughwells of Lecale had known persecution and robbery; on the 31st May, 1532, an indenture was drawn up between Leonard Grey, the Lord Deputy, and one Raymond Savage, by which it was agreed that Raymond would settle in Lecale, taking up the chieftaincy thereof on condition that he would pay one horse, and one

[1] Lynch, *Cambrens. Evers.*, p. 244.
[2] Vernuleus.

hundred fat kine to the Lord Deputy. Savage strove to seize upon Lecale, but the whole tribe of Magennis rose against him. After a bitter struggle he was driven forth, and for a time the MacCaughwells were left in quiet possession of the territory they had always looked on as their own. Almost from the time of her accession, in 1558, Queen Elizabeth had been striving for the destruction of Shane O'Neill, the head of all the clans of Tyrconnell; Neill Grey was offered a hundred marks to murder Shane, but could not earn them; one Smythe sent poisoned wine to Shane, who would not drink it. Only in 1567 was Elizabeth's wish gratified, when Piers, an agent of Earl Sussex, persuaded Alister Oge McDonnell with the Antrim Scots to murder Shane with his wife and fifty followers in the camp of North Clanaboy in county Antrim. As soon as Shane was dead the crown seized on all his lands and the lands of those who acknowledged him as chieftain. The Magennises and their adherents were included in this act of attainder, and Sir Henry Sydney marched northwards to enforce it with the sword. Again, in 1573, Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, obtained a grant of land in the north-east of Ulster, and strove to enter into possession. In times and circumstances like these it was not easy for the Irish of Tyrowen to be wealthy, for what was saved from the ravages of war was lost by law or spoliation.

Through troubled years Hugh grew up, and when old enough to leave home safely he was sent to the Isle of Man to find the learning denied to him at home. For many centuries there had been constant intercourse between the coast of Down and the Isle of Man. The Franciscan convent of Downpatrick was founded, in 1240, by Africa, daughter of Godred, the Norwegian king of Man. During his stay among the Manx, Hugh MacCaughwell grew in age and in learning—faster, they said, in learning than in years — outstripping all his fellows, and making a name for himself which went before him into the valleys and among the mountains of his native Down. So clever was he, that on his return to Ireland he was chosen by Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, to be tutor to Henry and Hugh, two sons of his

first marriage.[1] At that time, in Ireland, there was scarcely anyone better educated than Hugh, The O'Neill. When Matthew O'Neill, his father, was murdered, the English Government took charge of Hugh, brought him to England, and had him educated in all the learning of the time. He was very clever; he availed himself of the advantages given him, and became, by his varied accomplishments and fitness for even the weightiest business, a great favourite with Queen Elizabeth. Better than anyone else he understood the difficulties and dangers which would beset the path of his sons through life, how needful wise and clever training was for such as they; and when he chose Hugh MacCaughwell to be tutor to his sons, he must have done so in the belief that he could find none more trustworthy in every way than he.

Hugh entered into the household of The O'Neill, and in a short time gained for himself not only the love of the two boys, but the fullest trust also which their father could place in him. Hugh was consulted in every weighty matter, and became the most intimate counsellor of the Earl of Tyrone, who made him one of his chosen knights, presenting him on the occasion with a Spanish sword of the most exquisite workmanship and temper. When the time came for Henry O'Neill to go abroad to finish his education at some of the great universities, Salamanca was the one selected, and Hugh MacCaughwell went thither with him, about the year 1599. For some time the life of Hugh and his pupil went on quietly, both of them attending the lectures with remarkable regularity and profit. After some time, however, letters began to come from Tyrone, in which Hugh was instructed to make friends among the Spaniards, that thereby he might be able, at some later time, to crave help for The O'Neill and the Irish Catholics who were banded with him. At last Hugh was told to go with young Henry O'Neill to the court of the King, and ask help, in

[1] 'Habuit tres uxores, primam omnium lectissimam foeminam ex familia O'Donnellorum ex qua suscepit plures proles, inter quas duo filli optimae indolis, nunc adolescentes, Hugo et Henricus.'—Lombard, *De Regn. Hib.*, p. 383.

O'Neill's name, for the Irish. They went, and were received kindly by the King of Spain. Many promises were given; but, after much luckless waiting, young O'Neill returned to Ireland, laden with hopes which were as empty as Dead Sea fruit; and Hugh MacCaughwell went back to his books and his lectures in the halls of Salamanca, the quiet of which seemed most in keeping with his spirit.

During the years of his residence in Salamanca, Hugh had come to love the world less as he knew it more. The intrigues of courts, the hollowness of princely promises, the fickleness of kingly favour, the things he had known and with which he had come in touch during his years in Spain, made him learn that his heart was not of the world, that it was not fitted for the world's diplomacy, and that it could never be at rest in the midst of worldly ways. Quietly, but very steadily, he felt his heart drawn towards the Order of St. Francis, until at length he turned away from the bright career which lay before him in the university, and became a Franciscan novice in the convent of Salamanca. This must have happened about the year 1603. We know that on the 30th March, 1602, when Hugh O'Neill made his submission, at Mellifont, to Lord Mountjoy as the deputy of Queen Elizabeth (who was then really six days dead), one of the conditions imposed was, that he should write to Philip III. of Spain to send home his son, Henry, who had gone with Hugh MacCaughwell to finish his studies at Salamanca It must have been after the return of Henry O'Neill to Ireland that Hugh became a Franciscan novice.

Out in the world the life of Hugh MacCaughwell had always been most exemplary. When he entered the cloister he became a model whom many that were old in religion could profitably imitate. The old cleverness was with Hugh still, the easy dignity of manner which had come to him by nature, and from long and familiar intercourse with the noblest and most educated both at home and in Spain, the unobtrusive learning which had won for him so much honour, the soft and solemn speech which charmed those who met him—all these things remained; but there were

added unto them other qualities which were wonderful in the eyes of those who had served God blamelessly and long. The Franciscan rule obliges to many fasts ; but as it was observed by Hugh MacCaughwell, it seemed to be a long fast that was seldom broken. He often went for whole days without tasting one morsel of food. Many a time his only meal was the yolk of one egg, which was not eaten until sundown, and at no time did he eat what seemed enough to keep his frail body from parting with its soul. One who knew him well has said of him: 'His food was fasting; sobriety was the law of his life; abstinence his daily meal.'[1] On entering the cloister he left the world utterly behind him, and thenceforth his life seemed to be a prayer which never ceased; at all times and in all places his mind was lifted up to God; the divine mysteries or the greatness of the Most High were the theme of his frequent speech ; his thought was winged to soar always heavenwards, it touched the earth only to feel, like Noah's dove, that it could find thereon nowhere to stay and rest. When the novitiate had ended, Hugh was solemnly professed, and with his profession his earnestness was increased. He was by no means a strong man; his health was frail when at its best; yet the energy of his soul supplied for the weakness of his body. He never faltered before any duty, never failed in any task he was set to do. Soon after his profession he was ordained priest, and the dignity of the priesthood seemed to befit him well. He understood the greatness of his office, and he lived up to it to the utmost of his power. A few years after his ordination we find him back again in the schools of Salamanca, holding the Chair of Theology, teaching where he once was taught. As a Franciscan, Father Hugh had to follow Scotus as his master, and the task was an easy one for him. He seemed to thoroughly understand the Subtle Doctor; and as both were natives of the same county, and of the same barony therein, there may have been more than scholastic relationship between

[1] 'Ita victus ejus jejunium, lex vitae sobrietas, refectio abstinentia.'—Vernuleus.

Duns Scotus and his countryman, who explained him best in the schools of Salamanca. Father Hugh taught well, showing in all things ripe scholarship and varied learning, gathered in camp and court as well as in the schools. It was in Salamanca his scholars said of him that he was 'acute, grave, modest, and sublime'—words which betoken qualities rarely found together in anyone, and least of all in a professor.

After teaching for some years at Salamanca, Father Hugh MacCaughwell, was sent to Louvain to help Father Florence Conry in the foundation of the Irish Franciscan College of St. Anthony. The enlightened and civilising English law had made it unlawful for Irish priest or friar to have or to impart any learning; the Franciscan schools of philosophy and theology which had flourished at Timoleague, Donegal, Multifarnham, and elsewhere, were closed, owing to these laws, and the Franciscan students were sent here and there through Europe to find that knowledge which the Scripture says: 'shall be sought from the lips of a priest.' For many years after the foundation of St. Anthony's at Louvain, Father Hugh was continued in the guardianship of the convent and in the Chair of Theology. He laboured with his whole heart to set the house on a firm foundation, and to make the Irish Franciscans equal, if not superior, to any other students of the university; when we know that Fleming, Colgan, and Hickey, were among those he taught, we may safely say that St. Anthony's did not disgrace the Franciscan Order, or the Irish nation. Father MacCaughwell's heart seems to have been always in St. Anthony's, for even when he left Louvain for ever he was always kept thinking and working for its welfare.

There is scarcely anything more amazing in the lives of men of the seventeenth century than the industry which marked their years. They had neither steam, nor telegraph, the letter post was costly and uncertain, newspapers were few and very small, and means of communication were slow and at the mercy of the weather; yet they were able, the learned men of that time, to write books which are storehouses from which the world has been drawing ever

since all that is best and surest of its learning. Father MacCaughwell was neither a Samson, nor a Stylite, he was delicate at his best, and he was never allowed to rest long in any place. While guardian of Louvain he spent his vacations, not by choice but by command, in travelling on foot from Louvain to Salamanca, and back to Louvain again. Thence he went to Segovia, to Paris, and to Rome, as his superiors called him, and he always went on foot. While he was busy with his lectures as professor, he was engaged by the General of the Order in many matters relating to the discipline and government of the Order. In the intervals between his many journeys, and while he was still at Louvain, Father Hugh was able to prepare material for a new edition of the *Commentaries of Scotus on the Four Books of the Sentences.* There had been on commentary by an Irish Franciscan on the great Irish doctor since that published by Maurice O'Fihely De Portu; and in order that this new edition might be as perfect as possible, Father Hugh compared all the printed editions with an old MS. copy of the work; he added marginal references to other authors who treated of the matter in the text; gave a copious index to the whole work, and left nothing undone to make this edition worthy of Scotus and of his editor. It was this edition of *Scotus in Libros Sententiarum* which Father Hickey followed in the collected edition of the works of Scotus published by the Franciscans of St. Isidore's under the leadership of Father Luke Wadding.[1] The preparation of the *Books of the Sentences* for the press would be the labour of a lifetime for most men, yet it was only one of the many works which Father MacCaughwell was able to finish in his life of twenty years in the Order of St. Francis. To this new edition of the *Sentences* Father Hugh prefixed a life of Duns Scotus, in which he enters largely into the question of

[1] 'Imprimis secutus sum impressionem correctam Antwerpiensem (1620), quam Illustrissimus Dominus et observandus magister meus Fr. Hugo Cavellus, Primas Hiberniae Ardmachanus, edidit, ejusque partitiones per scholia ut vel sic per membra et articulos commentarius distribueretur juxta ipsius textus divisionem, ne continua serie deductus gravis fieret et prolixus. Hic stylus magis placuit, quia claritate praestat et commoda de scholio in scholium explicatio subjecta lectorem continet, ne longius excurrendum esset.' (Fr. Hickey, in Praef. 4, *Lib.* Scoti.)

his birthplace, showing, of course, that he was an Irishman and a native of Down, and setting the question at rest for ever.

As an appendix to the 3. quest. i. Distinct. iii. Lib. Sentent., he wrote a wonderful tract on the Immaculate Conception of our Blessed Lady, which was then hotly debated in the schools. The *Reportata* and *Quodlibetalia* of Scotus were also edited, with notes, by Father Hugh. He wrote and published a complete commentary on the work of Scotus *in Porphyrianum*, and it is to this improved edition of the works of the Subtle Doctor that the great revival of Scotist doctrine throughout the schools of Europe was chiefly due. It was very fitting, indeed, that a native of Down would be the editor of Scotus, and it was providential that one as clever as Hugh MacCaughwell was found to do the mighty work.[1] Besides the works of Scotus edited by him, Father MacCaughwell wrote some works on the rule of St. Francis, and also, in the Irish language and character, *A Mirror of Penance*, which shows forth the piety as well as the learning of its author. This book was printed in Louvain, in 1618.[2]

In the year 1617, Father Hugh was elected *Custos* of the Irish Franciscans. Three years later, on the 29th May, 1621, by the chapter held at Segovia, he was elected Definitor-General, and went to reside in Rome, at the convent of Aracoeli, near the Capitol. He was not long in Rome when he was appointed to the Chair of Theology, which he had held with such honour in Salamanca and Louvain. The fame of his learning went abroad through the city of the Popes; and as rapidly as he won minds to

[1] 'Duo Archiepiscopi Hiberni plurimum illustrarunt potiora Doctoris (Subtilis) opera. Primus Mauritius a Portu, Archiepiscopus Tuamensis . . . Secundus Hugo Cavellus, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Hiberniae Primas, prius Louvaniensis, mox Romanus Professor, Generalis sui Ordinis Definitor, vir notae pietatis et ingenui candoris, quem ego peramanter suspiciebam. Ille in omnes fere Scoti elucubrationes, strictiores vel largiores uti occasio ferebat notas edidit, sed quaestiones dumtaxat in *opus* Scoti *Porphyrianum* et adnotationes in tractatum de *Primo Principio*, in *Theoremata* et in *Metaphysicam* nobis licuit habere. Hic Libros *De Anima* scholiis varioque ornatu illustravit et supplemento perfecit; utrumque opus *Metaphysicae*, *Scriptum Oxoniense* et *Parisiense*, *Quodlibeta* et *Collationes* similibus notis et cura dilucidavit.' (In Praefat. General in opera Scoti a Pre. Luca Waddingo edita.)

[2] A copy of this book is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

honour his learning, he won hearts to love his pious and gentle ways. He was as good as he was clever; his own friars loved and reverenced him. Father Wadding 'looked up to him very lovingly;' Father Hickey called him his honourable master.

Outside the Order he was held in equal, if not greater, honour. His piety was as heartfelt as his learning was solid; and while honour came upon him steadily, he seemed to heed not the praise of men. Through the changing years he went on his way unchangingly, keeping up in Rome the practices which he had begun in Salamanca. He never entered his cell without going instantly on his knees to say a prayer; the name of Jesus was constantly on his lips throughout the day, and whenever he awoke at night. He could not go to sleep if he had not said our Lady's Litany. Before leaving the house he always said the *Veni Creator;* he never set his hand to anything without first asking God's blessing on his undertaking; he wore a hair shirt constantly, took the discipline every day; he spent the greater part of the night praying, or writing, and was as clever to find ways of penance as to answer a strong objection in a dispute. This portion of his life reads like a leaf from the life of a saint, and he was a saint; yet withal he was the gentlest of men. The Pope himself looked on Father Hugh as one of the cleverest men in the city; yet he many a time asked and took advice from the youngest, or most unlettered in the convent. Poor and rich were equally at home with him. He certainly fulfilled, in his own life, the words of St. Paul: he 'was made all things to all men;' and by his unfailing power to feel with everyone won the hearts of all who met him.

Omnibus carus, sibi corda nexu
Vinxit amoris.

While he lived in Rome it was his constant practice to visit the seven basilicas once or twice a month. In the winter this might have been an easy thing, but in the hot summer days it was more a penance than a pastime to go round, after the morning's work in school, these seven

churches; yet the energy of his soul outstripped always the weakness of his frail body. There was one pleasure which he had in Rome, and it must have been a great one for him. Father Luke Wadding had come to Rome, in the year 1618, as theologian for the King of Spain's embassy on the question of the Immaculate Conception, and from the year 1620 had been living with Father Anthony Hickey in the convent of St. Peter's, in Montorio, already showing that wonderful energy and grasp of detail which won for him honour and power not only in Rome, but throughout the length and breadth of Catholic Europe. Father Hickey, as we know, had been a pupil of Father Mac Caughwell in Louvain; and on the arrival of the latter in Rome, towards the end of 1621, it was not long before master and pupil met again. Father Luke Wadding was not missing from their meeting. Having once found his way to St. Peter's, in Montorio, Father Hugh returned thither many a time during his years in Rome; for those he had known longest and loved most were buried in that Franciscan church on the Janiculum. On the 20th July, 1616, The O'Neill, the great Hugh, who had been the bulwark of Ulster on many a bloody field, gave back his soul to the God who had created it, after six and seventy years of life; and all that was earthly of that great soldier was laid to rest in the Church of. St Peter in Montorio, under a simple stone, which said:

D. O. M.
Hic Quiescunt
Ugonis. Principis. O'Neill
Ossa.

Near him were buried, in the same church, Rory, Earl of Tyrconnell, Caffar, his brother, and Hugh O'Neill, Baron of Dungannon. Nowhere in Rome could Hugh Mac Caughwell recall so well happy days and early years as by the graves of his early patrons; and many a time his heart must have led him, in the bright spring mornings, or in the autumn evenings, to those graves on the Janiculum, to think over and to pray for those dead whom he could justly call his own. Many a time, too, Fathers Wadding and Hickey and

Father Hugh must have thought and talked together over the story of their own poor land, and of the cruelty which drove The O'Donnell and The O'Neill to their graves on a Roman hillside. Exiles they themselves were by the graves of noble exiles; and it was these evenings on Montorio, and the memories which they left, that made Father Wadding so earnest, in later years, in the cause of his native land.

In the year 1622 some Spanish Franciscans built the Church of St. Isidore on the slopes of ancient *Collis Hortulorum*, but after a year or two they found that they were unable to keep the convent, and resigned it to the General of the Order. The General sent other Spanish Franciscans in the stead of the former, but these latter fell into debt, or added to the debt of their forerunners, with the result that church and convent were to be sold off, if the debt were not paid speedily. In this state of things the General, Father Bernardine of Siena, turned to Father Wadding, whose power even then in Rome was very great. Many a time Father Hugh and Father Luke had talked together over the possibility and advantages of having an Irish Franciscan College in the city of the Popes, like that which Father Hugh had helped to establish in Louvain, and it seemed to both of them that St. Isidore's would answer admirably the end they sought. Father Hugh was then Definitor General, and had a voice in the disposal of the convent. Father Wadding had countless friends in Rome, and after some delay was able to find what money was needed to pay the debt, on condition, however, that St. Isidore's should belong thenceforth and for ever to the Irish Franciscans exclusively. The General with his Council accepted these conditions, and on the 21st June, 1625, Father Luke Wadding took possession of the convent in the name of the Irish Franciscans. A little later Father Anthony Hickey was installed first Lector of Theology, and Father Patrick Fleming first Lector of Philosophy, both of whom had studied under Father MacCaughwell at Louvain. Father Martin Walsh was named second Lector of Theology and Father John Ponce second Lector of Philosophy. In

the November following Pope Urban VIII. confirmed by a special Bull the exclusive right of the Irish Franciscans to St. Isidore's—a right which is owing to both Father MacCaughwell's and Father Wadding's united labour.

Towards the end of the year 1625, the Archbishop of Armagh, Peter Lombard, breathed his last, and a great many were presented to the Holy See as fit and worthy to fill that high position. Major-General John O'Neill, a son of the late Hugh, Earl of Tyrone, was at that time commanding the Irish regiment in Flanders; he was all powerful in Rome, and, remembering his old master gratefully and with honour, he wrote to Pope Urban VIII. to say that only a native of Ulster should be appointed, and that there was no Ulsterman so thoroughly worthy as Father Hugh MacCaughwell. He had the experience which years bring, he was well versed in theology and Canon Law; was admittedly a clever man; he had held weighty and honourable positions in his own Order, and was in all things most acceptable to the people of the diocese over which he would have to rule. The word of the O'Neill had weight, the Pope himself knew well, and understood his worth; and the end was that on the 7th June, 1626, Father Hugh MacCaughwell was consecrated Archbishop of Armagh, having been preconised by the Pope on the 17th March before. Having been consecrated he made ready to set out at once to take charge of the diocese over which he had been appointed chief pastor. Things were in readiness, and he felt, as he was about to leave Rome, never perhaps to see it in his life again, that he would make a last round of the basilicas he had so often visited. He did so, and thereby lost his life. He caught a tertian fever, of which they say:

Febres autumnales aut aeternae, aut mortales.

He returned to Aracoeli, as he felt, for the last time. While he was still able, he wrote to Pope Urban VIII. requesting that his successor in Armagh would not be named without consulting the Earl of Tyrone. He then received the last sacraments; two brothers, who were friars, Fathers Edmond and Anthony Dungan, were with him to the

end. He gave his pastoral cross and ring to Father Edmond, and his habit to Father Anthony. When the end was near he fixed his eyes on a painting of St. Anne, and calmly breathed forth his soul into the hands of his Creator. When the Pope heard of his death he said: 'We have lost not a man, but an angel.' Father MacCaughwell was buried in the Church of St. Isidore, before the chapel of SS. Francis and Patrick, to the Gospel side of the high altar, and the Earl of Tyrone placed a marble slab to his memory with the following inscription :—

D. O. M.
Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Domino
Fr. Hugoni Cavello.
Ordinis Minorum Strictioris Observantiae
Lectori Definitori Generali,
Archiepiscopo Armacano.
Primati Hiberniae.
De Patria Religione Litteris Benemerito
Cujus Mortem Merita.
In Patriam Reditum
Mors Praevenit.
Excellentissimus D. Joannes O'Neill Tironiae Comes
Hunc Lapidem Poni Fecit.
Obiit XXII. Septembris M.D.CXXVI.
Pietatis LV.

The tread of many feet during the passing centuries has worn away the epitaph from the marble slab, but his pen wrote for Father Hugh, across the learning of the ages, an epitaph which shall be legible for ever.

E. B. FITZMAURICE, O.S.F.

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

II.

WE have already shown that St. Justin Martyr, in the middle of the second century, was familiar with the whole substance of our Gospels, that he relied upon written sources which he calls *The Memoirs of the Apostles*, and that he says these were publicly read in the liturgical assemblies of Christians, like the prophecies of the Old Testament.[1] And when we bear in mind that Irenæus, less than fifty years after Justin, knew and received only our present Gospels, and that Tatian, Justin's own disciple, recognised no others, there can remain no reasonable doubt that the *Memoirs* spoken of by Justin were identical with our present four Gospels.

Let us now see what reasons Rationalists can offer to combat this conclusion. They point to the fact that the quotations of Justin do not agree exactly with our present Gospels; in other words, that they are not *verbatim* quotations; that he refers to other sources besides the *Memoirs;* and that he speaks of certain incidents or circumstances of our Lord's life not mentioned in our Gospels. For these reasons, some of them conclude that if he used our Gospels, they had not yet attained their present form; while others infer that he did not use our Gospels at all, but a Gospel or Gospels now lost. With regard to this latter conclusion, I may here remark, that, as far as the evidences of the Christian religion are concerned, it matters nothing whether Justin used a lost Gospel or the four that we receive. Whatever his sources were, they contained, as we have shown, the same story of Christ's life that is contained in our Gospels; they taught the same faith in Christ's Divinity; they equally supposed the same belief in the supernatural. Consequently, they were equally opposed with our present Gospels to the fundamental tenets of Rationalism, and it

[1] See the I. E. RECORD of last month.

remains undeniable that a father of the middle of the second century taught as the doctrine handed down by the Apostles the same doctrine the Church professes to-day.

But let us examine in detail the reasons just mentioned, on the strength of which Rationalists deny to Justin a knowledge of our present Gospels. Regarding Justin's quotations, I frankly admit at once that many of them present slight differences from the text of our Gospels. But every student of the New Testament knows that in many instances there are slight differences between St. Paul's quotations of the Old Testament and the present text as it has been handed down, whether in the Hebrew or the Septuagint. And yet no one, on this account, denies that St. Paul in such cases is quoting from the Old Testament. It must be borne in mind that in the days before printing was invented reference to a text was not so easy as it is now with our clearly printed books and the aid of concordances; and, consequently, a writer frequently depended on his memory, satisfied if he was giving the substance of the passage he quoted.[1] That this, in fact, was Justin's habit, is proved from the character of his quotations from the Old Testament. In this case we know what he intended to quote, and we find that his quotations differ from our present text of the Old Testament just as they do from our present text of the Gospels. In the one case he frequently quotes loosely, adapts, or combines texts just as he does in the other. Westcott gives a long list of examples under each of these heads.[2] We shall content ourselves with referring to a few. Thus in *Apol.* i. 59, Justin quotes loosely Gen. i. 1-3, and in *Dial.* 127, Gen. vii. 16. In *Apol.* i. 62, he adapts Exod. iii. 5, and in *Dial.* 94, Numb. xxi. 8, 9. Again, in *Apol.* i. 32, he combines Isai. xi. 1, 10, with Numb. xxiv. 17, and in *Dial.* 43 and 46, Isai. vii. 10-16, with Isai. viii. 4, and Isai. vii. 17.

Hence it is clear that Justin did not consider himself

[1] This would be especially the case in works like Justin's, intended for unbelievers. In such a case, he would naturally be solicitous to give a general view of the Gospel teaching rather than to reproduce exactly any one account.

[2] *Canon of the New Testament*, 7th edition, pp. 176, 177.

bound to quote *verbatim*, and that it was not by any means his invariable custom to do so. Nor was this peculiar to him. The same looseness of quotation, as we have already remarked, is met with in the writings of St. Paul, and is also to be noticed in the writings of the other early fathers, even after the time of Justin; as, for instance, St. Irenæus. Nor were the sacred writers peculiar in this respect. Loose quotation, preserving the sense, but not all the precise words, was rather the rule than the exception. I find in Dr. Salmon's *Introduction to the New Testament* a very apposite quotation on this point, taken from the Preface to Pearce's *Longinus*, in which it is stated that Longinus never quoted *verbatim* if the quotation contained more than two or three words, and that it was not the custom to do so.[1] Granting, then, that Justin's citations do not agree *verbatim* with the present text of our Gospels, it by no means follows that it is not from them he quotes. The slight variations—in many cases very slight—such as the interchange of synonyms, is abundantly accounted for by the custom of the time. We ought to bear in mind, moreover, that Justin may have used a manuscript in which different readings from those with which we are familiar were found.

If all that we have just shown to be true regarding the habit of loose quotation in early times, the usage of Justin himself when quoting from the Old Testament, and the similar usage of St. Paul be borne in mind, we hold that t is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to deny that Justin quotes our Gospels. That the reader may ju ge of this for himself we shall now give at some length some of Justin's quotations, and allow them to declare for themselves the source from which they are taken. In chapters xv., xvi.,

[1] 'Neque enim aut Longino aut aliis priorum saeculorum scriptoribus videtur usitatum fuisse accurate fideque satis verba citare. Imo nusquam si bene memini, Longinus per totum suum Commentarium cujusvis auctoris locum iisdem verbis (modo pluribus quam duobus aut tribus consisteret) exhibuit, nec aliter ab aliis scriptoribus factum video. Si enim sensum auctoris et praecipua citatae sententiae verba ob oculos lectoris ponerent, de caeteris minus soliciti fuere, Accurata haec citandi diligentia, qua hodie utimur, quaeque laudabilis sane est, frustra in veteribus quaerenda est.' (*Praef. in Longinum*, p. xix., ed. 1782.)

and xvii. of the *First Apology* he quotes for the Emperor, Antoninus Pius, various precepts of our Lord in order to prove to the Emperor the pure and lofty character of the Christian teaching:—[1]

But lest we should seem to be reasoning sophistically [he says], we consider it right, before giving you the promised explanation, to cite a few precepts given by Christ Himself. And be it yours, as powerful rulers, to inquire whether we have been taught and do teach these things truly. Brief and concise utterances fell from Him, for He was no sophist, and His word was the power of God. Concerning chastity He uttered such sentiments as these: 'Whosoever looketh upon a woman to lust after her, hath committed adultery with her already in his heart before God.' And, 'If thy right eye scandalize thee, cut it out, for it is expedient for thee to enter into the kingdom of heaven with one eye, rather than, having two eyes, to be cast into everlasting fire.' And, 'Whosoever shall marry her that is put away from another husband, committeth adultery.'[1] And, 'There are some who have been made eunuchs by men, and some who were born eunuchs, and some who have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake; but all do not receive this saying.'[2] . . . And of our love to all He taught thus: 'If you love them that love you, what new thing do you? For even fornicators do this. But I say unto you, pray for your enemies, and love them that hate you, and bless them that curse you, and pray for them that calumniate you.'[3] And that we should share with the needy, and do nothing for glory, He said: 'Give to him that asketh, and from him that would borrow turn not away; for if you lend to them of whom you hope to receive, what new thing do you? Even the publicans do this. Lay not up to yourselves treasures on earth, where moth and rust consume, and where robbers break through; but lay up to yourselves treasures in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume. For what doth it profit a man, if he gain the whole world, and suffer the loss of his own soul? Or what exchange shall a man give for it? Lay up treasure, therefore, in heaven, where neither moth nor rust doth consume.[4] And, 'Be ye kind and merciful, as your Father also is kind and merciful, and maketh His sun to rise upon sinners, and the just, and the wicked. Be not solicitous what you shall eat, or what you shall put on. Are you not of more value than the birds and the beasts? And God feedeth them. Be not solicitous, therefore, what you shall eat, or what you shall put

[1] Compare Matt. v. 28, 29, 32.
[2] Matt. xix 12.
[3] Matt. v. 46, 44. Luke vi. 28.
[4] Luke vi. 30-34. Matt. vi. 19, xvi., 26, vi. 20.

on ; for your heavenly Father knoweth that you have need of all these things. But seek ye the kingdom of heaven, and all these things shall be added unto you. For where his treasure is, there also is the mind of a man.'[1] And, 'Do not these things to be seen by men, otherwise you shall not have a reward of your Father who is in heaven.'

All the preceding quotations are taken from a single chapter, the fifteenth of the *First Apology*. And in the two following chapters Justin continues in the same manner, quoting the precepts of Christ in a form in nearly every case identical with that in which they are found in our present Gospels. I believe, therefore, that I cannot be thought to have spoken too strongly when I said that it is impossible for any unprejudiced reader to deny that Justin quotes our Gospels.

It will be noticed that the quotations we have given—and the same is true of nearly all Justin's quotations—are taken from the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke. We must not, however, conclude, on this account, that the Gospels of SS. Mark and John were unknown to him. The fact that they were known to Tatian, Justin's disciple, and held of such account by him that he used them in the same way as the Gospels of SS. Matthew and Luke in compiling the *Diatessaron*, would afford a strong presumption, even if we had no direct evidence, that Justin, too, must have been acquainted with them. St. Mark's Gospel contains so little peculiar to itself, so little that is not found either in St. Matthew or St. Luke in almost similar words, that in anonymous quotations like Justin's, we need not be surprised that it is difficult in any particular instance to say that the reference is made to St. Mark. Yet there is a passage in the *Dialogue*, chapter 106, which places beyond doubt Justin's use of the Gospel of St. Mark. 'And when it is said,' he writes, 'that He (Christ) changed the name of one of the Apostles to Peter ; *and when it is written in the Memoirs* (of Him) that this so happened, as well as that He changed the name of other two brothers, the sons of Zebedee, to Boanerges, which means sons of thunder, this

[1] Luke vi. 36. Matt. v. 45, vi. 25, 26, 33, 21.
[2] Matt. vi. 1.

was an announcement,' &c. Now, the change of name of the sons of Zebedee is mentioned *only in the Gospel of St. Mark*, and there it is mentioned in immediate connection with the change of Peter's name, so that the *Memoirs* to which Justin here refers can be no other than the Gospel of St. Mark.

Again, though Rationalists insist specially on Justin's ignorance of St. John's Gospel, there can be no doubt that he was acquainted with it. In the *First Apology*, chapter 61, speaking of converts, he says :—

> They are brought by us where there is water, and are regenerated in the same manner in which we ourselves were regenerated. For, in the name of God, the Father and Lord of the universe, and of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, they then receive the washing with water. For Christ also said : 'Except ye be born again, ye shall not enter into the kingdom of God.' Now, that it is impossible for those who have been once born to enter into their mothers' wombs, is manifest to all.

If anyone will take the trouble of comparing this with Christ's discourse to Nicodemus, recorded in the Fourth Gospel,[1] it will be equally manifest that there can be no doubt St. Justin had the words in St. John before his mind. Moreover, the whole doctrine of St. Justin concerning the eternal 'Logos' presupposes, and is founded upon, the Gospel of St. John. It must be remembered that outside the writings of St. John the term is nowhere in the New Testament applied to the Son of God, except, perhaps, once, in Heb. iv. 12. Yet Justin speaks of the 'Logos' more than twenty times; according to him, this 'Logos' existed before all creation, dwelling with the Father, being Himself God (*αὐτὸς ὢν οὗτος ὁ Θεὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τῶν ὅλων γεννηθείς*); by Him all things were made, He became man, and was called Jesus Christ, and was the only begotten (*μονογενὴς*) of the Father.[2] Now, where except in the Fourth Gospel could Justin have found this doctrine of the Divine 'Logos'? Not only is the doctrine the same, but Justin reproduces even the language of St. John. It is true

[1] iii. 3-5.

[2] *Apol.* i. 52, 63 ; *Apol.* ii., 6 ; *Dial.* 56, 58, 61, 62, 105, 126, 128.

Plato and the Alexandrian Jew, Philo, had written of the 'Logos;' but in a very different manner from Justin. With Plato the 'Logos' was not a distinct Person, but only an attribute of God; while Philo denied His divinity, and held that matter was not created by Him, but was eternal; and neither ever dreamt of the mystery that 'The Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us.' We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that Justin was familiar with the Fourth Gospel, and derived his doctrine regarding the Divine 'Logos' therefrom.[1]

I have not thought it necessary in discussing the character of Justin's quotations, to dwell at any length on the point that, in his references to his apostolic sources, he does not name Matthew, Mark, Luke, or John. No one who knows anything of the literary practice of the time, especially in apologetic writings, will find anything to wonder at in this.[2] The three certainly genuine works of Justin that have come down to us, namely, the two *Apologies* and the *Dialogue*, were all addressed to unbelievers, and it would have served no purpose to tell them whether, in any particular instance, the quotation was from this or that Evangelist. It was enough for them to know that the works quoted were of apostolic origin, publicly received, and of acknowledged authority, among Christians, and, therefore, reliable sources from which to learn what Christians really believed; and so much Justin takes care to tell them.

It follows, then, from all we have said, that there is nothing in the character of Justin's quotations to justify the view that he was not acquainted with our Gospels in their present form; on the contrary, everything points to the conclusion that the *Apostolic Memoirs* on which he relied, were the same four Gospels that we have at present.

But it is said that Justin used other sources than the *Memoirs*, and among them an apocryphal work still in existence, and known as the *Acts of Pilate*. It is hard to

[1] That Justin makes so little use of the Fourth Gospel may be largely due to the fact that its singularly spiritual and exalted character made it unsuitable for quotation in works intended for unbelievers.

[2] See, *e.g.*, Westcott, pp. 120-122.

see what Rationalists can hope to conclude from an objection like this. Suppose Justin was deceived as to the value of some of the sources upon which he drew, would it not still be true that he used our Gospels, and would not his use of them, whether it was well advised or not, prove at least that they were in existence? But let us inquire what evidence there is that Justin used apocryphal sources, and set them on the same level with the *Memoirs*. The chief—indeed we may say the only—argument advanced for this, is that he refers twice to the *Acts of Pilate*, and Rationalists at once conclude that he speaks of the apocryphal book now known under that name. The two passages in which the references occur are found in chapters 35 and 48 of the *First Apology*. In the first, Justin after describing the incidents of the crucifixion, and showing that they had been predicted by the prophets, says: 'And that these things did happen, you can ascertain from the 'Acts of Pontius Pilate.' And in chapter 48 he says :—

> And that it was predicted that our Christ should heal all diseases and raise the dead, hear what was said. There are these words: 'At His coming the lame shall leap as a hart, and the tongue of the stammerer shall be clear-speaking; the blind shall see, and the lepers shall be cleansed; and the dead shall rise and walk about.' And that He did those things, you can learn from the Acts of Pontius Pilate.

Now, which is more probable, that Justin, the philosopher, writing to the Roman Emperor, regarding the very foundations of his faith, here refers to an apocryphal book, which admittedly contains many silly absurdities, and is evidently of Christian origin, or that he refers to a genuine report furnished by Pilate, the Roman Governor of Palestine to the Emperor and Senate? We are helped towards a conclusion on this point by the fact that Tertullian, who was a lawyer, and who would, therefore, be naturally careful about the authorities he quoted, appeals in his *Apology*, chapter 21, to the same Acts of Pilate. We may reasonably conclude, I think, that both Justin and Tertullian refer to an authentic document of the Roman Governor, which, though it has perished since, perhaps was

early destroyed because of the evidence it afforded in favour of Christianity, was preserved in their time in the Roman archives. But, as I remarked already, even if we admitted that Justin on a few occasions referred to a worthless source,[1] it would still remain true that he used our Gospels, and therefore that they must have been already in existence.

Lastly, it is urged that Justin was acquainted with some details of our Lord's life, and with certain sayings of His which are not referred to in our Gospels, and from this it is inferred that his sources cannot have been our Gospels in their present form. Thus he adds to the Gospel account, that our Lord was born *in a cave*, that the wise men came from *Arabia*, that Christ worked as a *carpenter*, that at His baptism a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the voice from Heaven said: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee.' And these are really all the incidents of our Lord's life found in Justin, and not found in our Gospels. Ought we not rather to wonder at the identity of range in both, than be surprised that Justin adds a few points which may well have come down to him, native of Palestine as he was, by local tradition? In not a single one of these instances does he refer to his written sources as the authority for his statement. Nay, more, when speaking of the voice: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee,' and of the fire in the Jordan, he seems to imply clearly that he was not relying in either case on the *Apostolic Memoirs* which were in his hands. His reference to the voice is as follows:—

> For the devil of whom I just now spoke, as soon as (Christ) went up from the river Jordan—when the voice had been addressed to Him: 'Thou art My Son, this day have I begotten Thee'—is described in the *Memoirs* of the Apostles as having come to Him, and tempted Him so far as to say, 'Worship me.'[2]

It will be noted that the *Memoirs* are quoted for what they actually record, namely the temptation of Christ, but

[1] Both Clement of Alexandria and Origen quote the 'Gospel according to the Hebrews,' yet it is not denied that both received only our four Gospels as canonical.

[2] *Dial.*, 103.

not for the words of the voice from heaven.[1] Similarly, in regard to the fire, Justin makes the statement on his own authority, and not on the authority of the *Memoirs*. His words are :—

> When Jesus came to the Jordan where John was baptizing, when He descended into the water, both a fire was kindled in the Jordan, and the Apostles of our Christ Himself recorded that when He came up out of the water the Holy Spirit as a dove lighted upon Him.[2]

Thus it transpires that Justin does not even once quote his *Memoirs* for any incident of our Lord's life not found in our present Gospels. With this we may well rest satisfied. Whether he drew from some apocryphal sources the few incidents he mentions that are not found in the Gospels, or derived them from tradition, matters little.[3] It remains true that his *Apostolical Memoirs* appear to have contained all the events of our Lord's life found in our present Gospels, and to have contained no others besides.

If we add to these few details of our Lord's life two sayings attributed to Him by Justin, we shall have mentioned all that is found in Justin and not contained in our present Gospels. These sayings are : 'In whatsoever I find you, in this will I also judge you ;'[4] and : 'There shall be schisms and heresies.'[5] Neither saying in this form, be it noted, is found in any apocryphal Gospel, and we may hold Justin merely gives the substance of various words of our Lord contained in our present Gospels, or that he derived the sayings in this exact form from tradition. This, then,

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[1] It is worthy of note that the words of the voice as given by Justin are held by textual critics to have stood in some MSS. of Luke iii. 22, as early as the second century.

[2] *Dial.*, 88 *κατελθόντος τοῦ Ιησου ἐπὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ πῦρ ἀνήφθη ἐν τῷ Ἰορδάνῃ, καὶ ἀναδύντος αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ὡς περιστερὰν τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα επιπτῆναι ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἔγραψαν οἱ ἀπόστολοι αὐτοῦ τούτον τοῦ χριστοῦ ἡμῶν.* The construction is changed, and the Apostles are referred to only in regard to the descent of the Holy Ghost.

[3] We learn from St. Epiphanius (*Adversus Haer.*, xxx. 13) that the apocryphal Ebionite Gospel gave the words of the voice from heaven as Justin does, and mentioned also the fire in the Jordan. It may well be that both relied upon tradition ; but even if we admitted that Justin in these instances quoted an apocryphal Gospel, his evidence for our Gospels would still be complete.

[4] *Dial.*, 47.

[5] *Dial.*, 35.

is all the extra-canonical matter found in Justin, and our readers are now in a position to draw their own conclusions. From these same data that we have examined Strauss draws the astonishing inference:—

> We see, therefore, about the middle of the second century, the evangelical matter reduced to different versions, which in part correspond to our present Gospels, in part present discrepancies from them, which, like the cave at Bethlehem and the fire at the Jordan, place before our eyes the still unextinguished impulse of evangelical legendary poetry.[1]

To us it seems absolutely clear from the whole inquiry that Justin used our present four Gospels and no others, and that he possessed the four in the same form in which we have them now; and we cannot help wondering that such evidence in their favour, both positive and negative, should be furnished by three comparatively short works of a father who wrote so early as the middle of the second century.

From St. Justin I go back to St. Papias. Papias, who was Bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, belonged to the first half of the second century. He wrote five books entitled *Expositions of Dominical Oracles*,[2] which were still in existence in the time of Eusebius.

> Five books of Papias are extant, which bear the title, *Expositions of Oracles of the Lord*. Of these Irenæus also makes mention as the only works written by him, in the following words: 'These things Papias, who was a hearer of John, and a companion of Polycarp, an ancient worthy, witnesseth in writing in the fourth of his books. For there are five books composed by him.' So far Irenæus.[3]

The exact date of composition of the work of Papias is not certain. Some have held that it was written almost at the beginning of the second century, while others will not allow it to be earlier than the time of St. Justin. The chief data that remain to determine the question must be sought in the few fragments of the work that have been preserved.[4]

[1] *A New Life of Jesus*, 2nd ed., p. 74.

[2] Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησεις.

[3] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39.

[4] The *Paschal Chronicle*, a compilation of the sixth or seventh century, represents Papias as martyred at Pergamum, in the year 164, but coincidences

From these it is clear that Papias was separated by only one generation from Peter and the Apostles generally, while he was actually a contemporary of two personal disciples of Christ, Aristion and the Presbyter John. In his preface, which has been preserved for us by Eusebius, Papias says :—

But I will not scruple also to give a place for you along with my interpretations to everything that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders, guaranteeing its truth. For, unlike the many, I did not take pleasure in those who have so very much to say, but in those who teach the truth ; nor in those who relate foreign commandments, but in those (who record) such as were given from the Lord to the faith, and are derived from the truth itself. And again, on any occasion when a person came (in my way) who had been a follower of the Elders I would inquire about the discourses of the Elders—what was said by Andrew, or by Peter, or by Philip, or by Thomas or James, or by John or Matthew, or any other of the Lord's disciples, and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord say. For I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.

It will have been noticed that Papias here mentions the name of John twice, and in the second instance in such a way as to show that the John in question was still alive. Now, it is disputed whether the second reference, in which the present tense is used ('and what Aristion and the Elder John, the disciples of the Lord *say*') regards the Apostle John or a later disciple of the same name. It may, indeed, be that the Apostle is meant, and only referred to in this manner to show that he and Aristion, unlike the others mentioned, were still alive. It is true St. Jerome understood Papias to speak of two Johns,[2] and so did Eusebius in the 39th chapter of the third book from which we have quoted, but in other parts of his works Eusebius himself speaks of Papias as a contemporary of John the Evangelist,[3]

of language show that the compiler of the Chronicle confounded Papias with Papylus, who, according to Eusebius was martyred at Pergamum in that year. The similarity of the names Papias and Papylus makes the blunder intelligible.

[1] Euseb., *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39.

[2] From which it is clear that in his list of names itself there is one John who is reckoned among the Apostles, and another, the Elder John, whom he enumerates after Aristion.' (*St. Jer., De viris, illust.*, 18.)

[3] Irenæus and others record that John, the Divine and Apostle survived until the times of Trajan, after which time Papias of Hierapolis and Polycarp,

and this was undoubtedly the common view among later writers. In any case, his own words prove that Papias was separated from such Apostles as St. Peter (who was martyred in 67 A.D.) by only one generation; and hence, while he may have written soon after the beginning, it seems certain that he must have written before the middle, of the second century.[1]

Any evidence from so early an authority bearing on the present inquiry must plainly have great weight, and we now proceed to inquire what Papias has to say about the Gospels. Here, then, are his words as given by Eusebius:—[2]

> And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order *what was either said or done* by Christ. For neither did he hear the Lord, nor did he follow Him; but afterwards, as I said (attended) Peter, who adapted his instructions to the needs (of his hearers) but had no design of giving a connected account of the Dominical oracles (or words).[3] So, then, Mark made no mistake, while he thus wrote down some things as he remembered them; for he made it his one care not to omit anything that he had heard, or to set down any false statement therein. But concerning Matthew [Eusebius adds] the following statement is made (by him): So then Matthew composed the oracles in the Hebrew language, and each one interpreted them as he could.[4]

Eusebius quotes nothing from Papias regarding the Gospel of St. Luke or of St. John. But it must be carefully borne in mind that it cannot, on this accout, be concluded that Papias did not know and accept these Gospels. On the contrary, if anything in the work of Papias had led

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Bishop of Smyrna, *his hearers*, became well known.' (Euseb., *Chronicon for Olymp.*, 220.)

And again, in his *Eccles. Hist.*, iii. 36, Eusebius says: 'At this time flourished in Asia, Polycarp, a disciple of the Apostles, who had received the bishopric of the Church in Smyrna at the hands of the eye-witnesses and ministers of the Lord. At which time Papias, who was himself also a bishop of the diocese of Hierapolis, became distinguished.

[1] Lightfoot dates the work of Papias between 130 and 140; Salmon, between 125 and 130; and Cornely says: 'Inter omnes autem constat exeunte saeculo 1, et ineunte 2. saec. Papiam floruisse.'

[2] *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 39. Eusebius introduces the quotation by saying that he will give the words of Papias concerning Mark *who wrote the Gospel.*

[3] The readings here vary between λόγίων and λόγων.

[4] Ματθαῖος μὲν οὖν Ἑβραΐδι διαλέκτῳ τὰ λόγια συνεγράψατο, ἡρμήνευσε δ' αὐτὰ ὡς ἦν δυνατὸς ἕκαστος.

Eusebius to suspect that he did not accept the third and fourth Gospels, we may be sure that Eusebius would have noted the fact. So far, however, is he from having any doubt regarding the view of Papias or any other father on this point, that he makes the confident and formal statement that the four Gospels were received by the common consent of all,[1] and that the Fourth Gospel was recognised as St. John's by all the Churches under heaven.[2] It must be seen from this, except by those who will not see, that the object of Eusebius in quoting Papias in reference to the Gospels of Matthew and Mark was not to prove that Papias received those Gospels which, according to Eusebius, everybody received, but to preserve from Papias interesting particulars regarding them; namely, that Matthew wrote in Hebrew, and that Mark recorded the preaching of Peter, but not in order. Hence if Papias had nothing special to say regarding the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, there was no reason why Eusebius should preserve any reference of his to these Gospels. The chief object of Eusebius was to show what ancient ecclesiastical writers used books *about which in his time there was doubt;*[3] and it is a complete, and I must add stupid, misunderstanding or misrepresentation of his scope to imagine that he meant to accumulate all available evidence in favour of books, the authority and authorship of which nobody denied. Let anyone read Eusebius,[4] where he proposes to give the views of Irenæus on the Scriptures, and his object, and the plan he followed will at once be apparent. He begins by giving a few extracts from Irenæus about each of the four Gospels, not to show that Irenæus received them, but to give his views on certain points in connection with them. Then he quotes Irenæus regarding the Apocalypse, mentions that he had used the First Epistle of John, and the First (former) of Peter,

[1] Εὔλογον δ' ἐνταῦθα γενομένους, ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι τὰς δηλωθείσας τῆς καινῆς Διαθήκης γραφάς. Καὶ δὴ τακτέον ἐν πρώτοις τὴν ἁγίαν τῶν Εὐαγγελίων τετρακτύν. . . Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐν ὁμολογουμένοις. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 25.

[2] Καὶ δὴ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Εὐαγγέλιον, ταῖς ὑπὸ τὸν οὐρανὸν διεγνωσμένον Εκκλησίαις, πρῶτον ἀνωμολογήσθω. *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 24.

[3] *Hist. Eccles.*, iii. 3.

[4] *Hist. Eccles.*, v. 8.

and that he not merely knew, but also accepted as Scripture the *Shepherd of Hermas*. And this is all he has to tell about Irenæus' use of the Scriptures. Not a word is said to show that Irenæus knew or received the Epistles of St. Paul, though, as a matter of fact, he refers to them more than two hundred times. We can fancy how Rationalists would have concluded from the silence of Eusebius, had the works of Irenæus himself not come down to us, that Irenæus was an anti-Pauline writer, who never received as Scripture the writings of the Apostle of the Gentiles. But just as Eusebius thought it unnecessary to state, or give quotations to prove, that Irenæus received the Epistles of St. Paul, which everybody received; so it was unnecessary to quote Papias in favour of the Gospels, since nobody questioned their authorship. It is, therefore, I hope, clear and beyond question, that we ought not to conclude from the silence of Eusebius that Papias was unacquainted with the Gospels of SS. Luke and John. Rather, since, as we have seen, Eusebius declares that the four Gospels were everywhere received, we ought to expect that if Papias, an early father and a bishop, was an exception, and was unacquainted with, or rejected, any of them, Eusebius would have noticed the fact.

But if express references of Papias to all Four Gospels had been preserved for us, the Rationalists would still be unconvinced. His references to the works of Matthew and Mark, which I have already quoted,[1] are not, they contend, to be understood as everybody, until the rise of Rationalism, understood them, of our present Gospels of Matthew and Mark, but of earlier works.

One might be pardoned fer supposing that Eusebius, who had the complete works of Papias before him, would be more likely to know what Papias meant by the Gospels of Matthew and Mark than Rationalists in the nineteenth century, who have only the few fragments of Papias preserved by Eusebius on which to form their judgment.

[1] See on page 437.

[2] Renan in his *Life of Jesus*, Introd., p. 10, says: 'That which appears the most likely is that we have not the entirely original compilations of either

Though, as we have shown, Irenæus and his contemporaries, and the author of the *Muratorian Fragment*, and Tatian and Justin knew and received our Gospels in their present form, we are asked to believe that Papias, who wrote only twenty or thirty years before Justin, used different Gospels, and that these Gospels, known to Papias, somehow disappeared so completely, that not only no manuscript of them, but no reference to them, remains. If Renan's theory of a slow and gradual formation of our present Gospel texts were true, should we not expect to find the process resulting in a large number of Gospels instead of Four, or in one 'complete copy' that contained the substance of all, and should we not expect to meet somewhere traces of them in their undeveloped form? Yet no such trace is found, not even in Papias, as we shall show.

Silently and completely they must have disappeared, although, be it remembered, the earlier form is that which is supposed to have come from the Apostles; and while nobody took the trouble of retaining those precious Apostolic documents of Papias in their original form, other works are found installed in their place, and honoured side by side with the writings of the Old Testament, in the time of Justin! Surely, all this is supremely improbable, and we have a right to demand convincing evidence before we believe it.

What, then, is the evidence on the strength of which it is alleged Papias used other Gospels than our present Matthew and Mark? To this Rationalists reply that the Gospel of Matthew, mentioned by Papias, was a Hebrew work containing only our Lord's *discourses*, while the Gospel of Mark used by him was deficient in order. I shall now briefly consider these reasons, which are really the only reasons, for saying that Papias does not refer to our present Matthew and Mark. And, first, I deny that the words of Papias mean that his St. Matthew contained only dis-

Matthew or Mark; but that our first two Gospels are versions in which the attempt is made to fill up the gaps of the one text by the other. Everyone wished, in fact, to possess a complete copy. He who had in his copy only discourses, wished to have narratives, and *vice versa*.' Similarly, Strauss and the other Rationalists, who deny the authenticity of the Gospels,

courses. The word *Logia* (λόγια) means properly oracles or communications having divine or scriptural authority, and must not be confounded with *Logoi* (λόγοι), discourses. It is used four times in the New Testament,[1] and in no instance does it mean discourses. For example, in Rom. iii. 2, where St. Paul begins to point out the advantages possessed by Jews over Gentiles, he mentions, in the first place, that the 'words (or oracles) of God (*i.e.*, the Scriptures of the Old Testament) were committed to them.' And in the fathers, as well as in Philo and Josephus, *Logia* is used in the sense of oracles or inspired writings.[2] Hence, in saying that Matthew wrote *The Logia*, Papias simply meant to say that he wrote an inspired book.[3]

That the Gospel of which Papias speaks was written in Hebrew (*i.e.*, Syrochaldaic, the vernacular of Palestine at the time), though Strauss lays great stress on this point, is no proof that it was different from our present Greek Gospel of St. Matthew, unless in the sense that an original text is different from its translation.

J. MacRory, D.D.

To be continued.]

[1] Acts vii. 38; Rom. iii, 2; Heb. v. 12; 1 Pet. iv. 11.

[2] St. Irenæus, *Contra Haer. Prooem.*, speaks of the Gospel as τὰ λόγια τοῦ κυρίου; Philo, De Conj. erud. grat. 24, quotes as a λόγιον the words of Deut, x. 9: 'The Lord God is His inheritance;' and Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, v. 5, 4, refers to the Sacred Scriptures as τὰ λόγια.

[3] The few fragments that remain of Papias' work show that it dealt with the *narrative* of the Gospels as well as with the discourses of our Lord. Seeing, then, that the work was entitled Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησεις, the title of the work proves that *Logia* is to be understood in the wider sense.

THE BLACK CARDINALS

ON February 2nd, 1808, the French troops entered Rome, took possession of the Castle St. Angelo, placed a battery of cannon before the Quirinal, in which, at that time, Pope Pius VII. was saying Mass, and, says Cardinal Pacca, 'were considerably astonished to see the cardinals immediately enter their carriages and take their departure without showing the slightest trace of emotion in their countenances.'

The cardinals, as they left the Quirinal, were probably not in the least surprised at the sight, either of the soldiery or of their warlike preparations. For three years Napoleon had been pursuing a line of conduct towards the Pope which, if persisted in, must bring about worse things than even the taking of the Eternal City. The Emperor had, undoubtedly, conferred many benefits upon the Catholic religion. He had accomplished the tremendous task of restoring that religion to France from the soil of which it had been cruelly swept away during the Revolution. He had been pleased to say, that 'France, taught by her misfortunes, has at length opened her eyes, and has recalled Catholicism to her bosom.' He had seemed genuinely pleased when, on Easter Sunday, 1802, he had assisted at its solemn re-instatement; and when, on the previous day, he adjured his countrymen to 'let that religion which once civilized Europe be again the bond which reconciles its inhabitants to each other.' And for this action, Pope Pius never ceased to be grateful to Napoleon. Yet, it must be acknowledged, that never was gratitude more sorely tried. Before ten years were passed, the Emperor had informed the Pontiff that unless he did as he desired he would make him from being Pope to be the simple Bishop of Rome. He had taken away the temporal possessions of the Papacy, occupied Rome, carried off the Pope to Savona, and after confiscating the revenues of the cardinals, had ordered them to take up their residence in Paris. There can be little

doubt that had not Napoleon been prevented by a higher will than his own, he would have made the French capital the chief city in Christendom, with the Pope as the nominal, but himself as the actual head in spiritual, as well as in temporal affairs. The conduct of the Black Cardinals was, perhaps, the first intimation he received that his supremacy in matters of faith might need a larger amount of power than even he possessed before it became an established fact.

Who were the Black Cardinals? They were thirteen members of the Sacred College, to whom this name was given, because, in addition to other punishments, they were ordered to wear the black dress of an ordinary priest, as a sign that Napoleon had degraded them from their cardinal's dignity. They had the misfortune to incur the Emperor's displeasure by the attitude they adopted with regard to his marriage with the Archduchess Marie Louise of Austria.

It would seem that, if not before his coronation in 1804, at least a short time afterwards, Napoleon was contemplating a divorce from his first wife, Josephine Beauharnais. She was at that time over forty years of age, and, as she had already borne him no children, it appeared not only improbable, but almost impossible, that now the Emperor should expect her to present him with an heir to his throne. As years went on he might also have considered that he alone, of all the princes in Europe, was without royal ancestors, and that a new marriage into one of the kingly houses, while it would attach some semblance of possessing ancient lineage to himself, would certainly bestow the reality of it upon his posterity. 'My poor uncle Louis,' he was accustomed to say after his marriage with Marie Louise, when speaking of the unfortunate Louis XVI.

The religious rites of Napoleon's first marriage were performed on December 1st, 1804, at midnight, the day before the coronation. It was Josephine herself who informed the Pope that only a civil contract had, up till then, united her with the Emperor; and that, although she had repeatedly asked him to allow their union to be blessed by a priest, he had persistently refused to do so. The Pope at once intimated to Napoleon that he would not crown

him unless he first complied with the laws of the Church in the matter. Napoleon was extremely indignant; but his indignation made very little impression upon Pius VII., who was inflexible in his determination that a religious marriage there should be, or, so far as he was concerned, no coronation. Napoleon yielded; and his uncle, Cardinal Fesch, having full powers to dispense from the presence of the parish priest and of witnesses, gave the sanction of the Church to a union which had already existed legally for eight years.

In the beginning of the year 1810, the cardinals took up their residence in Paris. They had little reason to suppose that the divorce from Josephine, which was now an established fact, and the marriage with Marie Louise, which was announced to take place in the near future, would soon place them in a difficult, and even a dangerous, position. The Emperor had not asked their opinion upon the subject any more than he had that of the Pope. They had been allowed a yearly income of thirty thousand francs as an indemnity for the loss of their ecclesiastical possessions; they were ordered every Sunday to grace the Imperial Mass with their presence; on all great occasions, at every solemn function of Church or State they were expected, as princes of the Church, to put on their robes to lend an additional animation to the scene; but, so far as their opinion was concerned, their would-be master allowed them clearly to see that they had no right to any excepting that which he himself held. He had managed to prevail upon the French ecclesiastical courts to pronounce his marriage with Josephine to be null and void, and he was determined to take to himself another wife. He could not bring himself even to imagine that men who, if at one time they had been something, were now living only upon his bounty, would think, much less act, in such a manner as to make it seem that he had committed a grave moral fault.

The second marriage was arranged to take place on April 2nd, 1810, and the cardinals, twenty-seven in number, were invited. The invitation comprised four distinct events. There was the official presentation at Saint Cloud, in which,

the day before the civil marriage, Marie Louise would receive an expression of their respect. To be present at this they could make no objection. There was the solemn reception to be held in the Tuileries after the religious service in Notre Dame; and against taking part in this they had nothing to say. But what should they do with regard to the celebration of the civil marriage which would happen on the 31st of March, and the religious function arranged for the 2nd April? Could they be present at these ceremonies, and yet consider that they had preserved inviolable their oath to the Pope in which they had sworn to respect and defend the rights of the Holy See? It was here that the difficulty of their position became apparent. The only authority which they, as cardinals and Catholics, acknowledged to be competent to pass judgment upon the validity or invalidity of Napoleon's first marriage, was the very one which he had not approached. He had not consulted the Pope. Vicars-general and rectors of seminaries he had consulted, and had removed them from their position when they gave it as their opinion that Josephine was his wife in the eyes of God. The Abbé Emery who had expressed himself as by no means certain that the Emperor was not free to marry again; Doctors of the Sorbonne, some of whom asserted that they were sure he was; the Diocesan Court of Paris, which declared that no witnesses had been present at that midnight service in December, 1804, which fact made the marriage nugatory; and the Court of the Metropolitan, which added, that Napoleon was at that service against his will, and without matrimonial intentions, which fact made the marriage more nugatory still—all these were asked their opinion, while Pius VII., now a prisoner at Savona, was coolly passed over! Could they be present at the celebration of a union which, in their eyes, would be a sacrilege, until the Pope had announced that Napoleon's first marriage was null and void? A meeting was held in the house of Cardinal Consalvi, at the conclusion of which fourteen of their number decided that there could be no sacrifice of principle in their accepting the invitation, while the remaining thirteen took the opposite view. Nothing could convince

these that their presence, at least at the religious ceremony in Notre Dame, would not be interpreted as approving of an action in which the spiritual supremacy of the Holy See had been completely ignored. The judgment of the French ecclesiastical courts might be right or it might be wrong—with that they were not concerned. They denied to those courts the power of judging the matter at all; and they asserted that their allegiance to the Sovereign Pontiff must become suspicious were they to assist at a ceremony which was the outcome of a decision made by a body of men who had usurped what they could only consider to be the exclusive rights of the Pope. They endeavoured to prevail upon Cardinal Fesch to inform the Emperor that these were their conscientious reasons for their contemplated absence from his religious marriage. Cardinal Fesch seems only to have reminded them that they were running into danger, and would provoke Napoleon's anger and revenge. They tried to compromise: might not the presence of the fourteen who did not feel the same difficulty with them, be regarded as a sufficient representation of the whole body? But nothing short of the full number of the Cardinals would satisfy Napoleon, and no excuse, save that of ill-health, would be admitted. 'They will not dare,' were his words when the first news of their determination reached his ears. He had yet to learn that there were wills which even he could not break.

The day came. Cardinal Fesch performed the religious service for his august nephew and Marie Louise, as readily as he had done six years before, when Josephine Beanharnais was wedded. Napoleon realized the importance of the event of which he was the central figure. He was entering into the most ancient royal family in Europe. He could by marriage henceforth claim a relationship with the Roman Emperors. He was that day to perform an action which would give him a right to address other crowned heads, and to be addressed by them as 'cousin.' It was one of the greatest, if not the greatest day of his extraordinary life. One only thing embarassed him; and he immediately made his embarassment evident. The chairs placed in the

sanctuary for the cardinals were occupied only by eleven of their number: sixteen were empty. It was a veritable drop of aloes in a jar of honey. He forgot everything else —the crowds of idolizing people through whom he and his future consort had passed, the cathedral, brilliant with every kind of uniform and with every colour of dress, the young princess waiting to bestow upon him the pride of birth. 'Where are they?' he exclaimed in anger, taking his eyes from the empty seats; 'where are they? The fools! The fools! I can see what they are aiming at. They protest against the legitimacy of my offspring; they wish to shake my dynasty. The fools!' Three of the absent Cardinals were of the number of those who had felt no conscientious objection to taking part in the ceremony; they had been excused because of their health. The thirteen Black Cardinals, felt 'during these memorable hours, extreme anguish as they reflected upon the serious action they had undertaken, and the consequences which must come from it.'[1] The whole of that day no one came near them; and the next day, at the reception in the Tuileries, they were treated in a manner which, while it left them in ignorance as to what punishment they might expect, served clearly to show them that Napoleon regarded them as enemies. For hours they were kept waiting in an ante-chamber, looking at the uninteresting spectacle of all the world's being admitted and departing, while they, who, according to their position, should have been among the first to be introduced, were again and again passed over. At length the message came that his majesty would not receive the thirteen cardinals absent from the ceremony of his marriage; and they were ordered to depart. Someone had long ago sent home their carriages; and the streets of Paris presented a scene which even Rome in modern times could not present— thirteen cardinals, some of them belonging to princely and ducal houses, all of them the most celebrated members of the Sacred College, were in full cardinal's robes walking to their respective dwellings.

[1] Consalvi's *Memoirs*.

It is said that Napoleon's first thought was to shoot them. A little reflection, however, had probably taught him that, if the execution of the unfortunate Duc d'Enghien had brought him no glory, that of thirteen princes of the Church would bring him less than none. These men were Italians; their action was one which attacked neither his throne nor his person. Although he might have sent his own subjects to prison, he seemed to realize that to exaggerate an act of impoliteness into an act of treason when a number of illustrious foreigners, out of no ill-will to him but from conscientious motives were the offenders, would place him in a light with Europe, the effects of which even he could not bring himself to run the risk of incurring. He went as far as he dared. For two days he kept the Black Cardinals in suspense, after which they were informed by the minister for public worship that the Emperor intended 'to dismiss them' from their various dignities, to deprive them of the indemnity they were already allowed for the confiscation of their ecclesiastical goods, and to consider them no longer as cardinals. 'You will let them understand,' so ran his instructions, 'that were they put on their trial . . . nothing prevents them from being condemned; and, because they are regarded as already condemned, we desire them no longer to wear the marks of their ecclesiastical honours, nor the dress of a cardinal.' They were, in addition, to leave Paris, to be placed under surveillance in a fortified town, and to be allowed something under £2 per week to live on.

The Black Cardinals left the French capital, after having drawn up a document in which they humbly informed Napoleon that neither in thought nor deed had they wished to perform an act of treason; that their action was one which duty to the Sovereign Pontiff alone suggested; and that they did not pretend to set themselves up as judges either of the validity of his first, or of the invalidity of his second marriage. Each town received two of their number; and for four years they were to test the truth of Napoleon's own proverb that: 'Happy is the man who is concealed away from me in the recesses of some province.'

But were they happy? It is true that their present state of degradation could not have effected them, as it must have done some worldly individual who, from being a member of one of the most ancient courts of Europe, as the Papal court is, finds himself placed on a level with a mere artisan. The Black Cardinals were all of them deeply religious men. Of Cardinal Gabrielli, the history of the town in which he was confined, tells us that, 'he celebrated Mass in the chapel of the hospital with great sentiments of piety, often shedding abundant tears.' They were men who had learned in the best of Christian schools to be content even under extreme reverse of fortune. 'They led a very retired life, particularly Cardinal de Pietro,' says the same history; 'they rarely had relations with the notable personages of the town, and they were very much respected and looked up to by everyone as being generous confessors of the faith, suffering with much patience, courage, and resignation, unjust persecutions.' Their own piety and intensely spiritual disposition, doubtless, made it easy for them to bear the loss of their property, and to feel it as only a slight hardship to be obliged to exist on a sum which, compared with their former riches, was a mere trifle. But they never knew what the next day would bring forth in the shape of far more serious punishments.

The Minister of the Police in each of the towns in which they were placed had from time to time to give information to the Government of the least action of the exiles. A complaint against one shows how eager the Chief Magistrate of the city was to carry out his instructions, and how unscrupulous he could prove himself to be in his reports. 'He finishes the day,' such was the objection against Cardinal Ruffo, 'by a *Te Deum*, sung by himself, his chaplains, and his attendants, in his room with open windows. This attracts a considerable number of people around his house. This eccentricity of the Cardinal is clearly contrary to the respect due to the religion which he thinks he is honouring.' A strict inquiry elicited the fact, that the Cardinal, being deaf, could be made to hear only when his

servant spoke in a high tone of voice, and that some children congregated under the windows in amusement at the sound of the shouting. So great was the espionage with which each one of them was surrounded, that Cardinal Consalvi tells us he was obliged, so soon as he had finished one page of his famous *Memoirs*, which he was then writing, immediately to conceal it for fear of the surprise visits which the authorities might at any moment make. It was regarded as treason to communicate with, or to receive communications from the Pope imprisoned in Savona. The person who could be proved to have corresponded with the Black Cardinals upon the distressed state of religious affairs, or to have assisted them in their wants, must go into exile, perhaps be cast into the worst kind of prison. For these two reasons it is easily intelligible that the houses of the cardinals would be objects of frequent examination. Cardinal della Sommiglia and his chaplain had the mortification of seeing, the one his last will and testament, the other his business papers scrutinized by the police. Cardinal Litta had to convince the officers, curious as to whence he received assistance, that no French subject had relieved him, but that his brother in Russia had shown him that act of kindness. 'I can affirm,' says Mother Camilla de Soyecourt, who was accused of this new crime of ministering to the wants of the Black Cardinals, 'I can affirm, that I have contributed nothing to the collection made for the cardinals. Had I done so, I should have thought it a good work, and not be afraid to boast of it.' She was sent into exile. Shortly after leaving Paris, Cardinals di Pietro, Gabrielli, and Oppozoni, were confined to dungeons in Vincennes, charged with the enormous offence of being in correspondence with the illustrious prisoner of Savona. They were kept in durance till the end of their exile, Napoleon suspected the confessors of being the rallying-point for all the strong opposition which religious France was making to his treatment of the Pope. People knew that they had been the first to refuse to bend before his will. Could he find only the smallest pretext for ridding himself of them altogether, he would have been but too pleased 'to make the head of

some of these priests fall from their shoulders,' as he said sometime afterwards in alluding to the cardinals. With such an enemy, and under such circumstances, the loss of their property and their degradation were among the very least of the sufferings which, for three years, they joyfully bore for their conscience sake.

At the commencement of the year 1813, the witty Parisians found themselves making merry over a new Concordat which the Pope was said to have concluded with the Emperor. The Concordat was one, they said, *qui fait rougir les cardinaux*, the point in their witticism consisting in the fact that *rougir* means both to redden and to blush. The phrase had, indeed, described the exact state of affairs. Napoleon had appeared at Fontainbleau, whither the Pope had been conveyed, and had demanded four concessions from him. Two of them were prejudicial to the rights of the Holy See; the third was the condemnation of the conduct of the Black Cardinals; and the fourth, that Cardinals di Pietro, and Pacca should be banished for ever from the presence of the Holy Father. The Pope, worn out with infirmity and sickness, brought on by the indignities to which he had, for four years, been subjected by the Emperor, consented to yield to Napoleon's first two demands, only on one condition: all of the Black Cardinals must be immediately liberated. In addition to this, the agreement which he had signed could not be looked upon as finally made until he had consulted with the Sacred College. Napoleon felt obliged to come to an understanding with the Pope, and if he had to relinquish his earnest wish of seeing the cardinals humiliated, he yet had obtained everything he had striven for so obstinately. His arms had been defeated, his military prestige was going; he must have peace in the religious world of France; he could afford to let his enemies go when he might bring quietness in the ecclesiastical world by Papal concessions such as no monarch ever wrung from the Holy See. The Black Cardinals were made to redden: they received their liberty, and recovered their purple and their dignity. The Black Cardinals were made to blush: they heard on their way from exile to Fontainbleau, that they

owed their freedom to an action which lessened the authority of the Papacy, the rights of which they had so strenuously maintained. They were admitted to the presence of Pius, whom they found worried, ill, and overcome with remorse at the arrangement made with Napoleon, although he had stipulated that it could not be regarded as final until he had taken counsel with the cardinals. The Pope was determined to disown this Concordat. In a document, which was drawn up by three of the most notable of the Black Cardinals, the Pope blames the Emperor for publishing a Concordat which was simply the basis of a future arrangement; he protests that his conscience is altogether oppposed to the execution of the objectionable articles; and he asserts that he had entered into the preliminary agreement from infirmity, 'being as we are, but dust and ashes.'

Napoleon now had no time to consider religious affairs. His star was setting, and his throne tottering to its fall. A higher power than his had taken him in hand, and was surely bringing him down. At last he seemed to realize this. How could he hope for success while he kept in captivity the Vicar of Christ? Such a question might have arisen in his mind, and prompted him to send that hasty message to Pius on the morning of January 23rd, 1814, informing him that the road to Rome was open to him, and that a carriage awaited to bear him away. But the cardinals were not so fortunate. They had been liberated a year; but they received no permission to leave France with the Pope. In Paris the authorities seemed to think that in the present desperate condition of affairs their presence was a danger, and they were sent a second time into exile. This was on the 27th January, 1814. On the 4th April, Napoleon abdicated; and on the 9th April, the provisional Government of France, ordered that the 'several cardinals in different towns of France be all set at liberty.' Cardinal Pacca, one of the principal Black Cardinals, was made the object of a particular demonstration. 'There was a general illumination—a triumphal arch was erected before the house in which Monsignor Pacca was receiving hospitality, upon which was

inscribed: "To the just, delivered from oppression.'' [1] His horses were taken from his carriage, and he was drawn by the people to the cathedral, where he celebrated Mass in the presence of a vast assembly. Catholic France, the eldest daughter of the Church, had no sympathy with the persecuting measures of its rulers.

JOHN FREELAND.

[1] I am indebted for many of the facts relating to the Black Cardinals to a paper by M. Geoffrey de Grandmaison, entitled 'Les Cardinaux Noirs,' in the *Revue des Questions Historiques*, 1st April, 1894.

Notes and Queries

LITURGY

THE CANDLES IN CONSECRATED CHURCHES

Rev. Dear Sir,—In the latest (March) number of the I. E. Record you refused to give tacit approval to the lighting of the twelve candles, peculiar to a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland. How can this be reconciled with the seemingly express rubric of the Irish Directory prescribing them to be lighted on that day?

Your negative answer to the general question, whether they might be lighted on any day except the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself, seems to be ill-founded. Your explanation does not sufficiently acknowledge the working of implied prohibitions.

Rubrics expressly prescribing a thing for a day or season are twofold. Some also constitute, or, at least, are accompanied by, an implied prohibition forbidding it on other days; others are without such a prohibition. The two instances you cite seem to belong to the former class. We are told in the rubrics to say two *Alleluias* after the *Ite Missa est* on Easter Sunday, and within its octave. When the octave ceases, we are expressly told where to say the *Alleluias* in the Mass during Paschal time. These instructions are sufficient to forbid us to say them after the *Ite Missa est.* Again, we are as impliedly forbidden to say the Mass of the Presanctified on any other day than Good Friday as we are forbidden to say the Mass of Holy Thursday on any other day than Holy Thursday. Each day has its Mass assigned by general or special rubrics, excluding others.

The rubric prescribing the lighting of the candles peculiar to a consecrated church, on the nniversary of its consecration, seems to be an express rubric, without any implied prohibition forbidding them to be lighted on other days. If the object in lighting them on the specified day be to remind the faithful of the character of the feast, the same end is not attained by lighting them on other days. But some laudable end would be attained

such as to indicate the solemnity of the feast, to further stimulate the devotion of the faithful ; and thus would the lighting of them on other days escape even an implied prohibition.

ANXIUS.

Our esteemed correspondent says that we 'refused to give tacit approval to the lighting of the twelve candles, peculiar to a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.' Had our correspondent made a more careful study of the question and reply to which he refers, he would not have committed himself to this statement. The question opens with this statement :—

> It is prescribed to light the twelve candles affixed before the crosses, in a consecrated church, on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself, and on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.

In our reply we said :—

> The first sentence in this question consists of a statement which we are not prepared to endorse ; but, as the matter is still doubtful, we merely desire to guard ourselves against appearing to tacitly approve of it.

The statement which we refused to endorse is the statement, that 'it is *prescribed* to light the candles . . . in a consecrated church *on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself*, and on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of Ireland.'

What is doubtful in the statement, and what we refused to endorse, is, that the candles should be lighted on the anniversary of the consecration of the church itself. The rubric in the *Ordo* to which our correspondent refers should be a sufficient proof that we did not mean to call in question the obligation of lighting them on the anniversary of the dedication of the churches of Ireland. Some years ago we endeavoured to show, in these pages, that in a country in which a special feast day had been appointed for the anniversary of the dedication of all the churches in the country, the anniversary of the dedication of individual churches was not to be observed ; or, in other words, that the general

anniversary was intended to include, as well as to abolish, special anniversaries. If this be the correct view, as we believe it is, then the candles placed in front of the crosses, in a consecrated church, should not be lighted on the anniversary of its consecration, but only on the general anniversary.

We are not prepared to follow our correspondent through his criticism on our remarks regarding the becomingness or lawfulness of lighting these candles on other solemn feasts besides the anniversary of the consecration. We stated our opinion, that they should not be lighted unless on the anniversary, although no special rubric or decree forbade their being lighted on other feasts. We offered two illustrations—not arguments—of practices prescribed by the rubrics for certain seasons or certain days, and not expressly forbidden for other seasons or other days, which, however, would be wrong outside the times prescribed. We adhere to our opinion, as well as to our belief in the aptness of the illustrations we used. We must, however, congratulate our correspondent on his original division of the rubrics into two classes. No writer before him had discovered this division; and, were it not for the authority of our correspondent, we should feel strongly inclined to doubt whether the rubrics themselves afford any foundation for this division.

CEREMONIES: THE 'BENEDICTIO LOCI' AND 'ASPERGES ME' AT MASS CELEBRATED IN A PRIVATE HOUSE, &c.

Rev. Dear Sir,—I believe it is the universal practice in this country, although I have never seen it prescribed in any treatise on ceremonies, that a priest about to celebrate Mass in a private house, when, vested in amice, alb, cincture, and stole reads the *Benedictio loci*, and sprinkles the apartment with holy water. In connection with this practice, will you please answer the following questions in an early number of the I. E. Record, and much oblige a P.P. :—

1. Is this rite prescribed to be performed in these circumstances? and,

2. If so, should the word *domum*, &c., be substituted for *locum*, &c.?

3. Whether is it the improvised altar or the floor that should be sprinkled?

4. Should the priest while sprinkling recite the *asperges me*, and conclude with the *VV.* and *RR.*, and *Oratio?* and, if so,

5. Which *VV.* and *RR* should be said, viz., whether the one prescribed in the Missal for the *asperges* on Sundays, or the one given in the Ritual to be used on the occasion of 'Communicating the Infirm'?

6. When, as on the occasion of a public confession station, the pyxis containing the Blessed Sacrament is on the altar should the *Benedictio loci* or *domus* be said? It would seem that when the Blessed Sacrament is present there is no need of a *Benedictio loci*, and that if there should be an *aspersio* it is the floor which serves as a predella, and not the altar that should be sprinkled;

7. But in this case, should the priest be on his knees when sprinkling the floor?

8. When the priest who is to celebrate the parish (low) Mass on a Sunday returns to the altar after the aspersion in what tone of voice is he to recite the versicles and prayer, whether aloud or in an undertone?

9. In *The Ceremonies of some Ecclesiastical Functions* it is stated, that after the celebrant has sprinkled the altar, &c., he signs himself with the end of the aspersory. Does the end of the aspersory here mean the handle, or the end containing the holy water?

1 and 2. The rubrics do not contemplate the celebration of Mass in private houses; hence they do not contain any rules to guide a priest who has to celebrate Mass in such circumstances. But the rubrics do prescribe that a church or public oratory should be, at least, blessed before Mass is celebrated in it. It is congruous, then, and in accord with the spirit of the rubrics, that a private house or private oratory should receive some form of blessing previous to the celebration of Mass therein. Neither a private house, however, nor a private oratory, can be blessed according to the form given in the ritual for the blessing of churches and public oratories, for this blessing is intended to permanently dedicate the house to religious uses. The blessing, then, to be used, in the circumstances contemplated by our

correspondent, is either the *Benedictio loci* or the *Benedictio domus*, as contained in the Missal; and whichever form is used is to be read as it is found in the Missal, without any change.

3. The room in which the temporary altar is erected should be sprinkled with holy water, in the same manner in which the room of a sick person, about to receive the *Viaticum*, is sprinkled.

4 and 5. The priest need not recite any form of prayer during or after the sprinkling. The rubric, after each of the blessings which he may use, is simply: *Deinde aspergatur aqua benedicta*.

6. This question presents another anomaly, as little contemplated by the rubrics as the celebration of Mass in a private house. We must, therefore, seek guidance from analogy, and, fortunately, we have not far to seek. The ritual, in prescribing the ceremonies to be observed in communicating the sick, directs the priest to place the pyxis containing the Blessed Sacrament on a corporal in some suitable place, to kneel and adore it, and then to sprinkle the room with holy water. These directions are applicable to the case in question. The priest carrying the Blessed Sacrament, on entering the house in which he is afterwards to celebrate Mass, should proceed at once to the previously-prepared altar, place the pyxis upon it, kneel and adore, and, having donned surplice and stole, and placed the pyxis in the temporary tabernacle, should then read one or other of the two blessings already mentioned. The sprinkling with holy water is part of these benedictions, and should be done, as already described.

7. The priest need not, and should not, kneel while aspersing in the circumstances.

8. The prayers should be said aloud.

9. We presume that the author of the work mentioned meant the end of the aspersory containing the holy water. At any rate, we are certain that that is what he should have meant.

D. O'Loan.

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. PATRICK'S BIRTHPLACE

EDITORIAL NOTE.

We have been in correspondence with the Rev. Professor Stack, of St. Peter's College, Glasgow, regarding the question of a rejoinder to the article on 'St. Patrick's Birthplace' published in our April number. Having decided not to allow the discussion to continue, we have asked Father Stack not to insist on his right to reply. To this request he has cordially assented. He states that he is content to refer our readers to what he has already written, merely adding the intimation, that, owing to some accident, he had no opportunity of revising the final proofs of his last article.

We can assure Father Stack that our action in closing the discussion is no reflection whatever on his ability to establish his case or to refute what has been alleged against him. The question of St. Patrick's birthplace has been discussed in our pages for nearly a year, and we give full credit to Father Stack for his clear and able statement of the claims of Old Kilpatrick.—Ed. I. E. R.

DOCUMENTS

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS 'IN PERICULO MORTIS'

E. S. ROM. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

VI CONCESSIONIS FACTAE ORDINARIIS DISPENSANDI IN PERICULO MORTIS AB IMPED. DIRIM. IN MATRIMONIIS CONCUBINARIORUM, DISPENSARI POTEST ETIAM AB IMPED. CLANDESTINITATIS

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus N. N., ad pedes S. V. provolutus, humillime quae sequuntur exponit:

Per Decreta S. R. et U. Inquisitionis dierum 20 februarii 1888 et 1 Martii 1889, S. V. benigne facultatem fecit locorum Ordinariis, Parochis communicabilem, etiam per habitualem subdelegationem, qua, urgente mortis periculo, dispensare valeant cum iis, qui iuxta leges civiles sunt coniuncti, aut alias in concubinatu vivunt, super impedimentis quantumvis publicis matrimonium iure ecclesiastico dirimentibus, excepto S. Presbyteratus Ordine et affinitate lineae rectae ex copula licita proveniente, ut morituri in tanta temporis angustia in faciem Ecclesiae rite copulari et propriae conscientiae consulere valeant.

Iamvero quaestio hac in re exorta est inter viros theologos, utrum vi praedictarum facultatum, liceat Episcopo, data necessitate, dispensare etiam ab impedimento clandestinitatis; aliis quidem affirmantibus, quia nulla de eo fit exceptio in generali concessione; aliis vero negantibus, quia finis concessionis est ut morituri rite in faciem Ecclesiae copulentur, quod importare videtur servandam esse, saltem quoad substantiam, formarum solemnitatem a Tridentino sub nullitate praescriptam.

Hisce praehabitis, Episcopus orator S. V. enixe efflagitat, ut definire pro sua benignitate non dedignetur:

Utrum in citatis Decretis vere comprehendatur etiam facultas dispensandi ab impedimento clandestinitatis; adeo ut ex. gr. Parochus, ab Episcopo habitualiter delegatus, possit in sua Paroecia vel coniungere non suos sed extraneos inibi casu existentes, dispensando a praesentia Parochi proprii, ad quem nullimode valeat haberi recursus; vel etiam coniungere suos, sed

sine testibus, pariter dispensando ab eorum praesentia, cum omnino non sint qui testium munere fungi possint.

Et Deus, &c.

Feria IV, die 13 *Decembris* 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito suprascripto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Affirmative.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit Notarius.*

THE LAWFULNESS AND NECESSITY OF THE CAESAREAN OPERATION IN CERTAIN CASES

DE LICEITATE ET NECESSITATE OPERATIONIS CAESAREAE, QUANDO CERTO CONSTAT DE MORTE MATRIS PRAEGNANTIS

Beatissime Pater,

Episcopus N. N. ad V. S. pedes provolutus, quae sequuntur humiliter exponit.

Parochus N. N. in hac Dioecesi, iuxta Ritualis Romani praescripta, iuxta etiam preces mulieris praegnantis et graviter decumbentis, super hac muliere, iam certo mortua, curavit ut operatio caesarea fieret. Medicus absens erat, et operatio facta fuit ab alia persona capaci. Puer vivus erat et fuit baptizatus. Propter hoc factum praefatus parochus fuit accusatus, sed a iudicibus civilibus sine ulla condemnatione remissus. Postea autem, et propter idem factum, dictus parochus a Gubernio stipendio annuo fuit privatus.

Quaeritur ergo :

1. Parochus N. N. egitne recte curando ut fieret operatio, medico deficiente, ab alia persona capaci, morte quidem certa, sed non legaliter recognita ?

2. Parochus, vel alius sacerdos, debetne curare ut, in iisdem supradictis circumstantiis, operatio, de qua agitur, fiat, etiam quando sequi debet privatio annui stipendii ?

Et Deus &c.

Feria, IV die 13 *Decembris* 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

Detur Decretum S. Officii diei 15 *Februarii* 1780 *ad Vicarium Apost. Sutchuen.*

Porro citatum Decretum sic se habet :

'Ubi de rebaptizandis parvulis Rituale Romanum hoc prae scribit scilicet : *Si mater praegnans mortua fuerit, foetus quamprimum caute extrahatur*, huc usque inter christianos casus occurrit, sed regula praescripta nunquam observata est, neque unquam promulgata. Rationes sunt : summa repugnantia quam Sinenses habent ad eiusmodi sectionem, absoluta apud ipsos artis anatomicae imperitia, gravissimum periculum atroces calumnias contra religionem excitandi gravesque persecutiones sustinendi cum discrimine salutis et vitae saltem pro iis qui sectionem tentare auderent, si factum ad notitiam gentilium perveniret, quod admodum facile est. Causae praedictae possuntne silentium excusare ?

'Resp. Etsi caute prudenterque agendum sit, ne, cum paucos quaerimus, multos amittamus, agendum esse tamen, et sectionis a Rituali praescriptae notitia ingerenda, ne oblivisci videamur eos, quos abundantiori charitate manifestum est indigere. Erit proinde e missionariorum debito, paulatim et opportune commonere Sutchuenses de miserrima parvulorum perditione in uteris matrum decedentium, quibus opitulari nihilominus, quoad humanae possunt vires, postulat christiana charitas, postulat ecclesiastica sollicitudo. Neque improbum videri debere Sutchuensibus ut ullis fidelibus secare matrem mortuam, cum et Dominicum latus dissectum sit pro nostra redemptione. Illud potius rationi absonum atque ab omni pietate remotum, pro ignani integritate pudoreque servando defunctae genitrici, viventem natum aeternae morti addicere. Certe, non modestia, non virtus, unde tantum profluit malum. Haec autem foetus extractio de praegnantis defunctaeque alvo matris, quamvis patefacienda, ut dicimus, ac persuadenda sit, expresse tamen cavet, prohibetque Sanctitas Sua, ne missionarii in casibus particularibus se ingerant in demandanda sectione, multoque minus in ea peragenda. Sat proinde missionariis fuerit illius notitiam edidisse, curasseque ut

eius perficiendae rationem perdiscant qui chirurgicis intendunt, laici homines, tum vero, cum casus tulerit, eiusdem praxum ipsorum oneri ac muneri reliquisse.'

Sequenti vero feria VI. die 15 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo div. prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE TEACHING OF LATIN AND GREEK BY BROTHERS OF THE CHRISTIAN SCHOOLS IN THE UNITED STATES. DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

PROHIBETUR NE FRATRES SCHOLARUM CHRISTIANARUM IN STATIBUS FOEDERATIS AMERICAE SEPT. DOCEANT LINGUAM LATINAM ET GRAECAM

Protocollo N. 36549. Roma li 11 Gennaio 1900.

Eme ac Rme Dne Mi Obme :

Eminentiam Tuam pro meo munere certiorem facio Emos Patres huius S. Congregationis in generalibus Comitiis die 11ª Decembris 1899 habitis examini subiecisse quaestionem de facultate pro Fratribus Scholarum Christianarum docendi linguam latinam et graecam in eorum scholis, et ad Dubia:

1. Se attese le nuove istanze convenga accordare ai Fratell delle Scuole Cristiane dimoranti negli Stati Uniti di America la dispensa dalla Regola, che loro proibisce l'insegnamento della lingua latina e greca :

Risposero :—Negative et amplius.

2. Se sia espediente differir l'esecuzione di questa decisione.

Risposero :—Negative, et amplius, et ad mentem. Mens est, che si dia un formale precetto al Superiore Generale per fargli conoscere che l'insegnamento della lingua latina e greca nei suoi Instituti di America si tollera fino al termine del corrente anno scolastico solamente. Inoltre che si comunichino le dette risoluzioni per mezzo dell'Emza Vra anche alla Gerarchia Cattolica degli Stati Uniti, rilevando all'Episcopato Americano, che quantunque la Santa Sede favorisca l'insegnamento degli studi classici,

e specialmente del latino, servendosi all'uopo eziandio di Ordini Religiosi dediti per le loro regole a siffatto insegnamento, nondimeno volendo che si mantenga negli Instituti religiosi l'osservanza perfetta delle loro regole, lo proibisce ai Fratelli delle Scuole Cristiane, ed è suo desiderio che essi negli Stati Uniti accrescano invece le loro scuole teciniche e commerciali.

Huiusmodi vero decisiones Sanctitas Sua in audientia diei 6 vertentis mensis in omnibus confirmare dignata est. Cum vero per earum participationem meo muneri satisfecerim, nihil omnino dubitans, quin Rmi Episcopi istius Regionis pro sua erga S. Sedem devotione iisdem morem gerant, manus tuas maximo cum obsequio humillime deosculor.

Eminentiae Tuae

Hmus Devmus Servus

M. Card. Ledochowski, *Praef.*
Aloisius Veccia, *Secretarius.*

Emo Sig. Card. Giacomo Gibbons,
Arcivescovo di Baltimora.

DECISION OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES REGARDING THE USE OF THE PIANO AT 'TENEBRAE,' AND OTHER PRACTICES

BONAEREN

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Hodiernus Rmus. Dominus Archiepiscopus Bonaëren., exoptans ut in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis suae Dioeceseos sacrae functiones iuxta Rubricas et Decreta accurate perficiantur, remotis consuetudinibus non probatis, a Sacra Rituum Congregatione, sequentium dubiorum solutionem humiliter expetivit : nimirum :

Dubium I. An tolerari possit usus adhibendi cymbalum seu *Piano-forte* in Matutinis Tenebrarum et in Missis ferialibus quae organum excludunt ; et dum canitur Passio ?

Dubium II. An permitti possit ut in cantu Passionis Diaconus, qui repraesentat Synagogam, eas tantum sententias cantet quae ab uno proferuntur, ut a Petro, Caipha, Pilato etc., sententiae vero turbae cantentur a schola ordinarie ex laicis conflata ?

Dubium III. An tolerari possit antiqua et valde generalis consuetudo, ut in festis solemnioribus Sanctorum, in Vesperis, eorum Imagines, hinc et inde iuxtu Altare collocatae, incensentur

triplici ductu, post thurificationem Altaris, celebrante se sistente successive ante singulas ipsas Imagines?

Dubium IV. An permitti queat ut in aliqua solemnitate Missa incipiat in meridie, ita ut ob solemnitatem cantus et concionem, Missa se protrahat usque ad horam secundam vel amplius?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem Secretarii exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae reque mature perpensa respondendum censuit:

Ad I. *Negative in omnibus.*

Ad II. *Permitti posse.*

Ad III. *Affirmative, sed duplici ductu.*

Ad IV. *Prudenti arbitrio Ordinarii.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 7 Julii 1899

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

LITURGICAL REGULATIONS FOR HOLY THURSDAY

COMEN.

DUBIA CIRCA PRAESCRIPTIONES LITURGICAS PRO FERIA V. IN COENA DOMINI

Revmus Dominus Theodorus Valfrè di Bonzo, Episcopus Comen. exoptans ut in sua Dioecesi praescriptiones liturgicae observentur, circa aliquas consuetudines ibidem vigentes sequentia dubia, pro declaratione, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi humillime exposuit; nimirum:

Dubium I. An Feria V in Coena Domini in Ecclesiis Parochialibus aliisque non Parochialibus celebrari possit Missa lecta vel cum cantu, quin peragantur functiones Feriae VI in Parasceve et Sabbati Sancti?

Dubium II. An praedicta Missa legi vel decantari possit in Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis spectantibus ad Regulares, ad Seminaria et ad Pias Communitates?

Dubium III. An publicae Fidelium adorationi proponi queat Sanctissimum Eucharistiae Sacramentum etiam post Missam Praesanctificatorum?

Dubium IV. An cum Hostia consecrata quae reservatur pro dicta Missa Praesanctificatorum, reponi possit in urnula seu

sepulcro pixis cum particulis consecratis si opus fuerit pro infirmis?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio ad relationem Secretarii, audito etiam voto Commissionis Liturgicae omnibusque perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. 'In Ecclesiis Parochialibus ubi adest Fons baptismalis, serventur Rubricae Missalis et Decreta, adhibito Memoriali Rituum Benedicti Papae XIII profunctionibus praescriptis, si extet defectus sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum. In aliis vero Ecclesiis non Parochialibus, omitti potest functio Sabbati Sancti, non tamen illa Feriae VI in Parasceve; et fiat Sepulcrum: expetita facultate pro usu dicti *Memorialis*, si idem sacrorum ministrorum et clericorum defectus existat.'

Ad II. 'Affirmative, quoad Regulares proprie dictos, iuxta Decretum sub N. 2799 diei 31 Augusti 1839; Negative, quoad Seminaria et Pias Communitates, nisi habeatur Apostolicum Indultum.'

Ad III. et IV. 'Negative; et serventur Rubricae et Decreta.'

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 9 Decembris 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Fra Girolamo Savonarola. By Herbert Lucas, S.J. London: Sands & Co. 7*s.* 6*d.*

Savonarola's life, so bright in the noonday of its success, and so dark in its mournful, mysterious ending, has ever since possessed an extraordinary fascination for students of Church history. At the present day a new interest has been awakened in the events of that chequered career. The unconquerable spirit that would not yield to Lorenzo de Medici, the eloquence that awed even the Florence of the Renaissance into modesty and virtue, and the austerity and holiness of life that attracted so many to the cloisters of San Marco, will never be forgotten. The name and fame of the great preacher is destined to last till the end of time.

Father Lucas has evidently taken pains with his book, and in preparation for it he has read a great many authorities. He does not, however, refer to the *Quarto Centenario*, which is a mine of useful information. But, surely, he might have learned from Nardi, Savonarola's contemporary, whose name he gives in his Biographical List, that the Vicar-General of Florence who interdicted Savonarola's preaching was a member of the Medici family. Father Lucas thinks that Pagagnotti issued the prohibition. Pagagnotti was Bishop Auxiliary; but the Vicar-General was Lionardo de Medici. Those conversant with the life and times of Savonarola know only too well what a difference this probably made.

Then, as regards the 'Process,' or examination before the Papal Commissaries, Father Lucas, in his description of it, places far too much reliance on Ceccone's report, though incidentally, at the end of his description (p. 427), he speaks of Ceccone as the infamous notary who was mulcted of more than nine-tenths of his promised pay, and more than once mentions his falsification of the acts of the trial. It is hard to see why Father Lucas, though he occasionally makes a protest, allows, throughout a whole chapter of his book (Chapter xxiii., pp. 407-428), such a wretch as Ceccone to malign Savonarola. On the other hand, the learned author dismisses very summarily (in a note, p. 375) what Cinnoza, the earliest biographer of

Savonarola, relates about Ceccone, though it is quite in accordance with what is stated about that worthy by Vivoli and Fra Benedetto. Everything we can learn from contemporary and trustworthy sources about Ceccone shows that he was bribed (see Villari, ii., p. 204). Father Lucas admits that he was a forger, and, indeed, the documents published by Villari, and the statements made by others, leave no room for doubt on that point. So true is this, that even Pastor, speaking about the report drawn up by Ceccone, expresses himself thus in his *History of the Popes*:—'It is plain that Savonarola's statements, forced from him by torture, and further distorted by interpolations and omissions, cannot be accepted as proofs of anything.'

Savonarola's autograph deposition is apparently no longer extant. According to Fra Benedetto, it was destroyed at the suggestion of Piero degli Alberti, one of Savonarola's deadliest enemies. This looks suspicious. In the report of the examination which Ceccone made up there are statements so utterly at variance both with Savonarola's previous actions, and with the Christian fortitude he soon after displayed at his last hour, that no reliance can be placed on what the unprincipled notary says. Had Savonarola been sent to Rome for examination, as Alexander VI. at first commanded, the subsequent course of events would probably have been very different. Two Papal Commissioners were, however, despatched to Florence, Romolino and Torriano, men unlike each other in every respect. Of Romolino, Father Lucas says (p. 383):—'He appears to have been a man of scandalous life, and no one has put on record a single good word in his favour.' Father Lucas gives almost the whole of the third process, which was conducted by Romolino, and taken down by Ceccone, on whose veracity we have just the same reliance that we should have on that of Titus Oates.

The other commissary, Torriano, was a man of eminent virtue. He was General of the Dominican Order, and had always been just and kind towards Savonarola. If we had Torriano's own account of the proceedings, and knew what he thought of them, we should be in a much better position to form a judgment. But the letter which claims to have been written by the two Papal Commissaries has all the appearance of being a forgery. As Father Lucas remarks (p. 434): 'This letter must be pronounced a lamentable document; and we can only venture

to suggest that it may have been the work of Romolino, and not of his colleague.'

By this time our readers will probably have concluded that it is unfair to believe, at first sight, any one of the many serious charges that were made by people such as these against Savonarola. When the accusation is proved, then, and only then, ought it to be accepted. Mere statements are not sufficient. Broadly speaking, history shows that all Savonarola's adherents were pious and virtuous, and that all his adversaries were men of evil life. It was by intercepting letters and by misrepresenting facts that they succeeded in procuring Savonarola's death. Luotto, who has made a special study of the question, says: 'Of all the infamous deeds which are told of the closing years of the fifteenth century, there is not one more characteristic nor worse than this, in which infamous calumny, fraud, impiety, contempt for everything sacred, and, above all, for the Vicar of Christ, seem triumphant.'

It is quite clear from several passages that Father Lucas thinks that Savonarola was really excommunicated, though he is acquainted with Lottini's pamphlet, in which the opposite is ably maintained. A learned and impartial investigation of the question is now accessible to English readers in a work entitled *Was Savonarola Really Excommunicated?* by Rev. J. L. O'Neil, O.P., Boston, 1900. The author takes the same view as Lottini (who is the superior of the convent of San Marco, at present), and his arguments are well worthy of consideration. He shows negatively that Savonarola was not regarded as excomunicated by Alexander VI. A month after the Brief had been issued, the Pope thus spoke of Savonarola: 'I wish to hear him; if he is innocent, I shall give him my blessing; if he is guilty, I shall exercise justice and mercy.' The Pope gave him leave to say Mass on the very day of his execution, and granted him, at the last moment, a plenary indulgence, but did not absolve him from excommunication! Neither did the Cardinal Protector, nor the General of the Dominican Order, consider him as deposed from the Priorship of San Marco, as he would certainly have been if excommunicated. On the contrary, during the period that elapsed between the reception of the Pope's Brief and his own tragic end, he continued to discharge all the duties of his office; and his acts in that capacity, such as receiving novices and admitting them to profession, were regarded as valid. This

certain from the chronicle of the convent of San Marco. Lastly, Savonarola, who was both a learned canonist and a man of scrupulous delicacy of conscience, did not look upon himself as separated from the communion of the faithful. He said he would never ask for absolution, and he kept his word. When the proposal was made to him, that if five thousand scudi were paid to a creditor of the Cardinal of Siena, he would procure the revocation of the Brief, Savonarola indignantly rejected the infamous suggestion. (Burlamacchi, Villari.) And in his letter to the Chancellor of the Duke of Ferrara, he says: 'I should consider myself far more heavily censured if I accepted the withdrawal of the excommunication under such terms.'

It is true that his letter of October 13th, 1497, bears in Father Lucas' book and elsewhere the title *To the Pope for Absolution* (Lucas, p. 267); but, as the learned author states (p. 277): 'It must, however, be borne in mind that the words of the title are not Savonarola's own.' But, on the same page, are given the words that he really used in his sermon delivered in the Cathedral of Florence, Septuagesima Sunday, 1498, and they are strong words. 'O my Lord, I turn to Thee, and say: If I ever seek absolution from this excommunication, send me to hell! I should fear I had committed a mortal sin, were I to seek absolution!' These are the words of one who, in the opinion of his friend and confessor, Blessed Sebastian Maggi, had never committed a deliberate sin.

But how could Savonarola speak as he did? Because he knew that the so-called excommunication was notoriously unjust and invalid, that it had been procured by the enemies of Christian morality, and that the Pope had been imposed upon. The Brief contained four indictments.

First, that he had sown certain pernicious doctrines, and that he was suspected of heresy. But how could Alexander VI. make this false statement regarding Savonarola's teaching? He had declared on March 4th, 1497, that he found no fault with it, and no change had taken place in the interval. After Savonarola's death, his works (printed sermons, &c.) were declared to be orthodox by the commission which Paul IV. appointed to examine them A.D. 1554). At the very moment the decision was given, it was revealed to St. Philip Neri, who was praying for the vindication of one whom he revered as a saint, before the Blessed Sacrament which was solemnly exposed in the Dominican

church of the Minerva, in order that the truth might be made known.

Father Lucas does not speak of this very important and interesting fact in St. Philip's life; but he does mention with emphasis that St. Ignatius would not allow any of Savonarola's works to be kept or read in the houses of the society (p. 441). That may be: but, as is well known, theology was not the saint's forte. Father Lucas does not, however, imply here that St. Ignatius thought Savonarola's works to be heterodox. He does, however, say (p. 429, note) that some of Savonarola's works were placed on the Index. As Father Ryder has already remarked in his critique of Father Lucas' work:—

'There is here a *suppressio veri* which amounts to a *suggestio falsi*. He omits to tell the reader that, after a six months' searching scrutiny by the Roman Congregation, when the attack on his writings was led by the able Jesuit, Laynez, and when, to all human appearances, an adverse verdict seemed at first inevitable, not a line was specifically condemned, but to appease the clamour for a condemnation, a number of his writings, not sufficiently examined, were provisionally placed on the Index pending a definite pronouncement. This was what was revealed to St. Philip Neri.'

Father Lucas should have known this before he published his work; and, if he knew it, he should have stated it.

Secondly, that he had disobeyed the Pope's command summoning him to Rome (July 21, 1495). To this Brief Savonarola respectfully replied (July 31, 1495), that the weak state of his health, the danger of assassination, and the condition of Florence, did not permit him to go then; but that he hoped to be able to go soon. Alexander VI. accepted these reasons for not undertaking the journey (Brief of May 13, 1497.) It is true that the opposite is stated in his Brief to the Vicar of the Lombard Province, Blessed Sebastian Maggi (September 9, 1495); but as Father O'Neil very well says: 'Though this statement is in contradiction to the facts, the reader need not ascribe the want of truth to Alexander. It is probable that he was not familiar with the details of Briefs drawn up by secretaries, and sometimes inspired by enemies of the friar.' Father O'Neil mentions also what Father Lucas omits, namely, that Lutto proves that Cardinal Sforza was the author of the Brief of July 21, 1495, and that it was a snare skilfully laid for Savonarola, in shameful

deception of the Pope. But Father Lucas speaks thus of a letter of the Cardinal's in reference to 'the good work of crushing the wickedness of Fra Hieronymo.' 'For the rest, Ascanio's letter is a specimen which it would not be easy to better, of the base hypocrisy with which men themselves steeped in vice, and a disgrace to their ecclesiastical calling, could hold up their hands in pious horror at the "wickedness" of the preacher, misguided though one may believe him to have been.'

There were many men like Cardinal Ascanio Sforza among the adversaries of Savanarola, and they were capable of any act of injustice. It is precisely the knowledge of this fact which makes us unwilling to believe their loud denunciations of Savanarola. It is by no means improbable that his answer of July 31, 1495, was intercepted. As he writes again to the Pope, September 29, 1495: 'I am surprised that your Holiness did not receive my answer, and therefore took care to enclose a copy of it in the letter sent to your Holiness yesterday by the community, so that your Holiness might see that they have spoken falsely who said that I refused to obey.' Again and again does Savanarola attribute his own misfortunes to the malice of those who are deceiving the Pope. See his letters to Alexander VI., of September 29, 1495, of May 22, and June 25, 1497. In the letters of July 31, 1495, and of May 22, June 25, and October 13, 1497, he professes his profound reverence for, and obedience to, the Pope; only in the pathetic letter of March 13, 1498, which expresses the same veneration, does he say that at last he considers himself as abandoned by the Pope to the fierce wolves that rage against him.

Thirdly, that he had disregarded the Pope's prohibition to preach (Brief of October 16, 1495). The fact is, that Savonarola, notwithstanding the unanimous decree of the Signoria, absolutely refused (*as it was his obvious duty to refuse*) to utter a single word in the pulpit, until the Pope gave him permission. On February 16, 1496, he publicly stated that the leave had been granted, and that he would preach. (Why does Father Lucas say, that the leave was extorted?) Dr. Pastor, on whom he relies so much, goes farther. In his *History of the Popes*, he says that Savonarola disobeyed, and in proof of his statement he refers to Cipolla, Cosci, and Perrens. But Cipolla has since changed his opinion, Luotto's arguments have convinced him of Savonarola's obedience, and he intends to say so in his next

edition. Perrens in one of his works does not discuss the question, in another he depends mainly on the authority of another Protestant, viz., Cosci. This writer gives no satisfactory proof for his statement; indeed, he is disposed to admit that leave to preach was granted. But, at all events, we could hardly expect a competent decision on the question of obedience, from one who writes as Cosci does about Luther and Savanarola: 'The German friar had the truly Christian and altogether modern idea, which the Italian friar had not, the idea of independent reason which stands up and judges the conscience, and rests on God without the need of any exterior worship. This it is that constitutes the immense superiority of Martin Luther, notwithstanding the contradictions of his theological system, over Girolamo Savonarola'! So much for Pastor's authorities.

Fourthly, that he had disobeyed the Pope's command to unite the convent of San Marco to the new Tusco-Roman province. To judge of the truth of this statement, we must take a rapid glance at the facts. We begin from the action of the Pope himself. Alexander VI. had for the sake of stricter observance made San Marco independent of the Lombard province. Then by a Brief, dated Sept. 8, 1495, he reunited them. In reference to this Brief, Savonarola wrote thus on Sept. 15, 1495, to a friend in Rome:—'I believe that if his Holiness were aware of these facts he would annul the Brief, and punish the perpetrators of fraud.' 'Nevertheless, if I cannot otherwise save my conscience than by obeying the Brief, certainly I will obey, though the ruin of the whole world should be the result; for I do not wish to sin in this affair in any manner, even venially. But in this affair I have considered that it is well, as the doctors teach, to wait.' Early in 1496, the convent of Prato was placed by the Pope under the jurisdiction of Savanarola, as Vicar of the Congregation of San Marco. On November 7 of that year, the Pope established the Tusco-Roman Congregation, of which San Marco was to form a part, and on December 13 a Padre Giacomo, a Sicilian, was appointed Vicar. Savonarola instantly acknowledged him as Superior.

Now in the Brief of excommunication (May 13, 1497), Savonarola is declared to be guilty of disobedience. It recites that 'by another Brief (dated November 7, 1496, the fifth year of our Pontificate) we ordered him—to obey in uniting the convent of San Marco to a certain new Congregation, called the

Tusco-Roman Province, by us lately formed and instituted.' But if we turn to the Brief in question, we find no such command. The Pope says:—'And by our Apostolic authority we also decree for now and all future time that the said houses are united,' and 'we forbid each and everyone to contradict or impede this our letter.' Thus *ipso facto* the union was made by this Decree. It did not rest with Savanarola; it did not depend on his consent, or dissent. In point of fact, he obeyed to the letter. He had been told not to impede, and he did not impede. The discrepancy between the two Briefs on an all-important point is too evident to admit of further remark. But it is worthy of notice that the second Brief was signed by the Archbishop of Cosenza, who four months later was condemned to the Castle of St. Angelo, on the charge of having forged Papal Briefs. Whether he acted unjustly in Savonarola's case, we do not know; but, surely, we ought to be cautious in accepting his words as Secretary, and pause before condemning a great and holy man like Savonarola.

Nevertheless, Father Lucas seems not to have seen the discrepancy between the Briefs. He seems also unwilling to grant that in the latter Brief the Pope does not inflict any censure, that he simply declares that Savanarola had incurred excommunication on account of certain alleged transgressions. But this is obvious to anyone that reads the Brief. How guiltless Savonarola was of the alleged transgressions, we have already seen. It is no wonder, then, that Pico dello Mirandola exclaimed:—'For myself, when I was told about the excommunication, I could scarcely believe that from so celebrated a place, such a sentence would be fulminated against a man whom I know to be endowed with learning and adorned with all virtues, especially obedience, and without even the semblance of truth to justify it.'

Two years ago, though Father Lucas does not mention it, six cardinals and forty bishops concurred in doing honour to the memory of Savonarola. Recent investigations have thrown a flood of light on many episodes in his history, and have completely justified his action. If over other parts of his career a veil of obscurity still hangs, let us reflect that a little more work may remove that veil also. If there are actions of Savonarola which some people at the present day cannot understand, let us remind ourselves that they presented no difficulty whatever to contemporaries of the great preacher, living in Florence, having

an opportunity of knowing the whole case, and leading holy lives. For instance, the nuns of the 'Fuligno' were remarkable for their fervour; two by two, they attended the Lenten sermons in 1498, which, presumably, they would not have done, had Savonarola really been what Father Lucas represents him.

There is, however, still higher testimony to Savonarola's virtue, the testimony of beatified and canonized servants of God. If we mistake not, no less than thirteen of them had a devotion to him, among these being St. Philip Neri, St. Catherine de Ricci, Blessed Colomba di Rieti, and Blessed Juvenal Ancini. Blessed John Fischer also venerated him. Father Lucas may dilate on 'Savonarola's disobedience' (p. 440), and imply that it had its roots in pride; but if he were proud and disobedient, and died excommunicated, can Father Lucas explain the religious honour which these saints have paid to his memory? In such matters saints are good judges. On page 441 Father Lucas thus expresses himself:—'The only thing to be said on the subject seems to be that St. Philip and St. Catherine venerated Savonarola for his eminent virtues.' Very well, but eminent virtues are incompatible with pride and disobedience. Is not Father Lucas blowing hot and cold in the same breadth? Throughout his book he appears unwilling to do Savonarola justice; he is inclined to put an unfavourable construction on several actions, and insinuates that they were prompted by unworthy motives. Saints did not do so.

A word in conclusion. It has often occurred to the present writer that there is a remarkable resemblance between the fiery death so bravely endured in the Piazza del Palazzo Vecchio in Florence, on May 23, 1498, and that which was so nobly borne in the market-place of Rouen, sixty-seven years before. Joan of Arc and Savonarola had a great deal in common during life and at the hour of death. One was burned as a sorceress, the other as a heretic and schismatic. Time has vindicated the virtues of the Maid of Orleans, and time may yet do justice to the holiness of the Preacher of Florence.

R. W.

ORESTES A. BROWNSON'S MIDDLE LIFE. From 1845 to 1855. By Henry F. Brownson. Detroit, Michigan: H. F. Brownson, Publisher, 1899.

HAVING told us in *Brownson's Early Life* all that is of interest regarding his father's early years, education, and conversion, Mr. H. F. Brownson deals in the present volume with what he calls the 'middle life' of the famous American writer. The book is very interesting, and naturally lets the reader into the secrets of many transactions that required elucidation in order to be fully understood. It is written, as might be expected, with unqualified admiration for the subject of the biography, and where bishops, priests, or Catholic laymen of the period come into collision with the famous convert they get but little approval from his son.

Perhaps one of the most interesting features of the book to Irish readers, though certainly not the most pleasant, will be the tone of lofty patronage with which the author of the work is pleased to speak of Irish Catholics in America. This tone is also noticeable in many of the letters of Brownson's friends, who speak of themselves as *native Americans*, and of the Irish as foreigners, or immigrants. The letters of Father Hecker, quoted in this volume, are by no means exempt from the same blemish. Brownson, the elder, was far superior to any of these men. He had, like Cardinal Manning, a genuine love for the Irish people, and whilst he sometimes reminded them of their defects, he never minimized their good qualities, or spared the self-sufficiency of their critics.

The correspondence between Newman and Brownson is also worthy of attention. When Dr. Newman became Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland he invited Brownson to lecture on geography, a rather curious selection of subject for a man who was chiefly known for his philosophical and theological work. Döllinger had been invited to deliver some lectures on historico-theological subjects. The project was not fulfilled in either case. Few will regret at the present day that Döllinger was never associated with the old establishment in Stephen's-green; nor could Brownson who had just then incurred the hostility of the Irish people have been, under the circumstances, a very welcome addition to the staff of the new University. Indeed one of the most delicate duties Dr. Newman had to perform was to intimate to Brownson that he had practically to withdraw his invitation.

Brownson's criticism of Dr. Newman's theory of *Development* was very remarkable, and everything in his published works, and in the letters which now see the light for the first time, would seem to indicate that he anticipated the movement in the direction of 'Americanism,' and condemned it in unqualified terms. His correspondence with Montalembert, Weninger, and other distinguished Europeans is also worth perusal.

There are some evidences of careless proof reading, and the appearence of the volume is anything but artistic. The contents are, however, valuable, and, indeed, indispensable to anyone who wishes to become acquainted with the history of the period in the American Church.

RELIGION AND MORALITY. Their Nature, and Mutual Relations Historically and Doctrinally Considered. By the Rev. James J. Fox, S.T.D. New York: William H. Young & Co., 1899. Sold at R. Washbourne's, 18, Paternoster-row, London, E.C. Price $2.

WE find recorded in the title page of this volume, that it formed the author's 'Dissertation for the Doctorate in Theology at the Catholic University of America.' Its limits, however, are pushed far beyond the requirements of the University programme, as is sufficiently apparent from the fact, that it contains some three hundred and twenty-two rather closely printed octavo pages.

Apart, however, from any extrinsic interest attaching to it, we have little hesitation in pronouncing it a work of very decided merit, and one that deserves to be regarded as an important and scholarly contribution to ethical literature. A fundamental question is dealt with in a very fundamental way; but the treatment, while deep and thorough, is yet eminently clear and readable, and one need not be very specially enamoured of ethical science to find in the work nothing short of a great intellectual treat.

The scope of the work—to put it briefly—is to vindicate the Christian theory of ethics, involving as it does, the recognition of an essential relation between morality and religion. Of course, morality prescribes the practice of religion, it regulates the conduct of the creature towards the Creator. This aspect of their relation, however, is not that, as is obvious, which is primarily under consideration. To construct a system of ethics, to set it on a proper foundation, the consideration of religion is absolutely essential. It is admitted, indeed, that a certain

measure of morality may be had independent of religion. The moral law is implanted in our nature, and there may be found those who are willing to obey its behests without inquiring further into its authority. As Martineau, quoted by the author, so beautifully puts it, 'conscience may act as human before it is discovered to be divine.' If, however, morality is to be productive among men, such as they are, of anything approaching its legitimate fruit; if the authority of the moral judgment is challenged; if conscience in claiming obedience is pressed for its credentials; if an adequate motive for the self-sacrifice involved in obedience is to be supplied; then, indeed, with absolute necessity, must recourse be had to religion and to God.

In the first portion of the work, Dr. Fox seeks the testimony of human nature on the question at issue; he inquires how mankind has brought its religious beliefs to bear on the regulation of conduct. This, the historical side of the problem, Dr. Fox claims to have dealt with more fully than has been done by any preceding writer. In about one hundred pages—pages which, we may remark, in no way unpleasantly remind one of dry and dusty records, but are singularly interesting and refreshing—he sets forth an historical survey of the great religions of the world as they bear on the subject. Christianity and the religion of the Hebrews do not need examination. The religions of Assyria and Babylonia, of Egypt, India, Persia, China, Greece, and Rome, Mahometanism, even the religion of semi-civilized and savage races are examined, and by direct quotation as well as by the testimony of scholars, he shows that, however enormously those various systems differ in other respects, they all recognise, with greater or less distinctness, the essential relation between morality and religion. 'Whilst hardly another feature is found constant, the belief in a religious sanction for conduct is common to all.' Accordingly, the religious sentiment is found to be universal, so is the moral, so is the relation between them. The conclusion follows on a principle familiar to the scholastics, and admitted by Mr. Spencer in a connection which suited his purpose. The element of universality indicates the particular growth which has its root in human nature itself. It marks the genuine article of truth, which, in so many instances—in particular religions—is surrounded with such huge, and such diverse accretions of error.

The second portion of the work is doctrinal and critical; truth is sought by an examination of representative ethical theories.

His exposition of the Christian theory, which is at the same time solidly argumentative, is singularly able and satisfying to the mind; and we may say, at once, that his chapters on The Proximate Basis, and Rule of Morality: on The Ultimate End and Rule; on Natural Religion and Morality, and on Supernatural Religion, were well worthy of publication apart altogether from the place which they occupy within the scope of the present volume. Of rival systems, he examines three, which are sufficiently representative: those of Kant, Mill, and Spencer. He gives a detailed exposition of each, and shows the utter inadequacy of these, as of other attempts, to set up an independent system of morality.

We can say little but words of praise regarding this book. Possibly it would be an improvement if the historical portion followed the doctrinal. At present, besides a certain break in natural sequence of treatment, the historical argument has to be regarded to a great extent as independent and conclusive of itself. While disposed to allow its full value as such, still we think to many minds such arguments are specially valuable and cogent as confirmatory rather than as independent. In one other small matter, we think it would conduce to clearness, if that imperfect morality, which is allowed to be present in a manner independent of religion, received some qualifying adjunct to designate it.

We must not omit to add, in conclusion, that the work throughout displays very extensive scholarship. Writers of various languages, and of various schools of thought are consulted and quoted, and the reader cannot fail to be impressed with the idea that the author was singularly well equipped to deal with the subject.

W. B.

NOTES ON A HISTORY OF AURICULAR CONFESSION: H. C. LEA'S ACCOUNT OF THE POWER OF THE KEYS IN THE EARLY CHURCH. By the Rev. P. H. Casey, S.J., Professor of Dogmatic Theology in Wooodstock College. Philadelphia: John Jos. McVey, 1899.

MANY of our readers will remember the publication of the pretentious work, in three volumes, by Mr. Henry Charles Lea, LL.D., entitled *A History of Auricular Confession and Indulgences in the Latin Church*. With a great parade of learning

and wide research, he sought to discredit the divine origin and character of the sacrament of penance, and to trace its growth from a worldly-wise policy and expediency.

Father Casey's method of dealing with the 'historian' is as simple and brief as it is decisive. He does not wade through Mr. Lea's three volumes, but selects the vital question of the work—the History of the Keys during the first five centuries of Christianity—and subjects Mr. Lea's treatment of it to a very minute analysis. In a way which reminds one of Father Lambert on Ingersoll, he reproduces from the historian passage by passage, and we may fairly say, that in the luminous comments subjoined, he deals utter havoc to Mr. Lea's representation of patriotic teaching. The little work becomes trebly valuable in view of what we are told in an after-word. H. C. Lea's extensive works: *A History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*, and *A Historical Sketch of Sacerdotal Celibacy in the Christian Church*, are written according to the very same methods as his *History of Auricular Confession*.

We hope Father Casey's little volume will find its way wherever a copy of the 'History' is to be found. If so, we can promise that, though small in size, yet, torpedo-like, it will deal utter destruction to Mr. Lea's huge three-decker.

W. B.

'DE CUSTODIA EUCHARISTIAE'

'CHRISTUS in Eucharistia praesens est modo permanente independenter ab usu.' The dogmatic teaching of the Church is expressed in these words; the priests' duty towards our Blessed Lord in the words of the Ritual: 'Parochus summum studium in eo ponat ut tum ipse venerabile hoc sacramentum qua decet reverentia debito cultu tractet custodiet et administret, tum etiam populus sibi commissus religiose colat.' The dogmatic teaching remains always the same. The methods used to show respect to our Blessed Lord, and safeguard His adorable presence in the Blessed Eucharist have been very different at different times. It is a very interesting chapter in the Church's history, this which deals with the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament. I propose to cull a few passages from it, sufficient to show by what steps we have been led up to our present position, with regard to this, which is the most sacred charge of our priesthood.

That consecrated particles were reserved and used outside the Mass from the earliest period in Church history, is beyond doubt. Even Calvin is forced to admit this much. 'Qui sic faciunt,' he writes, 'habent veteris Ecclesiae exemplum.' We need not be surprised if we have but scant evidence of what was the practice in the early ages

handed down in history. One of the worst mistakes made by modern Protestantism and the criticism of to-day in dealing with matters of this kind, is to overlook the fact that the chronicler deals with the extraordinary and the exceptional. He will tell us much of years of great plenty or great scarcity, of wars, of plagues, of the rises and falls of empires; but of the every-day life of the people, of what made up the joys and sorrows of the millions, little or nothing. Now the Perpetual Presence, when once the faith had taken root in a land, entered into the daily lives of the people. The holy Mass, the communion, the visit to the Blessed Sacrament, were amongst the commonest of duties. There was nothing exceptional or extraordinary to attract the attention of the writer or the story-teller. We must not be surprised, then, that the historian who seeks for something new to tell, cannot find much. Yet there is enough to refute the heretical caviller, if not enough to satisfy those who would wish to make for themselves a picture of early Christian life, as vivid as one can of our own time. 'It is well known,' says St. Alphonsus, 'that the first Christians kept the Blessed Eucharist in their homes under the species of bread only, and that they communicated without the ministry of a priest.'

Tertullian speaks of a wife who receives communion secretly in her own house. 'Will not your husband know what it is which you secretly taste before (taking) any food, and if he knows it to be bread, does he not believe it to be *that* (bread) which it is said to be?'

St. Cyprian in relating, in his book, *De Lapsis*, a miraculous occurrence, gives us an idea of how the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. 'Cum quaedam,' he writes, 'arcam suam in qua Domini Sanctum fuit, manibus indignis tentasset aperire igne inde surgente deterrita est ne auderet attingere.'

The custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament in private houses was ancient in the time of St. Basil. 'Diuturna consuetudo ipsis rebus confirmat. Omnes enim in solitudine monachi ubi non est sacerdos communionem domi servantes suis ipsorum manibus sumunt. Alexandriae

autem et in Aegypto unusquisque etiam de plebe ut plurimum habet domi communionem et quando vult per seipsum fit illius particeps.' St. Gregory Nazienzen assures us that his sister kept the Blessed Sacrament secretly, and praying to our Lord, thus concealed, she was cured of a painful malady. St. Augustine gives the case of a child who was healed by the mother touching it with the Eucharistic Species. There are many references to the bringing of the Blessed Sacraments to the martyrs when in immediate danger of death. The Roman martyrology commemorates the death of the boy-martyr Tarcisius. 'Quem pagani cum invenissent corporis Christi sacramentum portantem coeperunt disquirere quid gereret at ille indignum judicans porcis prodere margaritas tamdiu ab illis mactatus est fustibus et lapidibus donec exhalaret spiritum,' whose glorious death Pope Damasus records in the beautiful lines:—

> Tarsicium Sanctum Christi Sacramenta gerentem
> Cum male sana manus peteret vulgare profanis,
> Ipse animam potius voluit dimittere caesus
> Prodere quam canibus rabidis coelestia membra.

Many references are made to those who not merely kept the Blessed Sacrament in their homes, but carried it with them when they went on journeys.

In the Vatican catacombs have been found within different sarcophagi little boxes of gold or other precious metal used by the faithful. Attached to them may still be seen the ring through which the cord was passed to place round the neck, so as to hang them on the breast; and, indeed, it would seem too they had been placed on the breasts of the owners when put in the tomb, as if taking with them to the grave what held their dearest treasure on earth. St. Ambrose tells of his brother committing himself to the sea, and coming safe to land, trusting to the Blessed Sacrament which he carried hanging from his neck.

This custom lasted in the case of clerics all through the middle ages. When Pope Honorius, as we are told by William of Malmesbury, sent St. Birinus to England, in 634,

he gave him a pall or corporal on which he was accustomed to consecrate the body of Christ, and in which also he used to wrap the Lord's body, and carry it with him hanging from his neck, but when he was consecrating the Sacred Mysteries he placed on the altar. A later chronicler tells a story of the same saint walking over the water to fetch his treasure which he had left behind.

Curiously enough, in our own time we have an instance of a return to the practice of the early Church in a time of great trial. On the 22nd of November, 1848, Pius IX. received a letter and a small box from the Bishop of Valence. His Lordship sent it with the following letter :—

Très Saint Père. Pendant les peregrinations de son exile en France et surtout à Valence où il est mort et où repose son coeur le Grand Pape Pie VI. portait la très Sainte Eucharistie sur sa poitrine ou celle des prelats domestiques qui etaient dans sa voiture. Il puisait dans cette auguste Sacrament une lumière pour sa conduite une force pour ses souffrances un consolateur pour ses douleurs en attendant qu'il y trouvat le viatique pour son eternite.

He then tells how the box he sends contains the pyx used by Pius VI., and continues :—

Vous attacherez peut-etre quelque prix a cette modeste mais interessante relique qui, Je l'espère bien ne recevra plus la meme destination. Cependant, qui connait les desseins de Dieu dans les Epreuves que sa Providence ménage a votre Saintete.

The following night found Pius IX. disguised as an ordinary priest *en route* for Gaeta. Some were of opinion that our Blessed Lord was with him carried as He was by his sainted predecessor. It is hardly necessary to say that during the dark days of persecution in our own land the bosom of the priest was the resting-place of our Lord at home and abroad, in hay loft or cave. 'All day long,' writes the Bishop of Kilmacduagh, to the Cardinal Protector, 'they [the priests] lie hid in caves, and at night they come out for a few hours to minister to the spiritual wants of the faithful.'

I do not remember reading any case of a layman in this

country carrying the Blessed Sacrament even during the worst days of persecution. The reverence of our fathers for our Blessed Lord was such that any hand to touch the Sacred Species, save the consecrated hand, would have been a shock to them. The beautiful legend of Ninian of the Clean Hand, though devoid of historic foundation, shows what their feelings were with regard to the hand fitted to touch the Holy Host. That reverence is well seen in an incident told by Cardinal Moran in his history of the Church in Australia. Father Flynn, the solitary priest in the colony, was seized, thrown into prison, and subsequently banished without being allowed an opportunity of returning to the house of Mr. Davis, where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved in a cedar tabernacle. For more than two years the few Catholics kept the lamp burning before the humble abode of our Lord, and used to come in turn to pray there 'that God would hasten the day of mercy, and not allow them for ever to be shut out from the blessings of the Church.' We know how in a short time that prayer was heard.

However, even in the Apostolic ages the practice of the laity keeping the Blessed Sacrament in their houses, or carrying it about with them, was manifestly open to abuse. It was, therefore, abolished in many places soon after peace was given to the Church. Commencing in Spain, the abolition was gradually extended to other places. Though, as I have already said, in the case of the clerics, we find it still in existence late in the Middle Ages. St. Thomas of Canterbury carried the Blessed Sacrament with him when he went to meet Henry II. It is true St. Louis carried the Blessed Sacrament, but he did so by permission of the Papal Legate, showing that this was no longer allowable to the laity. Of course the case was different with those of the clergy who had the care of the souls. Not only were they allowed, but it was enjoined. In the genuine Poenitential of the Venerable Bede priests are admonished 'when they go among the people far from the church to take the Holy Eucharist with them.'

Let us turn to another branch of the same subject, viz.,

the arrangements made for the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament when the age of persecution was over and churches began to be built. The most ancient use was to reserve in *pastoforia*, *i.e.*, chambers at the side of the church. Chardon quotes Jerome in cap. 40, Ezek. I have gone carefully through that homily, and I could not find anything that could be fairly construed into an allusion to the spot where the Blessed Sacrament was reserved. That there was such a place is certain. In the Apostolic constitutions we read: 'When all the faithful, men and women, have communicated, the deacons will take the sacred species that remains and carry them to the *pastoforium*.' Cardinal Bona says that by *pastoforium* is meant sacristy or place for keeping the various things used in the service and decoration of the altar. But it would appear from the very beginning there were two of these little rooms. One was used exclusively for the Blessed Sacrament. In the second were deposited the Holy Scriptures, the liturgical books, together with the sacred vessels, and the vestments of the priests and ministers. St. Paulinus of Nola describing his church informs us that it had two *secretaria ;* one on the right, the other on the left-hand side of the apse. The inscription over the door of the first was :—

> Hic locus est veneranda penus qua conditur et qua
> Promitur alma sacri pompa ministerii.

And though this would not necessarily mean that it was exclusively used for the Blessed Sacrament it can be interpreted in that sense. Later on another custom, that of reserving the Blessed Sacrament on the altar itself, became common. Over the altar was erected a canopy of wood, stone, brass, or silver, supported by four columns in general of porphyry or some precious marble planted at the four corners of the altar. This dome-like canopy was called ciborium (κιβώριον), from its supposed resemblance to the bowl of a reversed cup so designated by the Greeks. Now from the centre of this ciborium was suspended a vessel of gold or silver, in the shape of a dove, in which was contained the Blessed Sacrament. But though this was the common

practice it was by no means universal. The canons of various synods are very implicit regarding the honourable and safe custody of the great treasure, but without defining the exact place.

Bishop Grosteste, of Lincoln, in a letter to a parish priest, says: 'The Eucharist, which is the Sacrament of the Lord's Body, must be carefully and devoutly preserved, and be always honourably laid up in a place apart, clean, and sealed or locked.' A canon of the Synod of Chichester, afterwards adopted by the Province of York, ordains that 'the Holy Eucharist be diligently guarded under lock and key, under pain of three months' suspension *ab officio*.' The Council of Lambeth orders that in every parish church there must be a decent tabernacle, with lock (*clausura*). In this the Body of the Lord must be placed, in a very beautiful pyx and linen covering, but not in a purse, lest it be broken.

The word 'tabernacle' does not necessarily suppose a change from the receptacle in the shape of a dove hanging from the dome already described. Down to the fifteenth century, and in some places even to the Reformation, the old custom was kept up. Roger of Hoveden refers to it, as he notices the snapping, on a certain occasion, of the chain which upheld the dove: 'Cecidit etiam super altare pyxis cui corpus Christi inerat abrupto vinculo;' and Gervase, the monk of Canterbury (A.D. 1201), in his description of a fire which consumed part of the cathedral in that city, relates that the pyx containing the Blessed Eucharist was rescued from the conflagration.

In the fifteenth century we see the gradual introduction of the tabernacles as we have them to-day. Lyndewode (A.D. 1422) observes that although the custom followed of keeping the Body of our Lord within a canopy suspended over the altar was commendable, inasmuch as it exhibited the Eucharist in a way more conspicuous to public view for adoration, yet he preferred the method he had lately witnessed to prevail in the Netherlands and Portugal of depositing the Blessed Sacrament under lock and key, either within a niche in the wall or in a tower of masonry called

a sacrament house. For in this manner all irreverence towards the sacrament was prevented by placing the sacred vessel which contained it beyond the reach and unhallowed touch of the profane, and in a place of security, where the cupidity of the sacrilegious could not reach it.

A little later Lyndewode's views had gained more general acceptance, and we find Cardinal Pole, in 1555, wishing to introduce in England the manner of reservation which had became almost universal on the Continent. He orders that the tabernacle be raised, and fixed in the middle of the high altar, if it can be conveniently done, so that it cannot be easily moved; and, if not on the high altar, otherwise in the most convenient and honourable place, and nearest to the high altar, that can be found. The ordinaries were to begin in their own churches. Before this decree could be fully carried out altars and tabernacles were overturned, and the sanctuary laid desolate.

In the church of the Basilian fathers at Grottoferatta, a small town some ten miles from Rome, one can see both methods of reserving the Blessed Sacrament in the same church. It is at the same time a parochial and monastic church. There are services in Greek and Latin, and reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, both according to the ancient rite and the Roman Ritual. It is the wish of our Holy Father Leo XIII. that the ancient Basilian rite be perfectly observed by the monks, whilst a few of the brethren are appointed to administer to the wants of parishioners according to the Roman rite. We have, therefore, in the church a special choir for the monks. This occupies what in a Gothic church is the apse, and is entirely separated from the nave by what is more like a reredos than a screen. In the centre of the choir there is a square altar, from the corners of which ascend four columns, which support a canopy. From the centre of this canopy hangs a dove in silver, containing the Most Blessed Sacrament. There is a second reservation, by special privilege, in favour of the parishioners. In the aisle, at the Epistle side, there is an ordinary tabernacle placed on a side altar.

Since the sixteenth century the practice of placing

the tabernacle on the altar has gradually spread over the whole Church, though in the process many of the terms used with regard to the Blessed Sacrament have changed their meaning. The canopy over the altar is no longer known as a ciborium, but as a 'baldacchino;' whilst the former term is used in Italy for what we call tabernacle, and we use it for the vessel in which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved for distribution to the faithful.

As might be expected, the Council of Trent did much to bring about uniformity of practice in this matter. When Paul V., in 1614, published the Roman Ritual, he did not command that it should be followed; he simply said 'hortamur.' Yet very soon it came to be looked upon as binding, and in 1652 there is a decree of the Congregation of Rites declaring that regulars were bound to follow it exactly.

Let us see what is its teaching on the various points already dealt with. First, as to the place. The Blessed Sacrament may, and ought to be reserved in cathedrals and parish churches *de jure;* in the churches of regulars *ex privilegio.* Questions relating to collegiate churches hardly concern us. With regard to nuns, the right of reservation only exists in the case of *moniales* in the strict sense, and whose monasteries have been canonically erected. In their case the Blessed Sacrament must be kept in a church which is outside the enclosure, and never in a private oratory to which the chaplain, who is the custodian of the sacred treasure, has not free access. For all other churches an Apostolic Indult is needed. Such an indult may be obtained for a rural church at a distance from the parochial church, provided there be a chaplain to say Mass regularly, and that the church be open to the faithful some hours each day. With regard to the churches of religious, who are neither *moniales* nor *regulares* in the strict sense, and have no communication of privileges, an Apostolic Indult is needed. This indult is sometimes incorporated with the rule approved by the Holy See.

An *Immemorabilis Consuetudo* gives the right of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, provdied it is presumed to rest on an Apostolic Indult; but not otherwise. For if it be shown

that the custom rests solely on a permission of the ordinary, the right cannot be sustained. The Sacred Congregation of the Council decided that, since the possession comes from 'radice et titulo infecto possessio ipsa remanet *non canonizabilis*.' From what has been said it follows that an Apostolic Indult is always necessary in the case of private oratories, whether of religious or seculars.

The Mode of Reservation.—The consecrated particles should be kept in a pyx or ciborium of solid and becoming material. When possible the material should be gold or silver, or, at least, the cup silver, and gilt inside. In poor churches an inferior metal may be used, provided it be silver-plated, and gilt inside. The lid should close well, and the whole should be covered with a white veil. Ordinarily, besides the ciborium, there ought to be a small pyx, to take Holy Communion to the sick.

The tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament should be perfectly dry; hence thoroughly-seasoned wood is the best material. In many places, for safety' sake, the tabernacles are made of metal. This is allowed, and in some places prescribed. Whatever material is used, the door must be strong, and well locked. The key should be of silver, or, if of other metal, gilt or plated. The figures, which may be painted or worked in relief on the door, are the emblems of the Blessed Sacrament, a chalice and Host, or the figure of our Lord at the Last Supper, or on the cross, or in His risen state, or other scenes of His life which excite devotion. The key should not be left in the door nor on the altar outside the time of Mass, but should be in the safe custody of a priest. It cannot be confided to any secular, nor to nuns.

If the tabernacle be not worked into the design of the altar under a canopy of stone, it should be gilt outside. On the top there may be a crown or other ornament, such as the pelican or a small cross, but not the cross used for Mass. Nothing should be placed on the tabernacle, not even a monstrance with a relic of the true cross. The tabernacle should be covered with a veil, either white or the colour of the day. The material is not determined; it may be either

woollen, or cotton, or silk. Nothing must be put before the tabernacle that would hide it from the view of the people. The interior of the tabernacle should be either gilt or lined with white silk. There should be a corporal on which to place the vessels containing the Blessed Sacrament, and nothing else.

When there are several altars in a church on which ought the tabernacle to be placed? The ritual is explicit: '*In altari majori* vel in alio quod venerationi et cultui tante Sacramente commodius et decentius videatur sit collocatum.' As early as 1579 we have a decision of S. C. Epis. et Reg., showing that the tabernacle should not be on the high altar in cathedrals, but should be so placed in parish churches and the churches of regulars.

Renewal of consecrated particles.—It is the wish of the Church that the number of particles consecrated should not be in excess of the needs of the parish; that is, there should be a number sufficient for the sick and for communicants in the church. As far as possible, at the end of the week, the particles that remain should be consumed, the pyxes purified, and newly consecrated particles put in their stead. Thus the danger of mixing newly consecrated particles with those consecrated the previous week is avoided, as it is forbidden. The renewing of the consecrated particles should never willingly be put off beyond fifteen days, and this applies not only to the ciboriums but also to the lunette. When the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in a private oratory in virtue of a Pontifical Indult the conditions of the grant must be observed. If no special conditions are mentioned, then the above regulations should be observed.

In the absence of a canopy of stone or wood as part of the altar, then a baldacchino should be placed over the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is reserved, this should be rigorously enforced where there is an inhabited room over the altar. The S. C. R. in admitting such a case added 'Hac tamen lege ut super altare (Saselli) baldachinum apponatur et removeatur si fieri potest custodia SS. Sacramenti quatenus ibi asservetur.'

The blessing of the tabernacle is reserved to the bishop

and to those having the faculty to bless corporals and vestments. The same is to be said of the pyx and the lunula. These lose their blessing in the same way that chalices lose their consecration. It is praiseworthy to bless the monstrance for benediction, but not necessary.

Everything that is near the Blessed Sacrament ought to be kept very clean. It is also of obligation (*sub grave*) to keep at least one lamp always burning before the tabernacle. A Pontifical Indult is ordinarily required to reserve the Blessed Sacrament without a lamp. The oil as prescribed is olive oil; but where this cannot be had, or because of the poverty of the parish, the choice of the oil is left to the ordinaries who will, as far as can be, see that vegetable oil be used.

So far for the general legislation of the Church. How far this has been modified to suit the exceptional circumstances of these countries can be seen from the decrees of the Provincial Councils in Ireland and England, which we append:—

In omnibus indiscriminatim sacris aedibus nequaquam permittitur asservare SS. Eucharistiam Ecclesiae Cathedrales Parochiales et si quae sint in quibus ex consuetudine immemorabili assidue hactenus asservata fuerit hoc jure fruantur. In reliquis Ecclesiis nisi adsit privilegium apostolicum servari non potest.[1]

Statuimus ut magna cura et sub fideli custodia adhibitis clavibus SS. Eucharistia conservetur.[2]

Ne autem diutius asservatae corrumpantur particulae a Parochis et sacerdotibus ad quos spectat renovandae sunt octavo quolibet die sacra ciboria eadem occasione purificentur.[3]

In Ecclesiis in quibus SS. Eucharistia asservatur die et nocte una saltem lampas semper accensa colluceat.[4]

The clause in the synod of Thurles, *ubi tuto fieri potest noctu*, is not inserted. In the quarter of a century that intervened between Thurles and Maynooth all danger had disappeared.

We see another advance with regard to the reservation of the communion of the sick between 1850 and 1875.

[1] Mayn. Decr., xiii. 48.
[2] *Id.* 46.
[3] *Id.* 47.
[4] *Id.*, No. 49.

In Thurles we have the words :—

Parochi magna cum Reverentia Sacram Eucharistiam ad aegrotos deferendam in domibus suis servent ubi id necessarium est et permissum est. Singulis autem enixe commendamus ut sacellum aut saltem tabernaculum constituant ab omni usu profano segregatum in quo Eucharistiam reverenter custodiant.[1]

In Maynooth there is no mention of this, thus making it evident that the fathers of the Council thought the time had come when the practice of the universal Church, of bringing the Blessed Sacrament from the tabernacle, or regularly erected oratory, ought to be followed in this country.

The Provincial Council of Westminster legislating for England has made almost the same regulations as Maynooth, adding a few to meet the exceptional circumstances of the country. It deals with the position of many parishes dependent on the chapels of private families, and lays down the rule :—

Sanctissimum Sacramentum custodiri non debet nisi in iis oratoriis quae missioni inserviunt et veluti publica proinde reputantur.[2]

We have further, the instruction S. C. de Prop. Fid.: to the English bishops with regard to keeping the Blessed Sacrament in the oratories of some noblemen. The instruction distinguishes three classes of oratories ; the first class is of oratories domestic in the strict sense. 'In iis regulare Ecclesiasticae ea de re latae atque Indultorum formulae sunt servandae, quoad alia in singulis casibus S. Sedis sententia erit expostulanda.' In the second there is question of chapels to which, not only the members of the family but the Catholics of the neighbourhood come. When these are some distance from the parochial church, and when it is convenient to take the Blessed Sacrament from them to the sick 'permittendum est ut ex Episcopi sententia SSm. Sacramentum in iis servari possit.' In the third class are included chapels still further removed from the parish

[1] Thurl. de Euch. 23.
[2] De Euch., No. 7.

church, and on that account may be considered as '*succursales* et filiales quoad Ecclesias pro animarum cura designatas.' In these also the Blessed Sacrament may be kept, as in chapels of the second class. To both the following injunction is to be applied :—

Ita tamen ut Judicio ipsius Episcopi oratoria hujusmodi publica vel quasi publica insuper vero quotidie vel saltem in hebdomada sacrosanctum missae sacrificium in iisdem offeratur : demum servandis atque antistitum necnon virorum ad quos capellae pertinent onerata conscientia.[1]

'Non est alia natio tam grandis quae habet deos appropinquantes sibi sicut Deus Noster adest nobise.'

JOHN MAGNIER, C.SS.R.

[1] App. iii., Conc. I. Prov. Westm.

ALLELUIA'S THOUGHT SEQUENCE

I.

THE AFFIX

ALLELU'IA![1]

Laudate pueri Dominum,
Laudate nomen Domini.

'PRAISE ye the name of the Lord!' This interpretation of the spirit of the Paschal Acclaim being the motive of the study I am about to propose, I should naturally first like to say something in explanation of what I take to be that Acclaim's truly liturgical and even mystical import as a form of universal acclamation. I have, however, already written so much upon the subject, that in regard to it I could now do very little more than repeat myself. I must, accordingly, be content with referring my reader to the articles I have written on various phases of it in *St. Luke's Magazine* (1895); *The Catholic World* (1896); *The Dublin Review*, *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and the I. E. RECORD (1897). For my immediate purpose let it suffice to note that, preserving at once the word's radical sense and sound, and, to some extent, even the mystical suggestiveness of its literal form, Allelu'ia may be fairly rendered: 'All hail to Him WHO-IS;' taking 'All hail' as virtually meaning 'Glory in the highest'—*Gloria in excelsis*—and taking 'Who-Is' in the absolute sense in which God said to Moses: 'I Am Who Am,' and—'Thus shalt thou say to the children of Israel: He Who Is has sent Me to you.'[2]

In the original of Exodus the very same word is found where our versions[3] give the different grammatical forms 'I Am' (*Sum*), and 'He Who Is' (*Qui Est*). The word

[1] 'Alleluia'—not generally given at the head of this psalm. But it is there in the original, and is thence transferred untranslated to the Latin of the Vulgate.

[2] Exodus iii. 14.

[3] That is, the Latin Vulgate and the English Douay.

is אהיה. According to one's views of the force or importance of the comparatively modern Masoretic vowel-points given in our printed Hebrew Bibles, somewhat also according to a writer's nationality, and his assumed phonetic equivalence for Hebrew characters, אהיה gets various forms of transcription, such as *'Aia*, *Ahiah* (which for those pronouncing *j* like *i* or *y* might, of course, well be *Ahjah*), or as it is given in the margin of the last 'Revised' authorised Anglican version, *Ehyeh*. All these, however, it may be observed give practically the same pronunciation, effectively the same phonetic representation: that of self-determined aspiration or continued open forth-breathing (*spiritus sese determinantis*). The one I have put in the first place (*'Aia*) seems the best English transcription, the word's best English phonetic representation, as I have elsewhere explained: particularly in view of our present purpose, as the two last letters in the original are precisely those of *Allelu-iâ's* affix; *yod* (י) and *he* (ה). That affix, then, is to be taken for the verb substantive objectively presented, as being an accusative; hence taken formally both as substantive and verb, but in the infinite mood, and absolutely present (not indefinite) time or 'tense.' In our language such infinitive-substantive form is not really translatable, not idiomatically presentable. The scholastic Latin *Esse* taken substantively and subsistentially (Ipsum *Esse*) comes rather close; yet, in one way, unnecessary to specify here, fails to attain it. But for our purely logical purpose, the translating form 'WHO IS' understood as meaning 'Being' in the first instance, Being's self, Being-absolutely, or simply 'The Absolute,' does fairly well for thought-term to the acclaiming verbal prefix (Allelu') taken as meaning 'All-praise to,' or 'All-hail.'

Assuming such to be, in a general way, its true literal, traditional, and liturgical sense, in an article entitled 'Traditional form of the Paschal Acclaim,' published this time twelve months in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, I gave my reasons for retaining the form of transcribing it here adopted. Upon which I took occasion to note a remark in the *Imperial Dictionary* to the effect that it is 'improperly written with *j* in conformity with the German and other

continental languages in which *j* has the sound of *y*. But to pronounce the word with the English sound of *j* destroys its beauty.' The writer, I noted, then observes that a like mistake touching the sound of the first letter in Jehovah has perverted the true pronunciation which was *Yehovah*. That, he very properly allows, must now be submitted to. But, he adds, in regard to the present word, the perversion 'ought not to be tolerated.' To which I would here add: the 'perversion' ought not to be tolerated merely because of destroying the word's beauty, but also, and for a reason of much greater consequence, because of destroying the spiritual significance of the word's determining affix. It destroys the effective representation of what that affix in the original Hebrew so vividly expresses, its representation of the idea of 'The Ab-solute'—as In'dependent Being wholly free from the determining act of another.

That sovereign thought of 'The Absolute' no painted or sculptured form could in the least represent. No effort of mere sensuous art could do so. Only a 'word' from out of the mouth of man may do it; only the divinely provided power of the human voice uttering intelligible sound. In this way the pure diphthongal, self-determined, forth-breathing (*aspirans*) spirit-sound of *Ia* or *Ya* admirably expresses it, in so far as a letter-formed or linguistic product artistically could. *Jah* (as we should naturally pronounce it *dgiah*) does not express the thought at all. With its consonontal, half-hissing, half-grating sound, it represents quite the reverse. It sensibly represents the thought of an agent being wholly acted by another; quite the opposite to the thought of 'The Absolute,' or utterly Self-acting One. Moreover the letter there meant to be represented by *j* is the Hebrew letter *yod*, of which the English equivalent is not *j*, but *i*, or *y*—as we would naturally pronounce *i* in an affix such as *ia*. Apart, therefore, altogether from its ill effect, *jah* is a wholly unwarranted English transcript of the Hebrew affix. I also showed in the article referred to, that the *h* as redundant ought to be omitted. 'Allelu*ia*,' then, I held not 'Hallelu*jah*, is our proper transcription of the word 'for writing, and speaking, and singing,' and I now add, for

thinking too, for thinking out its truth as universal acclaim to Him 'WHO IS.'

Who accepts this transcription of the Paschal acclaim, with its affix 'Ia,' to be literally consistent, ought write *Iâvâ* instead of the admittedly wrong transcription 'Jehovah' for the Divine Name revealed to Moses; and, for the same reason, ought write *'Aia* in transcribing the word in Exodus (chap. iii.) meaning 'I Am.' Independently of this reason of logical consistency, it should be noticed that Iâvâ retains the word's essentially tetragramatic form: form which it not only had in the Hebrew text before the Massoretes added their vowel-points in the ninth century, but which it had in the ancient Phœnicean characters of that text before it came to be written in the square letters in which it now appears.[1] The otherwise correct form and with the very same pronunciation, namely, *Iahvah*, gives six, therefore, so far, gives two redundant letters, and these two not at all needed for the correct pronunciation. *Iâvâ*, moreover, keeps in evidence the word's connection with the 'Ia' of the Paschal acclaim and the *Aia* of Exodus. I, accordingly, mean to employ it throughout this article; though, as already suggested, I think it right ultimately to conform to the now unchangeable custom which has made 'Jehovah' a universally accepted term of English literature.

With regard to my reasons for in general transcribing the Hebrew yod (י) as 'i,' and 'he' (ה) as 'a,' when using Roman letters, it ought, surely, suffice to say I do so for the Roman Church does so, and always did so, as, for instance, even outside the present case, in all such names as Mor'ia, Ab'ia, Ach'ia, &c. For special reasons touching the propriety of this Roman or Graeco-Roman transcription, when writing English, I must refer to my article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*. Here, however, it may be well to add, that where we should or could put 'i,' some Continentals would very properly put 'y.' Then some, who have only one or two sounds for 'a,' could not often put that letter by

[1] See Vigouroux's *Manuel Biblique*, p. 161, dixieme edition, 'Jéhovah (IHVH) en caractères pheniceens.'

itself so well as we, who have four sounds for it. Again, several would naturally put 'w' where we should put 'v,' since for them 'w' sounds like, and is called 'double v,' while for us it is pronounced 'double u.' In fine, our transcription may well be somewhat different from that of a foreigner, with whom we really agree as to a word's proper form. For literary purposes we ought naturally have our own; but, generally speaking—above all, where there is doubt or freedom of action—we ought keep to that of our Latin version, both as to the Hebrew words there transcribed, and as to the general style of literal transcription there adopted; and this, in addition to traditional reasons, on purely linguistic grounds as giving the proper Roman letter transcription and the primitive pronunciation.

Of course on points of real science we ought endeavour to know the data of our time, and as far as convenient conform our manner of speech thereto. Those of us who have to teach ought naturally even try to be as 'advanced' at least in thought as the known truth of our day at home and abroad. But we ought remember that in publications emanating directly or indirectly from English Protestant sources, from even centres of teaching such as Oxford or Cambridge, what is formally presented as the latest outcome of 'advanced' thought may well be, and frequently is, but the latest effort of an English Protestant 'Divine' to defend some cherished personal or sectarian tenet of Anglican or Geneva tradition; actually against the trend of recent data of an advancing science, or the matured conclusion of really 'advanced' scientists.

Here—still keeping to our own time and environment with its English Protestant influences more and more permeating what comes before us to read in the matter of Biblical learning—here I am reminded how generally it is now assumed that the mystic affix of which we are treating is merely a decayed, abbreviated, or otherwise derived word from Jehovah.[1] Those who, without further remark, make that assumption, surely take no account of

[1] See Smith's *Bible Dictionary*, second edition, and similar recent English publications.

the fact, that the two words, as denoting Deity, appear separately in the same psalm, actually in adjoining verses, as they do in the first and last Psalms of the Paschal Allel; that is, at the end of the psalm 'In Exitu Israel,' and in vv. 4 and 5 of 'Confitemini.' Furthermore, that, outside the Psalter, they are formally presented in conjunction, as in Isaias xii. 2, where we read: 'Iâ Iâvâ is my strength;' and, again (xxvi. 4): 'Trust in Iâvâ for evermore, in Iâ Iâvâ, mighty for ever.' Here the Revised Anglican version, in its text, renders the conjoined terms distinctly as 'the Lord Jehovah,' and then, in the margin, puts, for explanatory note, 'Heb. *Jah Jehovah.*' Our English version, after the Vulgate, here also treats the two as distinct terms, translating them as forming a composite designation, 'the Lord God.'[1] It may, indeed, be assumed that the Hebrew root *'Aia* as meaning *to be*, gives both words: this is no reason for assuming that it gives 'Ia' (Jah) through Iava (Jehovah), by phonetic decay; or that in such a way IA became Allelu-ia's affix, as some suggest. To say no more, distinctly against such an assumption comes this text from the Psalter (Ps. lxxxviii., Heb. lxxxix.) long before the first of the Alleluiatic Psalms (which is civ.): 'O Iava (Jehovah), God of hosts, who is like Thee? Thou art mighty, O IA (Jah), and Thy truth is round about Thee.'

Taking up that last text I note there is a comment on it in Migne's *Cursus Completus*,[1] concluding with the remark: 'Il (le Psalmiste) se sert du nom de Dieu יה (Ia), qui est le derivé ou *peut être* le primitif de Jehovah.' That was published in 1839. With it compare this remark by Père Lagrange, in the course of an article in the *American Ecclesiastical Review* for last June on the revealed form of the Divine Name:[3] 'The fact remains that *Yah (Ia)*

[1] Though generally still following the Vulgate, it gives 'the Lord' as its translation for both expressions as they really denote the same 'One.' And here it should be remembered that our English version, like the Vulgate, never gives the original, or even a literal translation, of the Divine Name, Iâva (Jehovah). The reason may be touched on in a future article, as there has been some discussion in regard to it.

[2] *S. S.*, p. 1127.

[3] The article is signed by M. J. Lagrange, O.P., 'Ecole Pratique d'Etudes Bibliques, St. Etienne, Jerusalem.

is historically prior to Yahweh' (Jehovah). Now, note the simple assumption in Smith's *Bible Dictionary* (second edition):[1] 'Jah, an abbreviated form of Jehovah, or rather Jahveh or Jahvah, used only in poetry.'[2] Against Dr. Smith's and similar assumptions as to its being only an 'abbreviated' or otherwise derived form of 'Jehovah,' see the article, referred to above, in the *American Ecclesiastical Review*, and which the writer explained, in his prefatory remark, was intended to be a brief discussion dealing with the Divine Tetragramation 'in the light of recent biblical studies.'[3] That article, I have noted, appeared in 1899; but as long ago as 1881 the eminent scholar, Fried. Delitzsch, from a variety of data, avowed himself obliged to conclude that *Yah* (Ia) was the original, and continued to be always the popular designation of the God of Israel.[4] From a still greater variety of data, Dr. Fritz Hommel, Professor of Semitic Languages in the University of Munich, comes to the same conclusion, and repeatedly dwells on it in his scholarly and thoroughly up-to-date work, *Ancient Hebrew Tradition* (1897).[5] 'Yah,' he says, 'was the earlier form, and *not* a later abbreviation, from Yah veh,' this, at page 115, and again, at page 116, referring to and agreeing with Pinches' account of its several variants, he speaks of 'Ya' as 'the primitive Western Semitic name for God,' and always 'represented by the symbol of Deity.'[6] Then he takes up and confirms Pinches' contention that this seemingly earliest form of Divine designation is to be identified

[1] As far as I know, the last edition, and presented as carefully revised by Dr. Driver and Rev. C. J. Ball in regard to 'Hebrew and other Semitic words in a large number of articles.' This particular article is signed 'C. J. B.'

[2] Only in poetry! . . . And the two passages quoted as giving it in Isaias, are they only poetry? And all the names that give it—such as Mor'ia, Ab'ia, Ach'ia, and so on—are these only found in poetry? Note, that Mor'ia (chosen by the Lord) was the original name of the place where Abraham was sent to sacrifice Isaac (Genesis xx. 2).

[3] See also, as there quoted, Grimme's *Grundzüge der hebraischen Accent und Vocallehre*, Freiburg, 1896: Answer to Koenig, in ZATW, 1897, p. 172.

[4] *Paradies*, pp. 158-166.

[5] See pp. 115, 144, 226, 304.

[6] Ancient Hebrew tradition, as illustrated by the monuments, a protest against the modern school of Old Testament critics. See the English translation, but with prefatory note signed by Hommel himself, 1897. London published by S. P. C. K.

with 'the Hebraic *Yah*'. The great Swedish scholar, Dr. Fries (Upsala) comes to practically the same conclusion, and from entirely independent data, in the Egyptiological Journal, *The Sphinx*.[1] Mr. Pinches, one of our greatest living Assyriologists, warmly advocates the same view from still different data, mainly philological; amongst them, from recent discoveries in regard to earliest known Eastern names.[2]

The authorities I have quoted, it will be seen, are sufficiently representative and recent, and I might quote much more to the same effect. But it would all come to this: with regard to the latest philological or archæological researches bearing on the point, those of which I have directly or indirectly read accounts—Assyrian, Babylonian, Ancient Arabian, Phœnician, Egyptian and Chaldean—with remarkable consistency, and from independent sources, make for two distinct conclusions. The first is, that altogether outside Israel or its influence, the primitive religion of these ancient peoples, hence it may be said, the primitive religion of the East, was a pure, personal, spiritual Monotheism.[3] The second conclusion is, that the primitive term there for *being*, for *spirit*, and for the personal 'One' to be thus worshipped by all as 'The Absolute' was *Ia*, *'Aia*, or some such forth-breathing form of self-expression:[4] was, in short, Allelu-ia's affix. More, it seems to have remained with most of these ancient peoples remembered in a vague mystic way as the proper term for the All-

[1] Vol. i., p. 4, pp. 207-221.

[2] See *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, A. xv., 1892; *Trans. Vict. Inst.*, xxviii., p. 11, 1895, &c.

[3] To what extent there are archæological evidences in proof of primitive belief in that 'One' to be worshipped as a 'Creator' is, of course, another question, but one also, it may here be noted, for whose solution very remarkable data for the last few years have been furnished by the labours of Eastern archæologists. As the very latest on the subject, I note that at the last meeting of the Victoria Institute (May, 1900), reviewing the present aspect of science towards religion, and in particular referring to earliest records in the world's history, Dr. Sinclair said that a mummy scroll of about 2900 B.C., had been discovered of a record of belief of that date in a Creator of all things.

[4] Dr. Fries thinks 'Io' was its most ancient pronunciation, which in some places it most certainly was, as was 'Iè' in others, while 'Ia' was that of Israel,' and as far as we can see the original one. But 'Ia,' 'Iê' and 'Io' are evidently variants of the same simple utterance.

righteous One to be served in spirit and truth, and this long after its real meaning was lost, even when external worship and personal devotion had been wholly transferred to local 'deities,' to deified racial or sectarian saints and heroes. Speaking quite in this sense, after having endorsed Mr. Pinches' evidences in proof of the identification of the ancient Arabian 'Ya' (*Ia*) as primitive term for Deity with 'the Hebraic *Yah*,' and thus bringing into the domain of science the 'earlier Arabian Monotheism of the Assyrians,' Hommel makes a remark specially apposite just now. He says:—

> From this it is at once apparent that Jonah's mission to preach Jehovah to the Ninevites is by no means so absurd as modern 'critics' would have us think: he would have found ready to hand a text for his sermon not a whit less apposite than the Athenian altar to 'the unknown God,' which later on supplied a theme to St. Paul.

I need hardly say that my personal opinion on the subject, particularly in regard to its bearing on the sense of Alleluia's affix and the relation of that affix to the Divine Name revealed to Moses, primarily rests on far other grounds than the data of modern philological or archæological research. These may illustrate, may explain and strengthen, they do not make the principle from which I start—not even the suggestiveness of the last thought on which I rested, that of the Psalmist's saying: 'Thou art mighty (or Thine is the power), O Ia, and Thy truth is round about Thee.' Now, that truth of 'Ia' is precisely what Allelu'ia's thought-sequence should logically enounce, and it is in view of such enunciation, I take its affix as connoting what reason's sovereign Term is in the first instance really known as *being;* leaving to reflection to declare what in consequence, and in regard to all others, One so being must be said to be.

'Ia,' then, as Allelu-'ia's admitted affix, I take as primitive term for Deity. I thus take it for the absolute or Divine forename (*prae-nomen divinum*), denoting the 'One' *par excellence* reason naturally knows to be there, as so known, be there whoever else or whatever else there

may.[1] From the very nature of the case it should thus partake of the character of an absolute—*the* absolute—the Divine personal pronoun, saying 'He' *par excellence*, signifying 'Himself' (we may note by way of illustration), somewhat in the sense that, according to an old custom in Irish homes, 'himself' denotes 'the Master' for the servants, and even for inquiring friends come to his place. So may 'Ia' (Jah) be taken as denoting 'The Master—'The Lord' (Adonai) 'Himself' for all His creatures throughout creation, by whom He is known as the personal 'One' *par excellence*. But I observe it does so denote His personality, as simply connoting what of itself the sound expresses: 'Being-absolutely;' that is, being One in act no way term-wise in the act of or *acted* by another. Hence, for forms of positive concept, it should mean to us—(*a*) One all-other than ourselves, or aught we may in any way naturally perceive, as (*b*) being wholly self-acted without (*c*) being, while self-acting, under the influence of the act of another; but (*d*) under the influence of whose act all others are being naturally acted, or *caused* to *be*, and (*e*) to *do*, and (*f*) to *suffer*, as (*g*), in view of *all that is to be*, it is natural, 'meet and just," for all, freely or not freely acting, to suffer, and do, and be. That is reason's first, simplest, most natural idea of 'Deity' as here now known to be there. It is the thought of the Actual Absolute as the actually Universal Good. It is, therefore, thought's first inspiring motive for universal acclaim. Its truth was clearly the inspiring thought of Euripides for that remarkable ejaculation of Hecuba (in the *Troades*), which has so puzzled commentators:—

> O! thou stay of the earth, withal staying thereon,
> Be that thou mayest, hardly to be thought-formed forth,
> Zeus, or as nature's necessity or the mind
> Of mortals, I pray to Thee, for in silence
> Art directing all mortal concerns aright.[2]

[1] Somewhat, though, of course, from the nature of the case, which is *sui generis*, not quite, like the French *prénom* or our Christian name, in so far as that is an individual or self-denoting term.

[2] That is only my rendering of the passage, which the reader ought see for himself.

Truly thought out, it is the truth of the One in whom we 'live, and move, and have our being' . . . 'for from Him, and through Him, and unto Him are all things (*eis auton ta panta*). Glory be to Him for ever!' There, as from the thought of its affix, St. Paul distinctly utters the spirit of Alleluia's acclaiming call.

To its acclaiming call, thus understood, reflecting reason's natural response would be a series of titles or thought-terms giving, in the order of reflection's own self-data, all that Absolute Existence, the Absolute Reality, or simply the 'The Absolute' as such is logically known as *being*, and thereby with regard to all others in the way of naming (*per modum nominis*), must be said to be.

These data of self-reflection, or, as I partly explained in an article already published in the I. E. RECORD,[1] and shall more fully explain in my next, these modes of *existence* as notes of being *in act* taken through perfection's ascending scale in the order of the real, are (1) substance, (2) subsistence, (3) natural action, (4) life, (5) intelligence or universal apprehending, (6) will as love's universal tending, and (7) self-determining as to actuality and action. Further, thought cannot go and even self-shows cannot be gone in the way of being *in act*. Now, since The Absolute 'One,' or Being-absolutely, for being so, must be conceived as *being* in each of these seven ways, and in each way *absolutely* that way—absolutely substantial, subsisting, acting, and so on—the simple question to be solved is: How, as thus being in Himself, must He the Absolute ('Ia') for being so be said to be in regard to all others; how thus on the whole logically nouned or named? The result ought to give at once the terms of Alleluia's thought-sequence and Reason's sequence of Divine Names, and clearly, from the order of its *noetic processus* as above lined out, *a priori* it ought give the whole—the '*sacrum septenarium*' of thought's terms for the Divine Idea. The sequence should thus represent our life's psalm of Divine praise, our thought's highest glory-giving, all our will's ways of

[1] 'Reason's Synthetic Judgments,' March, 1898.

hailing Him Who is its first principle and mean and absolutely last end. It would be our reason's—created reason's—reflecting reason's—own 'Allel' to 'Ia.'

This self-formed logical sequence of divine thought-terms I propose to unfold in my next article. Meanwhile it may not be amiss to note the *rapprochement* which here naturally suggests itself between the 'Septenarium' I have so far noticed and that of which the Church now sings such multiform mystic truth in sequence, versicle, psalm, and hymn. That *rapprochement* my cultured reader may well make for himself, and, proceeding through the same form of thought sequence, many others as well in the order of nature as of grace; but never, perhaps, as well as at this most truly synthetic—budding, blooming, prolific—most mystic season of the year, whose spirit Longfellow so musically self-uttered in the days of his early manhood, in the prelude to his poems:—

> Therefore at Pentecost which brings
> The Spring, clothed like a bride,
> When nestling buds unfold their wings,
> And bishops-caps have golden rings,
> Musing upon many things
> I sought the woodlands wide.

There each tree its own way proclaims the universal truth, self-sings Creation's song through the ascending scale of its perfection's terms: from (1) seed-formed root, through (2) trunk, to (3) spreading branches, whence (4) living leaf, thence (5) flower, thence (6) fruit, only (7) to ripen, and then fall, to become seed of its species and repeat its order's psalm to him 'Who Is,' its life's 'Allel' to 'Ia.' Assuredly not in the one way only commonly assumed, but in many and many ways, in all the ways, indeed, of all the gifts of the Spirit of Truth, true spiritual insight reveals —nature's way is ever more and more revealing—the truth of '*Sacrum Septenarium*.'

T. J. O'Mahony.

To be continued.]

A CHAMPION OF GOD'S ARK IN PENAL DAYS[1]

NOT very many miles from the capital of Spain, beside the running waters of the Henares, in the midst of the most beautiful, while placid scenery, and beneath the serenest skies, there stands an ancient city, of old called Complute, now more familiarly known under the name of Alcala. This ancient city has figured long and prominently in the history of Spain, and has shared its glories and its reverses. The object of his special predilection, and the scene of his greatest enterprise, its name is linked for ever with that of the great Cardinal Ximenes. Thither he repaired in times of leisure, and thither all his affections tended; there did he found a Catholic university that was one day to rival Salamanca; there did he see accomplished the greatest work for the word of God[2] that the Middle Ages can boast of; and there in one of the magnificent churches of the university his mortal[3] remains await the trumpet call of the resurrection. Over three centuries ago Alcala was visited by Francis I. of France, and the appearance presented by its seat of learning (whose seven thousand students turned out to meet him) was so imposing, the impression produced by its professors, whose names had gone forth to every land as champions of orthodoxy, and models of literary culture, was so striking, that the French monarch exclaimed: 'Your Ximenes is, indeed, a wonderful man. He has done with his single hand what in France it has cost a whole line of kings to accomplish.'[4] For many years it had open arms for Irish ecclesiastical students in the college founded to assist the struggling Irish Church by a munificent Portuguese nobleman.[5] On a famous question in the history of Catholic Emancipation, its university, as a great organ of Catholic

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[1] Delivered at a Meeting of Clara Young Men's Society.
[2] The *Complutensian Polyglot*.
[3] See Hefele's *Life of Ximenes*, chaps: x., xi., and Appendix.
[4] Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, vol. ii., p. 185, &c.; vol. iii., p. 302, &c.
[5] Treacy's *Irish Scholars*, p. 75.

teaching, repudiated certain doctrines which bigoted English Protestants of the day thought to fasten on our ancestors in the faith.[1] It is the birthplace of the German Emperor Ferdinand, of a great Spanish poet (Figueroa), of a famous scientist (Bustamenti de la Camera), of a renowned historian (Solis), and of the author of *Don Quixote*. There is one other fact in connection with this centuried and storied city which gives the rest the interest they have for us—it is the final resting-place of one of the grandest characters of the penal days, Dr. William Walsh, Bishop of Meath.

I have chosen to speak to you to-night on the life and times of this illustrious prelate of your own historic diocese. I have thought that there could be no subject more interesting or more profitable to the Young Men's Society of Clara; and if my presentation of his sufferings, his character, his life-work, should fail to come up to your own conception of his greatness and his goodness, I would ask you to ascribe the failure, not to any lack of appreciation, or of endeavour on my part, but rather to my inability to express adequately the full glories of that record.

Not very much is known of Dr. Walsh's early days. There is a difference of opinion even as to the place of his birth. Some maintain that he hailed from Waterford—Sir James Ware amongst the number; and one ancient writer gives that supposed fact as a reason for his future greatness.[2] Others, however, are of opinion that he was born at Dunboyne, in the county Meath. A member of his own order,[3] whose historical writings are of high value, holds the latter view, and we prefer to follow his guidance. From a letter which Dr. Walsh wrote in his declining years we gather that the date of his birth must have been 1510 or thereabouts.[4]

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[1] Grattan made telling use of this fact in his speeches on the Catholic question.

[2] O'Moloney's *Idea togatae constantiae in Renehan MSS.*

[3] Malachy Hartry, in his work *De Viris Illustrissimis Cisterciensium Hibernicorum*

[4] See letter quoted by Cardinal Moran in *Archbishops of Dublin*, vol. i., p. 130; and Brady, vol. ii., p. 235.

All his biographers unite in proclaiming his supereminent virtue and piety from his earliest years. Page after page have they written in Latin extolling the spirit of profound humility, of persevering prayer, of spiritual recollection, that marked the holy youth. Naturally such remarkable sanctity sought its home in the solitude of the Cistercian cloister, and William Walsh embraced the monastic life, probably at Bective, on the banks of the Boyne.[1] The rigours of so strict an order had no terrors for him. He gave his whole heart and soul to the observances of the monastery. All his mind and all his strength was consumed in the religious exercises of the monks. Knowing that the religious who fails to be inspired by the same high ideals as those of the founder of his order, is so far unfitted for the life he has chosen, and that the cowl and the habit become a mockery if they cease to be a sign of true poverty, chastity, and obedience, he lived up to the highest traditions of the Cistercians, and shed all around him the benign influence of his own spotless life. The wealth of the monastery had no charms for so disenthralled a soul. The only wealth he prized was the riches of heaven's grace, and all his days in Bective were devoted to its acquisition. Thus he grew in grace and wisdom beside the historic river, winning the golden opinions of his companions and superiors, advancing to the sacred order of priesthood, and leaving the hallowed walls at length with the laurels of a doctor of divinity on his brow.[2]

> To others [writes Dr. Lynch] did it seem that in him was to be fulfilled what Christ says in the Gospel: this city is to be seated on the mountain top, that the afflicted may thither take flight in their afflictions, and this light is to be brought forth from the dim corners of the cloister, that by its splendour it may illumine those who are abroad in the world.[3]

We do not know for certain why he left Bective. Whether it was some raid made by the 'Reformers,' of which we have no explicit mention, or whether it was the

[1] See Lynch, *De Presulibus*, art. on 'Dr. Walsh.'
[2] Moran, p. 51, and Appendix.
[3] Lynch, *loc. cit*

want of priests on the mission, or whatever may have been the cause, Dr. Walsh obtained a dispensation from the Holy See, and joined the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. At some period of his life—probably after he had left the Cistercians—he spent a time in the Eternal City, acting as chaplain in the palace of that intrepid Churchman, Cardinal Pole. During his stay with the latter, the impression produced by his character and accomplishments was so favourable that the Cardinal afterwards used his position to promote his former chaplain to the ranks of the episcopate.[1]

Previous to his elevation to the dignity of bishop—and after it as well—he was prior of Colpe and Duleek, both of which priories, and even the bishopric itself, were supposed to belong to the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. The revenues, however, had passed into lay hands, and Dr. Walsh had to content himself with the slender sum of £40 a year, accruing to him from the rectory of Luxendy. He was a Professor of Theology, too; but no separate or independent salary, I take it, went with such a position in his case.

Even before the accession of Queen Mary to the throne of England he had to suffer many wrongs and many annoyances. And he suffered them with patience and with fortitude. So much so, indeed, that his figure had become most conspicuous in the defence of Catholic rights. An old friend of his, Father Holing, S.J., who died a martyr to charity in the streets of Lisbon, states that he had to endure the same privations and the same indignities as his contemporary Dr. Leverons of Kildare; and the latter, we know, was deprived of all the rank and emoluments of his office; provoked, in fact, to the extremest limit of Christian patience.[2]

The persecution which Dr. Walsh bore, and the courageous constancy with which he endured it, marked him out for reward and distinction when Queen Mary ascended the throne. Not long after her royal brother's death, she issued what was known as a *congé d'elire* to the Archdeacon

[1] Moran, *loc. cit.*
[2] Fr. Holing's *Account of Irish Martyrs in the time of Elizabeth.*

and clergy of Meath[1] to nominate Dr. William Walsh bishop of the see, rendered vacant by the apostacy of Staples. The Archdeacon and clergy did nominate their beloved champion, and the Queen ratified their selection by letters patent for his consecration. This ratification, of course, did not imply any spiritual supremacy in the Queen. It was simply an act by which she gave her consent and approval to the course pursued by the spiritual authority, and vindicated for the bishop-elect the recognition and protection of the civil law in the assumption of his office and dignity. Another proof of the royal favour quickly followed. Dr. Walsh, whilst still bishop-elect, was appointed a fellow-commissioner of Dr. Dowdall, the Primate of all Ireland, for the removal of bishops and priests from their livings on account of violation of the law of clerical celibacy.[2] The commission was sadly needed after the corruption of the two preceding reigns. The protrusion of Protestants and Englishmen into Irish sees and benefices, which occurred under Henry and Edward, was not calculated to purify the Church in this country.[3] We need not be surprised, then, to find that the labours of the Primate and his associates were difficult and prolonged. Without awaiting the judgment of the newly-constituted tribunal the heretical occupants of the sees of Limerick and Ossory fled beyond the ocean. Lancaster of Kildare and Travers of Leighlin were convicted, and compelled to yield up their livings. A similar fate befell the impenitent arch-sinner, Browne of Dublin. The apostate who ruled in Meath was deprived by the commissioners of the revenues of the diocese on the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, 1554.[4]

But Dr. Walsh's consecration did not follow immediately, now that Staples was removed. The bishop-elect had other cares to occupy him at the time. Besides, he knew that the letters patent of the Queen were not sufficient authorization of such a step. He awaited, as he afterwards avowed

[1] Morinni, i., p. 315
[2] Ware's *Bishops*, p. 92.
[3] See *Cambrensis Eversis*, vol. ii., p. 780.
[4] Ware's *Bishops*, *loc. cit.*

to Mary herself, the *fiat* of the Universal Church, necessary for him as for all legitimate bishops. His outspoken letter[1] on the subject is a welcome, though perhaps superfluous, proof of the fact that the Irish Church of his day acknowledged the spiritual supremacy of the Pope as a matter of course. His desire, however, was fulfilled in the course of the same summer. Cardinal Pole, owing to the difficulties of the times, had authority from the Holy See to appoint bishops in England, and, strange to say, in matters ecclesiastical, Meath was then looked upon as a part of that kingdom.[2] The papal legate gladly exercised his prerogative in favour of his respected friend and quondam chaplain, and Dr. Walsh was duly consecrated Bishop of Meath.

On his promotion he found himself penniless. As we have already seen, he derived no pecuniary benefit from the priories of Duleek and Colpe. The revenues of both had been usurped by irreligious laymen. His duties on the Royal Commission, moreover, entailed a heavy expenditure of money. Ecclesiastical investigations and trials all over the country were not conducted without a severe strain on his monetary resources. And the diocesan revenues had become extremely depleted from various causes, notably from the disturbances and depredations of the 'Reformers.' The result was that the bishop felt himself compelled to petition the Queen for the temporalities of the see from the time of the deprivation of the late incumbent. Her Majesty most graciously acceded to his wishes, and Dr. Walsh was free to discharge the duties that now thronged upon him.[3]

He had to undo the work of his predecessors. He had to repair the scandal wrought by the hireling shepherd of the flock. He had to instil courage and confidence into his people, who, owing to their being within the Pale, had to bear the burden of the day and the heats. And during the brief period of the Catholic sovereign's reign, he succeeded to an extent that won for him the love and veneration of

[1] Morrini, i., p. 337.
[2] Cardinal Moran, *loc. cit.*
[3] Morrini, i., p. 337.

his co-religionists, while bringing upon him the hatred and envy of Protestants. 'The land that was desolate and impassable was glad, and the wilderness rejoiced and flourished like the lily; then did it bud forth and blossom, and rejoice with joy and praise.' The ravages of the past were repaired. The discipline of the Church was enforced and obeyed. The people waxed strong in the faith. He became, in truth, the city seated on the mountain-top. Virtue went out from him to Meath and to Ireland. The learning and the piety that were always his now shone forth as a beacon-light to his followers, challenging the admiration of friends and foes.

Alas! this happy state of things was not to continue. Another winter, longer, deadlier than the first was approaching. Another winter of tempests, of ruins, and of tears! The great Tudor Queen who had done so much to bring back her country to its old allegiance, discovering that the husband for whose sake she lost her people's love held her in scorn, and that fatal destinies were closing around her, broke down in health and spirits, and died of a broken heart.

> In all things excellent while she pursued
> Her own free inclination without fear.[1]

Nowhere throughout her dominions was her death felt more keenly than in Ireland. With the diocese of Meath, in particular, she had had an almost personal connection. Its chequered history had been brought home to her, and its bishop was high in her favour. His name and his virtue and his learning must have often been mentioned in her hearing by her trusted kinsman and adviser, Cardinal Pole. It was a mournful day for Dr. Walsh, his diocese, and his country, when these two pillars of the truth, Queen Mary and Cardinal Pole, passed away from earth.

The bishop did not come into collision with Elizabeth, or with her lieutenants for some time after her coronation. In fact, we find his name on more than one Royal Commission appointed by her.[2] But it was only the calm before

[1] Sir Aubrey de Vere.

[2] Morrini, pp. 411-427.

the storm. There could be no peace between a character so staunch as his and the authoress of the nefarious Penal Code associated with her name. In her very first Parliament in England she abolished, by law, the supremacy of the Pope, and annexed all spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction to the crown. She reserved the tenths and first fruits to her heirs and successors. She penalized the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice. She decreed that, for a general uniformity of worship in her dominions, the *Book of Common Prayer* should be used everywhere to the exclusion of all 'popish ceremonies.'[1] She sent to Ireland a nobleman who readily acquiesced in her views and purposes. In the second year of her reign, Sussex convoked a packed parliament,[2] representing only ten counties, 'to make such statutes (concerning religion) as were made in England.' To this assembly Dr. Walsh and other bishops were summoned. He and his colleagues obeyed the summons, and witnessed the passage of the following infamous measures:—the repeal of the Acts of Mary's Parliament re-establishing ecclesiastical relations with Rome; the revival of those of Henry regarding the succession; the investment of all ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the crown; the enforcement of the oath of supremacy on all judges, justices, mayors, and temporal officers; the declaration that episcopal elections made by the priests were 'shadows,' derogatory to the royal prerogative; the enactment, that any priest who refused to use the *Book of Common Prayer*, or who dared to use other worship, right, or ceremony, should for the first offence forfeit his income for a year, and suffer imprisonment for six months; for the second offence, forfeit his income for ever, and suffer imprisonment at pleasure; for the third, undergo perpetual confinement.[3]

We have reason to believe that the struggle between the deputy and the Parliament was severe; but we have no account of anything said or done by Dr. Walsh. That he

[1] Ware's *Annals, Reign of Elizabeth.*
[2] See Dr. M. Kelly's *Dissertations on Irish Church History.*
[3] Shirley, *Original Letters*, Lib. Stat., p. 201.

was a co-operator in the evil work is a suggestion so absurd that it never has been hinted. We may rest assured he left nothing undone that could avert the fatal blow. The silence of the records in his regard is undoubtedly a strange fact; but it proves beyond all cavil that the integrity of the other bishops present cannot reasonably be impeached. If he—the protagonist of the scene, the leading opponent of the Penal Code—has been left without a mention in the proceedings of that Parliament, we cannot expect that they who followed his example would find a chronicler of their opposition.

Three weeks after Sussex's arrival in Ireland, letters came from the Queen signifying her desire that a general meeting of the clergy of Ireland should be held for the purpose of establishing the Protestant religion throughout the several dioceses of the kingdom.[1] The meeting was called by the notorious Curwen; but Dr. Walsh was not to be terrorized. He at once displayed his zeal for the true Church. He withstood the Reformer to his face, and the convocation became abortive.[2] He was enraged at the insult offered to himself and his colleagues, by an order requiring apostacy from the teaching they cherished more than their lives When the assembly had broken up he publicly denounced the efforts of the Queen, and her lieutenants, to introduce heresy into Ireland. In his own diocese, at Trim, he gave indignant expression to his thoughts and feelings. He condemned the Protestant prayer book which had been ordered by the Queen. He defiantly proclaimed the Catholic faith in the face of his foes, setting an example of Christian heroism to all Catholic Ireland.

We can have but a slight idea of the godless persecution which reigned in those dreadful days, especially within the Pale; but 'many who, from the beginning, were eye-witnesses, or who diligently attained to all things from the beginning, have taken in hand to set forth in order a narration of the things that have been accomplished among

[1] Ware's *Annals*, 1560.
[2] Dr. Brady in Frazer's *Magazine*, October, 1867.

us.' Dr. Lombard, in his *Commentary on the Kingdom of Ireland*, has the following :—

The mere practices of Catholic piety are declared to be civil and capital crimes, and some of them, too, are equivalent to high treason. For instance, to celebrate or assist at the Adorable Sacrifice of the altar ; to refuse to assist at the schismatical and heretical rites ; to have in your possession or to be bearers of missals, breviaries, Offices of the Blessed Virgin, *Agnus Deis*, crosses, beads, medals, blessed by the Roman Pontiff ; to make a confession of sins, or to absolve from them ; and especially to reconcile anyone to the Catholic Church.

Henriquez writes [1] :—

Everywhere the heretics profaned the sacred churches, demolished the altars, consigned to the flames the holy images, and devoted to profane purposes the chalices and other ornaments of divine worship. Not a day passed without being marked by some cruel martyrdom ; the nobles were despoiled of their wealth and possessions ; the poor overwhelmed with affliction ; the natives banished into foreign lands ; the priests were compelled to wander about from place to place, or were thrown into prison. The religious dared not to appear in public, and no one could attempt to preach the Catholic faith or to defend the supremacy of the Holy See. It was not sufficient for the enemies of our faith to persecute the Catholics in the cities and towns ; they followed them, moreover, to the woods and mountains, like hungry lions pursuing the flock of Christ. Their diabolical cruelty was still more displayed in the destruction of the numerous and richly-adorned monasteries which the munificence of the nobility had erected and endowed in former times, that their inmates might devote themselves to the praises and service of God ; but the heretics pulled down the churches, destroyed the edifices by fire, murdered the servants of God, profaned the sacred places, and made the houses of prayer become dens of thieves. They were earthly paradises ; they now became the abode of demons ; for the voice of prayer was substituted blasphemy, and instead of the daily sacrifice of thanksgiving nought was witnessed but abominations and crimes.

And then of his own order the same writer says :—

Some, full of affliction and misery, fled from the sword which impended over them ; others were murdered or burned to death in their convents ; all the monasteries were levelled to the

[1] Page 358.

ground; the virgins, who from their youth had consecrated themselves to God, were driven from their convents, and compelled to wander in hunger through the woods and mountains. The heretics were the more eager in pursuit of our religious, as our monasteries were numerous and rich; and in a short time all were completely destroyed.

The historian of the Geraldines,[1] Dominic O'Daly, is equally emphatic:—

Your religion has made your enemies crucify you. . . . The priests of the Lord are stoned in the public thoroughfares, and their tonsured heads are made targets for those wretches to aim at. Some of the secular priests had their brains beaten out, their bodies dashed to earth, trodden under foot, and bruised by kicks and blows. Some had the nails of their fingers torn out by the roots, whilst others actually saw their entrails protrude, and their flesh ripped and torn by combs of iron. . . . They were stoned, they were cut asunder, they were tempted, they were put to death by the sword; but, praise be to God, they are true to the faith.

And as if a directly religious persecution was not enough, the whole land was reduced to a vast heap of carcasses and ashes. Fynes Morrison, whose *History of Ireland* is such an unblushing vilification and falsification of our country's past, was compelled to admit[2] that—

No spectacle was more frequent in the ditches of towns, and especially in the wasted countries, than to see multitudes of these poor people dead, with their mouths all coloured green by eating nettles, docks, and all things they could rend above the ground.

O'Sullivan Beare, in his History,[3] thus describes the havoc wrought:—

All Ireland was devastated and reduced to ruin; an unparalleled scarcity and famine pervaded everywhere. Nor was it man alone that suffered; the very beasts of the field were in many places swept away, having nothing to subsist upon; the wolves, abandoning the hills and mountains, assailed and devoured the emaciated inhabitants; the dogs rooted up from the graves the decaying corpses, and devoured even the very bones of the deceased.

But the most striking testimony of all is that of

[1] Page 138. [2] Page 272. [3] Page 261.

Mr. Lecky, the impartial historian who now represents Trinity College in the British House of Commons. In the introductory chapter to his *Ireland in the Eighteenth Century*, he cites an array of witnesses whose testimony would make the blood boil, and then sums up the case in these words:—

> The slaughter of Irishmen was looked upon as literally the slaughter of wild beasts. Not only the men, but even the women and children, were deliberately and systematically butchered. Bands of soldiers traversed great tracts of country, slaying everything they met. The sword was not found sufficiently expeditious; but another method proved much more efficacious. Year after year, over a great part of Ireland, all means of human subsistence were destroyed; no quarter was given to prisoners who surrendered; and the whole population was skilfully and steadily starved to death.

The stricken people looked for light and leading in their woes to a few prominent confessors. The Reformers resolved to strike the latter down; and Dr. Walsh, of course, was an early victim. He was thrown into prison, in 1559 or 1560,[1] and instructions in his regard were sought from the Queen. Elizabeth replied that he should be placed under close arrest. Thus commenced an imprisonment which lasted for thirteen long years. He would seem to have been liberated for a short time some two years afterwards, for when the see of Armagh became vacant, in 1562, the names sent forward to the Cardinal Protector of Ireland for that important archbishopric were, Thomas Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, Hugh Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Richard Creagh, the future Primate, and Dr. William Walsh, 'now happily released from prison, but still constant in the faith'—all destined to be in God's good time martyrs in the cause of the Catholic religion.[2] In 1563, Dr. Walsh appealed to Rome for a confirmation of his appointment to the diocese of Meath. The original provision by Cardinal Pole was made on the condition that the new prelate should seek a confirmation thereof within one year; but poverty and

[1] Though commonly stated that the event took place in 1560, the see of Meath is regarded as vacant in 1559: *vide* Morrini, pp. 430 and 431.

[2] Moran's *Archbishops*, Appendix, p. 419.

imprisonment prevented him from complying with that regulation. Cardinal Pole extended the time within which he was bound to apply to the Holy See; and the poor, persecuted bishop made every effort, from within the walls of his prison, to carry out the law laid down for him. The Roman authorities most willingly confirmed his appointment, testified to their sense of his worth, and stated that the turbulence and disorder of the schism made the usual formalities unnecessary in his case.[1] In 1565 he was led forth from his prison to be tried anew by Adam Loftus, Protestant Archbishop of Armagh. The result is best described in the words of that functionary:—

> The 13th of this month, by virtue of our commission for causes ecclesiastical, we committed to the castle of Dublin Dr. Welche, late Bishop of Meath, there to remain until the Queen's Majesty's pleasure were known. He refused the oath, and to answer such articles as we required him; and besides that ever since the last parliament, he hath manifestly contemned, and openly showed himself to be a misliker of all the Queen's Majesty's proceedings. He openly protested before all the people, the same day he was before us, that he would never communicate, or be present by his will, where the service should be ministered, for it was against his conscience, and as he thought, against God's Word. If it shall seem good to your honour and the rest of her Majesty's most honourable council, in my opinion it were fit he should be sent to England, and peradventure by conferring with the learned bishops there, he might be brought to some conformity. He is one of great credit amongst his countrymen, and upon whom as touching causes of religion they wholly depend.[2]

He was not brought to England, nor was there any hope of his conformity; yet 'as no pretext could be got to hang him, he was again put in chains in his former prison.' Some two years after this event he wrote an interesting letter to the Holy See. The Bishop of Leighlin had died, and Dr. Walsh, ever watchful of the interests of the Irish Church, was anxious that a worthy successor should be appointed. He strongly recommends the selection of one Daniel O'Ferral, and gives reasons for his so doing. He

[1] See Consistorial Acts, cited in Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, vol. i., p. 328.
[2] Shirley's original *Letters*, p. 220.

states that the Bishop of Kildare shares his views; he recalls the success of O'Ferral as a teacher in Dublin of the arts and sciences he had learned in Louvain; he extols the humility which has prompted him (O'Ferral) to abandon the calling he had pursued so profitably that he may be the better able to devote himself to God; and he declares that he is forced to interfere not through any pressure on the part of O'Ferral, but from his own anxiety to see a faithful guardian of the people set over the diocese of Leighlin. In concluding the letter, the Bishop alludes to the extreme poverty to which his seven years in chains, deprived of all income from his bishopric, have reduced him, and begs the Cardinal Protector to procure for him the restitution of some money which was being wrongfully withheld from him. It was not the only time in which a mean advantage of the defenceless prisoner was taken by a cowardly opponent.[1]

From the occasional glimmer which shone through his long incarceration, we might be inclined to overlook the misery and the tortures he underwent. But the records of many lands would prevent us from so doing even if we would. The 'State Papers of England, Home and Foreign,'[2] the secret archives of the Vatican,[3] the martyrologies,[4] and the works of the Cistercians, the testimony of pious and, presumably, well-informed biographers—all proclaim the long-enduring martyrdom of William Walsh. His prison in Dublin was an underground dungeon, damp, disgusting, and unhealthy, through which a ray of heaven's light never penetrated. The small morsels of food which his jailers deigned to mete out to him were of the coarsest kind; and, lest the presence even of his jailers might bring him some human comfort, nobody was allowed to enter his cell with his food—it was transmitted to him through an aperture in the wall by means of a rope. Except at the rarest intervals, through the intercession of friends, no respite was given to

[1] The letter, which is written in the most beautiful Latin, is mentioned in Brady, ii., p. 235, and quoted in I. E. Record, 1866.

[2] See those edited by Mr. Crosby, year 1573.

[3] See Brady, *locis citatis*.

[4] Henriquez, *Menologium Cistercience*, p. 5; Holing's *Irish Martyrs of Reign of Elizabeth*, and the *Idea Togatea Constantiae* in the Renehan MSS.

the patient sufferer during all those weary years. Save a few letters, he was allowed neither to read nor to write. No occupation of any kind was permitted to his active mind. What it must have been to a gentleman of education, of culture, and of refinement to bear with indignities and with cruelties that would be galling even to the most hardened criminal!

But the man of God was not without his resource. His days and nights, as long as human nature could stand the strain, were spent in prayer. 'He was at times overwhelmed with heavenly consolations that made his prison a paradise of delights.' His lively faith and his ardent hope sustained him in his woes. Henriquez asserts that the contemplations of his cell made him almost forget the present in his prospect of the eternal future. When utterly fatigued from prayer he had recourse to an ingenious means of diverting the attention of his mind. The bed whereon he reposed was made of twisted cords; these he would untie and bind again until he was overcome by sleep.

The hope of the Reformers was that the Bishop might be broken down by lengthened imprisonment and punishment. But they hoped in vain. His firmness became the more adamantine as years went by. In fact, his apparent oblivion of his sufferings provoked them beyond measure. They were so 'disgusted with his obstinacy' that they grew willing to connive at his escape. About the Christmas of 1572 his friends bribed his jailer to set him free, and had in readiness a boat to convey the liberated prisoner to Brittany. We are not to conclude that it was a generous restoration of liberty even then. Dr. Walsh tells us, in a letter still preserved, that it was a choice between continued imprisonment and the dangers of the sea, and the fullest writer of his life asserts that he was 'banished to exile by a public sentence.'[1]

Away over the stormy seas, when the dangers of the deep were far more formidable than they are to-day, sped the feeble, mangled, and aged bishop. He was leaving as an outlaw, in stealthy, flight his own dear land. He was

[1] See Lynch, *De Presulibus, Menologium*, p. 5, and letter of 1573.

bidding adieu for ever to the island-home within whose bosom his kindred slept. How his heart must have sunk within him as the shores receded from his sight! If he could only console himself with the thought that all would be well in Meath and in Ireland! But no; the grim spectre of persecution, poverty, desolation, depopulation, famine and death, was stalking over the still fertile and beautiful plains. The best and bravest of a valiant race being put to death, the homesteads wrecked, the priesthood hunted down like wolves—was any sorrow like unto their sorrow and his? For sixteen days the boat was the sport of the winds and waves, and at length was shipwrecked off the coast of France. The hapless bishop managed to get as far as Nantes, but he was compelled to remain there, unknown and abandoned, for six months. Then, with a little aid from the Nuncio, he proceeded to Paris.[1]

His stay at the French capital, however, was a brief one. It was not his destination. His movements, moreover, were being very carefully noted. The Foreign State Papers, edited by Mr. Crosby, show us what a close watch was kept upon him by the British Ambassador at the French Court. Every communication between himself and the king, every rumour about him, his departure from the country—all are entered on the dispatches. But, while in Paris, he wrote two letters which throw a great deal of light upon the story of his life. One was addressed to Cardinal Hosier, at Rome; the other to the French Monarch. In both he declares that he is now over sixty years of age, and enfeebled from his thirteen years in chains. To the king he states that the debility of his body is so great that he can no longer move himself. He informs the monarch that after Gaspar de Coligny received the reward of his deeds, the lieutenants of the Queen of England, 'by hard usage, tried to bring about quickly the death of himself and other Catholics.' Both letters are sad reading. They show us what a weight of pain and sorrow pressed upon his saintly soul, and they make us feel that, great as was the light and

[1] Letter to King of France, Crosby, year 1573, as also letter to Card. Hosier, Brady, ii., p. 235.

sweetness of his spiritual contemplations, he yearned to pour out his heart, and tell his doleful tale to some human friend. The king was evidently moved by his words, for he soon sent the exiled prelate substantial assistance. In October of the same year (1573), probably through the generosity of his royal benefactor, Dr. Walsh was able to take shipping for Spain, and settle down at last in the land of the Cid.

At Alcalá de Henares, a noble Spanish lady, received him into her home, and treated him with every respect and reverence. The reigning sovereign, too, granted him an allowance to defray any expenses he might find it necessary to incur. Truly this was the irony of fate! Hunted from his own land as a felon, he was received with open arms by the ruler of another country, and afforded a shelter from the storm of persecution that swept over his own diocese and people. He warmly appreciated the friendship of his adopted country, and paid generous tribute thereto in a letter from his new home to one of the Roman cardinals. Still, as this last-mentioned letter proves, he was not free from troubles. The money set apart for him by the royal magnanimity had to pass through the hands of laymen, and these latter were slow to deliver it to the rightful owner. They realized the helplessness and the sensitive dignity of the bishop. He had too keen a sense of his position to descend to a quarrel with them. As a result, the good intentions of the king were frustrated. Moreover, Dr. Walsh found the great heat of Alcalá too much for him. If an oak cannot be transplanted at fifty, what must it have been to him, with his constitution undermined, his body covered with sores, his grey head bending with age and sorrow to the grave, to endure the broiling suns of Spain after the cool, genial summers of Ireland! And, besides, he longed to be nearer to his native land. He yearned for some news from his flock, now left without a shepherd. While in France he could at least send his blessing to his dear spiritual children at home; for, as he wrote, there was much intercourse between that country and Ireland.[1]

[1] Theiner's *Annales*, vol. ii., p. 247.

Although thus regretting his separation from the souls committed to his charge, he was appointed by the Holy See (1575) to minister not only to the people of his own diocese, but to those of the provinces of Armagh and Dublin, during the imprisonment of the Primate, Dr. Creagh. This appointment led Dr. Brady to suppose that Dr. Walsh must have returned to Ireland; but we cannot agree with such a conclusion. We have the statement of the Cistercian author, Henriquez, who knew most about his life, that he was banished to exile 'by public sentence.' We have the bishop's own words that he braved the dangers of the sea rather than continue in prison—evidently implying that he was not free to remain at home. No mention of a return to Ireland is made by any writer. Besides, the extreme infirmity to which his incarceration had reduced him, and which is repeatedly referred to by himself and by others, rendered it almost, if not absolutely, impossible for him to return. How, then, explain the action of the Holy See in granting him jurisdiction over Armagh and Dublin? The explanation lies in the unsettled state of the times. Several bishops were empowered to act as bishops not only in their own, but in other dioceses. The Holy See was anxious to provide in every possible way for the faithful whose bishops were driven to exile or consigned to prison. Dr. Creagh himself received jurisdiction in 1575 over the whole province of Dublin, although under close arrest at the time. The same year Dr. Edmond Tanner, of Cork and Cloyne, received a commission to exercise his office in his native province. We may reasonably conclude, therefore, that the Roman authorities in enlarging Dr. Walsh's area of power, did so in the hope that he might, by some possibility, be able to succour the people of the two provinces in their spiritual necessities. What a revelation of the straits to which the Irish Church was reduced![1]

The exiled prelate remained for some years in the house of his noble benefactress. She never ceased to look upon him as a heaven-sent visitor. She kissed the wounds left

[1] See Cardinal Moran's *Archbishops*, p. 83.

by his chains as so many trophies of his martyrdom, and dressed them on her knees. She ministered personally to all his wants, and loved to anticipate his wishes. But his last days were not to be spent under her hospitable roof. He repaired to the Cistercian monastery of Alcalá, to close his life under the direction of the same rules that first attracted his religious heart. His exalted sanctity—his 'angelic method of life,' as a historian of his order puts it—his profound humility, his unwonted rigour towards himself, coupled with his serene and joyful countenance, excited the praise and admiration of all who knew him in his retreat. It has been said of him, that, tried as he had been in the crucible of suffering, his exile was his glory, the injuries done him made it a paradise, while his wounds and ulcers were the delight of his mind. He was made a suffragan bishop of the province of Toledo; but the hand of death robbed him very soon of the honour. He peacefully passed away on the 4th January, 1577, the same year that Dr. Lacy, Bishop of Limerick, Dr. Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, and the Vicar-General of Kinsale, had to lay down their lives for the faith.[1] His remains are interred in the collegiate church of St. Secundinus, and the following inscription marks his tomb :—

Here lies William Walsh, a monk of the Cistercian Order, and Bishop of Meath, who after thirteen years of imprisonment and many hardships patiently borne, died an exile, at Alcalá, on the 4th January, 1577.

The name of Dr. Walsh is reckoned in more than one Irish martyrology. He is revered as a martyr by his own order—witness the old Italian MSS. quoted by Cardinal Moran. His Cistercian biographer, Henriquez, contends, and I believe rightly, that the martyr's crown is his as truly as if he had died in torments. Henriquez cites the authority of Suarez and St. Cyprian to prove that a life-long martyrdom which ends in exile as truly merits the honour and glory of the aureola as the violent death which is caused by the gibbet or the lions. Indeed there are many saints on

[1] Bruodin's *Propugnoculum*, lib. iii., cap. 20.

the calendar of martyrs, familiar to every priest in the Office and the Mass who did not die in torments. 'Dr. Walsh,' writes the late Dr. Kelly of Maynooth, 'by his blameless life and firm attachment to the faith, by his constancy in trial, won for his persecuted countrymen the sympathy of the Catholic world.' 'Acceptable to God and pleasing to men, his whole life breathed nothing but sanctity, and all his labours were directed to promote the interests of the Heavenly King:' these are the words of another panegyrist. Cardinal Moran asserts that *many* knew the bishop never had committed a grave sin. At any rate, the General of his order, on unimpeachable testimony, was of that opinion. Let our contribution to the subject be a prayer that he may rest in peace.

It is a sad record—the life and times of Dr. Walsh. But who can say it is without its redeeming features? Where is the Irish Catholic who can look back upon this champion of God's ark in the evil days of Elizabeth without feeling his faith enkindled, and his heart-chords stirred? Again and again it has been asserted that the bishops of Ireland were false to their sacred trust in the days of Elizabeth. Protestant writers, in the vain attempt to bolster up the now fallen Establishment, boasted that in the days of 'the Virgin Queen,' the rulers of the Church in Ireland went over to the new allegiance and the new religion; and well-meaning Catholic historians have sometimes taken for granted what was stated with such dogmatism. But 'from this one learn all.' Dr. Walsh was a type, a grand type, to be sure, but still a faithful type, of the Irish bishops of his day. It was not given to all to dare so much for the honour and glory of his Divine Master's teaching, *but every Irishman who ruled an Irish diocese on the accession of Elizabeth kept the faith that was in him to the consummation of his life.* Slowly, but surely, has the truth come out and justice been done these dauntless upholders of the faith first delivered to the saints. An authority so little prejudiced in our favour as Froude, writes:—

I have examined, I believe thoroughly, all the Irish State Papers in the Record Office during and from the time of

Henry VIII. to 1574, and it is from them, in connection with the voluminous MSS. in Spain on the same subject, that I draw my conclusion respecting the supposed conversion of the Irish bishops and clergy to the Reformation. I am thoroughly convinced that, with the exception of the Archbishop of Dublin, not one of Queen Mary's bishops, nor any one of the clergy beyond the Pale, went over to the Reformation.[1]

And another impartial Protestant writes :—

There is not a particle of evidence upon record to prove that any of the bishops of the reign of Queen Mary, except Curwen, became Protestants.

You observe that an exception is made by these writers in the case of Curwen, Archbishop of Dublin. But he was not an Irishman. Of all the bishops who were in possession of the Irish sees on the accession of Elizabeth, only one was an Englishman, and he precisely was the only one who renounced his allegiance to the Holy See. And the bishops had a recompense in the fidelity of their flocks. Here, again, let us listen to the words of unimpeachable witnesses. Miler M'Grath emits the following wail :—[2]

I find myself sorely beset and overwhelmed by the general unbridled multitude in Ireland, notorious papists, and reconciled to the Pope and to the King of Spain : they have all joined hearts and hands to overthrow my poor self.

Lord-Deputy Chichester is even more explicit :—[3]

I know not how this attachment to the Catholic Church is so deeply rooted in the hearts of the Irish, unless it be that the very soil is infected and the air tainted with popery ; for they obstinately prefer it to all things else, to allegiance to their king, to respect for his ministers, to the care of their own posterity, and to all their hopes and prospects.

The poet Spencer, in his *View of the State of Ireland*,[4] has the pithy remark : ' The natives of Ireland be all papists by profession.'

[1] See closing number of I. E. Record, 1866.
[2] Letter to Lord Burleigh in State Papers.
[3] Rothe's *Analecta*, p. 203,
[4] Page 137.

The Catholic bishop of Ossory, Dr. Rothe, in his valuable *Analecta*,[1] gives his experiences as follows:—

> They are rather converted to us than we to them. . . . The ministers who were sent by the Crown to attain that end were not only devoid of success, but were rather themselves converted by the Irish to the Catholic faith.

The testimony of Dr. Brady, Protestant bishop of Meath, from 1563, is exceptionally valuable, not only as showing how Dr. Walsh's diocese stood firm after his bright example, but as revealing the state of things which prevailed where the Protestant interests were, as all the Reformers admitted, best advanced and most favourably circumstanced:—

> Oh! what a sea of troubles have I entered into, storms arising on every side; the ungodly lawyers are not only sworn enemies of the truth, but also for lack of due execution of the law, the overthrowers of the country; the ragged clergy are stubborn and ignorantly blind, so there is little hope of amendment; the simple multitude is, through continual ignorance, hardly to be won, so that I find affliction on every side. . . . These people will have either the one or the other, I mean they will eat my meat and drink, or else myself . . . all things waxeth rather worse than otherwise; and as I said before, I fear me, without some speedy redress, the whole body shall be so sick as it shall with difficulty recover, so badly are men here disposed.[2]

It almost seems unnecessary to prove from authority the fidelity of our country to the throne of the fisherman in the dark penal days. Yet there have been Protestant historians who could hear no ringing voices from out our ivied ruins, our broken arches, our rifled altars, telling of the struggles written in large characters on their time-worn brows. Therefore must we give a reason of the faith that is in us.

We owe it to struggles such as Dr. Walsh's that the faith of our fathers has never been wrested from us. He and his brethren of the Irish episcopate stood up to face the Reformers, and saved our land from the misfortunes that befel other countries in the sixteenth century. They fought

[1] Page 202.
[2] Shirley's *Original Letters*, pp. 135-187, &c.

the good fight; they kept the faith, and their reward has been exceeding great in the generations that have come after them. Our proudest heritage is that same faith which they bequeathed to us: take away the Catholic religion and the keystone of all Ireland's greatness and Ireland's glory is gone. We shall never, please God, forget the lessons taught us by their history. We shall always look back to them for inspiration when clouds loom upon the horizon; we shall always watch and pray lest the lustre of our faith should ever become dimmed. The story of their constancy will not excite in us feelings of revenge towards those who differ from us in creed and nationality;—God forbid it should; but it will teach us everywhere we are to look for our friends; it will teach us what a price they paid for the profession of that faith which we openly and publicly proclaim to the world to-day; it will teach us to be proud of our religion; it will teach us to prize the great gift our country has purchased in blood and tears; it will teach us to re-echo to the end in our inmost souls the spirit of the hymn:—

Faith of our fathers, holy faith,
We will be true to thee till death.

EDWARD NAGLE, B.D.

PRIMARY EDUCATION IN ROME

IT has often been said by their enemies that the clergy of Rome do nothing for the propagation of instruction among the people. The contrary is so true, that even in this respect Rome may serve for a model to many governments. To treat of the diffusion of knowledge in the Eternal City, however, is less our present purpose than to demonstrate how the true principles of education are the animating spirit of the institutions of Papal Rome. We shall single out but one of these which we may use as an object lesson in arriving at the *beau-ideal* of Catholic primary education; not that it is our intention to write exhaustively or profoundly on the subject. As the existing portion of the Basilica of Constantine at the Roman Forum has served for a model to ecclesiastical architects of succeeding ages, so we shall have sufficient in the consideration of the institution St. Michael for our study. There are but three arches remaining of this noble Basilica, which after the Colosseum is the most imposing ruin in Rome. Of the vast vaulted arches spanning the middle space only the supports from which the arches sprang still exist. These, however, suffice to indicate what they must have been. From such scanty data the architect who is master of his art will build up in faultless proportion, and in the perfect style of his model, an edifice which is suited to his requirements by the exercise of his genius in the adaptation of what is common to his own peculiar ends. We venture to affirm that we will find in the study of this single institution, the great principles of Catholic primary education carried out to perfection, and that a careful study of St. Michael's will enable us to go far in solving a most difficult problem. The commencement of this establishment was very humble and touching. In 1580, a poor peasant of Salermo made a vow to visit the sanctuary of Loreto. He took all he had with him, and trusting to Providence, departed. Having come as far as Rome, and his scanty means being exhausted, Leonard found it an

impossibility to proceed. He entered the service of Cardinal de Medici, and thought himself happy in accomplishing his vow at the sacrifice of his liberty. During two years Ceruso worked; at the end of which time he was enabled to proceed on his journey. Returning, he again came to Rome where much suffering was caused by the rigour of the winter. Little children shivering with cold, and dying with hunger, were begging in the streets, and Leonard's heart was touched with compassion. The little that remained after the expenses of his pilgrimage, and which was to have brought him home to Salermo, was now freely spent in supporting a few of the little vagrants. In a very short time the number of these having increased, his resources were exhausted, and then Ceruso went through the streets of Rome begging for his poor children. The people admired his devotedness, and from a quaint custom he had of quoting Latin phrases, called him the 'Scholar.' Leonard accustomed the children to work almost from their infancy, employing them first in sweeping the streets of Rome, and when they grew up a little put them to learn a trade, that they might afterwards be enabled to earn a livelihood. The 'Scholar,' as Leonard was now universally called, became absorbed in his little family, and for their sakes forgot his native Salermo, and remained at Rome, where he died, in 1595, beloved of all, and in the odour of sanctity.

To this establishment was united that of Odescalchi, Canon of St. Peter's, and afterwards that of Sextus V., and thus was definitely constituted the Hospice of St. Michael, with its four families, on the right bank of the Tiber, near the Porta Portese, occupying an immense area The Hospice is divided into four separate communities, in which more than eight hundred persons of all conditions and both sexes are maintained. They are those of boys, girls, old men and women. One would think that this hospice furnished a model for those admirable institutions of our own day, in which the old are so charitably cared for and supported—institutions founded on heroic self-sacrifice, and which are the glory of a century otherwise self-seeking and material. The spirit is the same, and in

great part the rules of these institutions are identical with those of St. Michael's. The third community gathers to itself young girls, orphans and the destitute, whose age, sex, and poverty expose them in a particular manner to danger. They are carefully instructed in their religious duties, and taught to become industrious mothers of families, or active and useful religious. They do not leave the institute but to marry or enter a convent, and then they receive a dowry of 100 scudi.

The most important community, and that which is of the greatest interest for us in Ireland at present, is that set apart for the education of the boys, who are to the number of two hundred and fifty, and divided into five departments, according to age. They are admitted when not yet eleven, and remain until they are twenty years of age, and even until they are twenty-two, if they have distinguished themselves in the liberal arts. They wear a uniform. The teaching which they receive is divided into literary and professional. We need not speak of the religious instruction in the Catholic institutions of Rome, as it is sure not to be neglected. The literary course is that of a good primary school, with a special instruction in book-keeping. The professional (or technical) course takes in all the trades—printing, book-binding, the tailor and boot trades ; those in iron and wood are amongst those that are taught. The type and everything pertaining to printing is made on the establishment, and works that would do honour to the best printing firms come from the presses of St. Michael's. The factory of drapery stuffs is the most important in the hospice, and has gained, amongst other awards, that of the Universal Exhibition of Paris. The fabrics of tapestry, rivalling that of the ancient Gobellins, have had an almost equal success. Artistic teaching, of course, is not neglected. There are classes of ornamentation, sculpture, design, and painting. Leo XII. instituted the teaching of gold and silver work, and the art of cameos and mosaics.

A system that is at once firm and paternal obtains in the hospice, and recompense is as effectual as chastisement in maintaining discipline amongst those noisy and lively Italian

boys. If work is obligatory and assiduous, there are many recreations and games. Frequent walks, numerous feast days, and now and then dramatic entertainments, to which a select audience is admitted. preserve an atmosphere of fresh and hearty gaiety. These latter are composed and executed by the inmates, and testify to the taste and intelligence and sound traditions which preside over the entire establishment. When quitting the hospice they receive 30 scudi.

Leaving such a home, these youths take with them a souvenir which exercises a charm over their memory, and keeps a hold on their affections. This is the glory of the institution. If the child who has thus set out in life remains but a simple artisan of Transtivere, he comes on the Sunday to see his old masters. If he becomes a distinguished artist he frequently sends the fruits of his talents and his toil as a pious homage to his *alma mater;* and strangers often stand astonished in the parlours before pictures and sculpture signed by these illustrious orphans.

Such is this great creation of the genius and charity of Rome where a school of art is found with a school of trade, and each performs its functions without hindrance from the other, and in admirable order; a school of fine art and of music; a polytechnical school and work-rooms for young girls; two asylums for the old of either sex—a prodigious ensemble which is found nowhere else, which has been in advance by a century of the nations who most proudly boast of their educational institutions. Let us supplement this by a rapid sketch of the world-renowned Roman College as it was a few years ago. On the principal entrance you read the words 'Religioni et bonis artibus,' which at once indicate the spirit and nature of the instruction given. The College owes its origin to St. Ignatius of Loyola. It has undergone, it is true, many modifications and enlargements; but the original idea of the founder has been respected, and gratuitous instruction has always been given. The teaching comprised grammar, philosophy, and theology; everybody was admitted to follow the courses; the rich and the poor, the old and the young, the stranger and the citizen, came freely, each one as he wished, at the hour of instruction,

and when the lectures were finished, it was a curious spectacle to see such a motley crowd of scholars of every age and condition, going home to their dwellings. There were in 1862 twenty-eight professors in charge of the different courses of instruction. There were as many as seven hundred students for the inferior classes, more than three hundred of philosophy, and about two hundred and fifty of theology. The seminaries in the neighbourhood usually attended the lectures in the Roman College. This College is worthy of our attention as embodying the spirit of that Church in whose eyes all are equal.

This is the way in which the Popes have understood Christian education; let us now see how an irreligious government is exerting its influence on the education of the youth of Rome. Last May we happened to be present at the public sports held at the Villa Pamphili Doria, at which the Queen of Italy presided. This villa is the most extensive and delightful of the Roman villas (which we would designate as 'parks'), abounding in avenues and woods, fountains and cascades, situated on the summit of the Janiculum. From the ilex-fringed terrace there is one of the best views of St. Peter's which must be seen to be appreciated. The different gymnastic exercises came off in a large and beautifully decorated enclosed space in the presence of all the nobility of Rome and about eight thousand spectators.

As the military idea is the key-note of primary education, as understood by the usurping government, we expected to see feats of strength, and activity, and a military display such as we had never witnessed. How completely we were disappointed could not be imagined by any one of our countrymen, even by those who never witnessed sports or tournaments. Their present rulers have quite mistaken the Italian character. The people are not an idle people, as their enemies are always trying to assert, but they are without physical energy, and are not gifted with a 'physique,' firm and muscular, which are necessary qualities to excel in military enterprises. Gifts are diverse. The Roman is by nature an artist. The climate which is entirely

favourable to the artist is enervating to the athlete. The Italian could as justly look with contempt at our clumsy attempts at art as we do on his poor endeavours after athletic excellence. All this seemed evident to us as we gazed on the present display of the youth of Rome, of whom there must have been five thousand. To a northern eye most of these young boys were handsome, but of a frail and sickly appearance. The listless patience and quietude manifested by them gave rather the impression of apathy, and want of animal spirits, than of order or suppressed ardour—anything but an agreeable impression when contemplating the young. This immense crowd performed military drill of the simplest kind in the presence of the Queen, or rather prepared to perform it, for almost the whole time was taken up in getting into line. For this the entire day had been wasted. We enter into these details not for their own sake, but to make manifest the mistake of the stranger government in sacrificing the nation to a military idea. The manly, if rather rough, game of foot-ball was played by adults so poorly, that my companion whispered, 'I would like to see a few young lads of an Irish village tackling them.' 'They would make fools of them in no time,' was the reply. There came to my mind a long-forgotten line of Horace to the effect; 'not such as those who lead the Pyrrhic dance have stained the sea with Carthagenian blood.' The game almost seemed to me a dance compared to the rush and dash which more warlike races exhibit in the same exercise, and sadly the thought came of Abyssinian sands saturated with Italian blood. The people are crushed with taxes to build war-ship which cannot be effectively manned.

Religion and true education, which are so broad, and contain so many things, are sacrificed in the vain endeavour to maintain an army equal to those of the great powers. The official harpies, that suck the life-blood of the nation, do not wish to understand that the true policy of Italy is in Napoleon's dictum: 'neutrality, and not armies, is the defence of small nationalities.' Alas! poor Italy has fallen upon evil days. The Pontiff King, the father who under-

stood his children, is a prisoner, and the selfish and wicked feed the nation on the husks of outward show; an army and navy without strength, and houses magnificent in appearance, the effect of vile stucco.

As we remarked above, it has not been our intention to write profoundly or exhaustively on primary education, but simply to suggest the *beau-ideal.*

JEROME O'CONNELL, O.D.C.

NOTES ON THE CANONICAL ASPECTS OF A PLENARY OR NATIONAL SYNOD

A FEW notes on the legal or canonical aspects of a Plenary Synod may have, at the present time, a special interest for the readers of the I. E. RECORD. Many of them, no doubt, still remember the procedure followed on the occasion of the Synod of Maynooth, in 1875. To these I cannot hope to give any additional information. But many of a newer generation will take an active part in the next National Synod, and a still larger number will follow its proceedings with interest. For the sake of these, therefore, or such of them as may not have within reach the voluminous records of recent Synods, I mean to treat a few points in connection with the convocation, procedure, and authority of a Plenary Synod.

With older writers and canonists, the words Synod and Council were convertible terms, and even at the present day the two words are often used, especially by canonists, in precisely the same sense. Among many modern writers, however, there is a tendency to distinguish between the words Synod and Council. According to the growing usage of these writers, a Council is an assembly of bishops and other privileged persons, legitimately convoked to deal with and legislate on ecclesiastical affairs. By a Council, therefore, they understand an assembly embracing *several* bishops,

rightly convened to consider jointly, and, if need be, to legislate on, the affairs of the ecclesiastical province or other legislative unit from which they are convoked. The word Synod, according to the usage of the same writers, embraces all Councils ; but it also applies to an assemblage in which *one* bishop, with his clergy, deals with diocesan affairs. Hence, they do not speak of a Diocesan Council, but of a Diocesan Synod.[1] It will be remarked, moreover, that, according to English usage, we do not speak of an Œcumenical Synod, but of an Œcumenical Council. A National Synod, with which we are concerned, may, therefore, be correctly called either a Synod or a Council.

Now, it will be well to note, from the beginning, that a Council or a Synod comprising several bishops has what may be called a corporate jurisdiction, distinct from the jurisdiction which the individual bishops have, each over his own diocese. In Council each bishop, of course, retains jurisdiction over his own diocese; but as a member of the corporate body of bishops he acquires, moreover, participation in a new jurisdiction over the whole area for which the Council is held. The importance of this distinction will more fully appear in connection with the authority of the Plenary Synod. It will be enough to say here, that if, for any reason, an assembly, of the bishops of a province, for example, failed to secure corporate or synodal jurisdiction, laws passed in that assembly would be mere diocesan laws, not provincial laws; that such laws could, as a rule, be evaded, even within the province, by merely passing out of one's own diocese ; that they would affect the dioceses of those bishops only who concur in the legislative acts of the assembly. The laws of a Council, however, understanding that word in the restricted sense above indicated, are not mere diocesan laws ; they are universal, national, or provincial laws, according to the area from which and for which the Council is convoked. Nor can any individual bishop, by absence from the Council or by protest, exempt

[1] Aichner, *Jur. Eccles.*, p. 449; I. E. Record, July, 1881, p. 382.
[2] I. E. Record, *loc. cit.*

himself or his diocese from the operation of such synodal laws. The importance of corporate jurisdiction in a Synod, therefore, is manifest.

Now, in order that a Synod should possess corporate jurisdiction, it is necessary, as I have already conveyed, that the Synod should be legitimately convoked. For the jurisdiction attaching to the Synod as such, is not the sum of the powers of the several bishops, but a distinct jurisdiction granted, of course, by the Pope, and subject to the conditions imposed by him. Hence, the necessity, insisted on by the canonists, that the Synod should be called by one invested with power to convoke it and according to the prescribed forms of Canon Law.

According to the existing discipline of the Church, Canon Law provides, in the ordinary course, for the holding (1) of a General or Œcumenical Synod; (2) of a Provincial Synod; and (3) of a Diocesan Synod. The act of convoking and presiding at a Synod is an act of jurisdiction. The Pope, and he alone, therefore, can, of his own right, convoke a General Council or Synod. A Metropolitan has jurisdiction to summon his suffragans to a Provincial Synod. It should be noticed that where the province of a Metropolitan is co-extensive with a nation, the Synod called by him is, though *de facto* national, only a Provincial Synod in the language of the canonists; such, for example, were the Synods of Westminster. A bishop, of course, has power to call his clergy to a Diocesan Synod. But, in the present organisation of the Church, there is no one inferior to the Holy See authorised to convoke a Council or Synod possessing jurisdiction over two or more ecclesiastical provinces. For, in point of jurisdiction, all Metropolitans are equal and immediately subject to the Holy See. No Metropolitan, therefore, can call another Metropolitan or his suffragans to a Council. Formerly, the organisation of the Church was somewhat different. Metropolitans were sometimes subject, not to the Pope immediately, but to a Primate or a Patriarch. It was, then, part of the ordinary jurisdiction of the Primate or the Patriarch to summon the Metropolitans subject to him with their suffragans to a Synod.

And these Primatial and Patriarchal Synods were naturally sometimes called Plenary Synods, to distinguish them from Provincial and Diocesan Synods; sometimes National Synods, because, usually, the area of their jurisdiction covered whole nation.[1] Greater facilities for direct communication with the Holy See make the decentralization of authority less necessary in modern times. We still have, of course, in the Church, archbishops with the title and dignity of Primates and Patriarchs. But, except in the case of a few eastern Patriarchs in communion with the Holy See patriarchal jurisdiction has completely disappeared. Among Primates, the Primate of Hungary is, perhaps, the only one who retains some of the ancient primatial jurisdiction.[2] The disappearance of the Plenary Synod (National, Primatial, and Patriarchal), as an ordinary part of the ecclesiastical organisation, was necessarily involved in the extinction of primatial and patriarchal jurisdiction.

It is scarcely necessary to add that temporal rulers have no independent right to assemble a National Council. Even in comparatively recent times, however, there have been attempts to claim for temporal rulers the authority and prerogatives regarding National Synods, that, in the extinction of primatial and patriarchal jurisdiction, had reverted to the Holy See. Especially since the time of the great Western Schism, temporal princes began to assume a larger share in the holding of ecclesiastical assemblies; and, naturally enough, the power that was conceded in the stress of troubled and difficult times, came afterwards to be claimed as an independent right. Indeed, it was one of the errors of the Gallican theologians to vindicate for temporal rulers the right to assemble a National Synod. And we find Napoleon I. striving in vain to secure recognition as a National Council for the assembly of bishops convoked by him at Paris, in 1811. But, though that assembly was

[1] In recent times the term National Synod or Council has been studiously avoided in official Roman documents.

[2] Nor can he without, reference to the Holy See, summon a National Synod Wernz, *Jus Decretalium*, ii., p. 1093. See, however, Nilles, *Commentarium in Concil. Plenarium Baltimorense*, iii., pp. 16 and 19.

attended by six cardinals and about one hundred bishops it has never been recognised by the Church as a National Council.[1]

Gallicanism has disappeared; no one now disputes the exclusive right of the Holy See to call a National Synod. In 1849 Pius IX. not merely vindicated to the Holy See the exclusive right to call a Plenary Synod, but even refused permission to the German bishops to hold such a Synod.[2] And in the same year, a similar reply was sent to a request of the bishops of France. The Pope thought the holding of a National Synod just then, either in France or Germany, inopportune.[3] The reason for the Pope's refusal must be sought in the peculiar circumstances of France and Germany at that date, not in any unwillingness on the part of the Holy See that the bishops should assemble in National Council. For, in the following year, 1850, the National Synod of Thurles was convoked by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Armagh, acting as the special Delegate of the Holy See. And since that date Plenary Synods have been rather frequent. We had the Synod of Baltimore—the first Plenary Synod of the United States in 1852; the second Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1866; the Plenary Synod of Maynooth in 1875; the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1884; and two Plenary Synods of Australia—the first in 1885, the second in 1895.

It is evident, therefore, that the Holy See looks with much favour on the celebration of Plenary Synods. The Pope himself at the present time supplies by a special and extraordinary delegation, the faculty to summon a Plenary Synod, which formerly belonged to Primates and Patriarchs. Thus, the Plenary Synod has come again to be a frequent, though not an ordinary and stable organ of legislation. In some respects, and not without distinct advantages, it serves the purpose of the Provincial Synods, which, according to the Council of Trent, should be held every three years. The time for holding Plenary Synods has, so far, been left largely to the discretion of the bishops.

[1] *Collect. Lacen.*, iv., p. 1223. [2] *Ibid.*, v., p. 994. [3] *Ibid.*, iv., p. 2.

This will be a convenient place to remark, that the holding of a Plenary Synod does not necessarily imply that grave or exceptional abuses exist in the nation for which it is held. To deal with local abuses is, no doubt, an important function of the Synod, but it is not its sole purpose. It has, of course, teaching and judicial authority with which we are not here concerned. But from the legislative point of view the ends for which a Plenary Synod is held may be reduced to four. 1. To enforce legislation against old-standing abuses, and to check the growth of new ones. At the Synod of Thurles and Maynooth, for example, it was found necessary to legislate against certain abuses in the administration of the sacraments, and in the celebration of the Mass—abuses or departures from the common law of the Church, which had outlived the penal times by which they had been more or less justified. 2. To bring local legislation, as far as possible, into harmony with the general law of the Church. The young Church of the United States made a long stride towards conformity with the common law of the Church, when the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore, in 1884, made provision for setting up regular ecclesiastical courts, and enacted that appointment to a certain number of the most important parishes in each diocese should be by concursus. 3. To adapt Church legislation to new needs, and changing times. 4. To introduce, as far as circumstances will permit, uniformity of local discipline. For, undoubtedly, uniform legislation over large areas in which similar conditions prevail prevents misunderstanding on the part of the faithful, and contributes to the maintenance of discipline.

From what has been said, it will appear that in Ireland no Metropolitan, competent in his own right, can call a National Synod. The Metropolitans, as such, are all equal in jurisdiction. The primacy attaching to the sees of Armagh and Dublin is a primacy of honour and dignity.[1] But it does not carry jurisdiction over other Metropolitans. The bishops of Ireland may, indeed, assemble and enact

[1] See, however, Aichner, p. 383; also Salzano, ii., quoted by Smith, *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*, i., p. 323.

uniform laws for the whole country, but these laws will not have the force of national laws. If a Plenary or National Synod is to be held, recourse must be had to the authority of the Holy See. Hence we find that the Plenary Synod of Thurles, in 1850, was summoned and presided over by Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh, acting in the capacity, not of Metropolitan or of Primate of all Ireland, but as the Special Delegate of the Holy See. And in 1875 Dr. Cullen, who had meantime been translated to the see of Dublin and created a Cardinal, convoked the Synod of Maynooth, not as Archbishop of Dublin, or Primate or Cardinal, but in virtue of special delegation.

Before going on to consider who are to be called by the Delegate to a Plenary Synod, it will be well to make a few remarks regarding the character of the delegation itself.[1]

1. As we may gather from the fact that the Synod of Thurles was convoked by the Archbishop of Armagh, and the Synod of Maynooth by the Archbishop of Dublin, the delegation is not, in Ireland or elsewhere, necessarily attached to any particular see or office.

2. The delegation is invariably granted to the Delegate by name, and is purely *personal.*

3. As a consequence, the power to convoke a National Synod would cease if the Delegate were to die before having completed the execution of his commission. His successor in the same Episcopal See would have no right to assume the office of Delegate without a new grant.

4. As the immediate delegate of the Holy See, it might seem that the Papal Delegate appointed to hold a Plenary Synod, could sub-delegate his authority. But he cannot. It is to be assumed that, for so important a commission, the Delegate has been selected in view of his purely personal qualifications and fitness, *ob industriam et fidem personae.*

5. The delegation is to be proved, not assumed. A copy of the Papal letter granting delegation is sometimes sent with the summons to the Synod. But, at all events, in issuing the edict of convocation, the Delegate is to state

[1] Conf. Nilles, *op. cit.*, p. 58, *et seq.*

expressly that he acts in virtue of Papal delegation. Moreover, in the decree of promulgation, and in all conciliar acts, the Delegate is to make express mention of his delegation.[1]

6. The delegation embraces the right to convoke and preside at the Synod, and promulgate its decrees. The delegation lasts, therefore, until the decree of promulgation has been issued. According to Nilles, the Delegate retains special power for one year after the date of promulgation, *in ordine ad decretorum executionem promovendam, urgendam, tutandam.*[2]

Who are to be summoned to attend a Plenary Synod? In the first place, it is necessary to attend to the terms of the delegation of the Holy See. As it belongs to the Holy See to grant to some bishop the right to convoke and preside at the Synod, so the Holy See, of course, has the right to define the area from which the bishops and others are to be summoned, and over which the jurisdiction of the Council is to extend. But who are to be summoned from that area? In the decree of convocation the Delegate always summons or invites, besides the bishops and others expressly mentioned, all those who *de jure aut de consuetudine* have the right to be present. It is necessary to determine, who are those who come within the meaning of this consecrated phrase. Canon Law can scarcely be said to make any special provision for the convocation of the Plenary Synod. But, it is enough to know, that *servatis servandis*, those who are to be summoned to a Provincial Council are also to be summoned to a Plenary Council.[3] Following, therefore, the laws laid down for the convocation of a Provincial Synod, we can ascertain who are those who have a right to be summoned to a Plenary Synod. It will be convenient also to note in passing whether the person summoned is bound to attend; and (2) whether he enjoys a decisive vote, or only a consultive vote. Those who have merely a consultive vote, act as advisers to the Fathers of the Council, but have no voice in making the final decisions. The sole responsibility for these decisions rests with those who have a decisive vote.

[1] Nilles, p. 23. [2] *Op. cit.*, p. 62. [3] Wernz, p. 1093.

The following are, *de jure*, to be summoned and admitted to a Plenary Synod with a decisive vote :—[1]

1. All Archbishops and Bishops having actual jurisdiction in the provinces for which the Synod is held (*a*) have the right to be summoned to the Synod ; (*b*) they are bound to attend in person, unless legitimately hindered ; and if prevented from attending in person, they are bound to send a procurator duly authorised to represent them. Bishops-elect who have received the Bulls confirming their appointment, have the same rights as if already consecrated.[2] At the third Synod of Baltimore, two Bishops, whose appointment had been actually confirmed by the Holy See, though they had not yet received the Apostolic Letters, were summoned to the Council, and, in accordance with an answer from Rome, in reply to an inquiry regarding their status, were admitted to the Council with a decisive vote.[3]

2. Apostolic Administrators and Coadjutors appointed by the Holy See for the government of dioceses whose Bishops are wholly incapacitated ;[4] Vicars Capitular, and who, *sede vacante*, rule a diocese or vicariate within the provinces or nation for which the Synod is held. At the second Provincial Synod of St. Louis, in 1858, the Administrator of the diocese of St. Paul, which was then vacant, did not receive a decisive vote. The same is true of several earlier Synods. But in more recent times, the invariable practice seems to have been to give the Vicar Capitular or Administrator a decisive vote.[5]

3. Abbots having quasi-episcopal jurisdiction over seculars. We have no such prelates in Ireland.

The following are, *de jure*, to be summoned and admitted to the synod with a consultive vote :—

1. The duly appointed Procurators of Ordinaries absent for some reasonable cause. These Procurators may,[6] but only with the unanimous consent of the Synod, receive the privilege of casting a decisive vote.[6]

[1] See Wernz, 1086 ; Nilles, p. 68.
[2] Bouix, *De Con. Prov.*, p. 110.
[3] Nilles, p. 85 ; Acta et Decreta, third Plen. Council, Baltimore, p. xxv.
[4] Bouix, chap. xi.
[5] Coll. Lac. iii., p. 417 ; Wernz, p. 1086.
[6] Wernz, p. 1086.

In this matter of the vote of Procurators for absent Bishops there has been a considerable diversity of practice. A decisive vote was granted at the second Provincial Synod of Tuam, in 1854; at the Provincial Synod of Baltimore, in 1858; at the Plenary Synod of Baltimore, in 1866; at the fourth Provincial Synod of Quebec, 1868; at the Plenary Synod of Maynooth, 1875, and at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore in 1884. On the other hand, the Provincial Synods of Baltimore,[1] of Westminster,[2] and of New Orleans,[2] conceded only a consultive vote to Procurators of Ordinaries.

2. The Procurators duly appointed by Cathedral Chapters. The Chapters must be invited to send one or more members of the Chapter as delegates, but they are free to send them or not.[3] Where a See is vacant the Chapter is entitled to a representative distinct from the Vicar Capitular.[4] Even honorary canons are eligible as Procurators.[5] Twelve Cathedral Chapters were represented, each by one Procurator, at the Synod of Maynooth. According to Bouix, it is questionable whether they have not a decisive vote in matters affecting their Chapter. Collegiate Chapters may be invited to send representatives; but, apart from local custom, there is no obligation to do so; even though invited, they are not bound to send representatives.

The following are, according to generally recognised custom, summoned to a Plenary Synod, with a consultive note:—

1. Coadjutor Bishops. As has been said above, however, a Coadjutor who, by reason of the insanity or other total incapacity of the bishop, exercises full jurisdiction in the diocese, has a decisive vote. At the second Provincial Synod of Quebec in 1852, and of Westminster in 1859, Coadjutors received only a consultive vote. Usually, however, they seem to have got a decisive vote,[6] as at the

[1] iii. 1837. See also Plenary Synod of Thurles, Coll. Lac., iii., p. 804 *a*.
[2] 1852. 1860,
[3] Bouix, chap. xx.; Wernz, p. 1087.
[4] Coll. Lac., iii. 974.
[5] Coll. Lac., iv. 286 *a*.
[6] Vid. Coll. Lac.

second, fifth, and sixth Provincial Synods of Baltimore, first Provincial Synod of Quebec, third Provincial Synod of Tuam, the Plenary Synods of Maynooth and Baltimore (III.). At the second Provincial Synod of Quebec they were allowed, like Bishops of the province, to nominate consulting theologians. But this seems unusual. At the Synod of Maynooth the two Coadjutor Bishops present, viz., of Kildare and Killaloe, though they were also procurators to their respective Bishops, did not nominate consulting theologians.

2. Other Titular Bishops residing, in any capacity, in the province or nation without jurisdiction therein. Bishops who have resigned their sees fall under this heading,[1] and at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore it was agreed to give them a decisive vote. Strange Bishops also who may happen to be where a Synod is being held may be admitted to the Synod.[2] At the tenth Provincial Synod of Baltimore a Bishop from another province was admitted into a decisive vote by the unanimous consent of the Fathers. But the usual practice seems to be to give only a consultive vote.[3]

3. Abbots having no jurisdiction over seculars. They may receive a decisive vote by the unanimous consent of the Council. The Abbot of Mount Mellary received as a special privilege at the Synods of Thurles and Maynooth the right to give a decisive vote. Examples of a similar privilege are found in the tenth Provincial Synod of Baltimore, 1869, and at the second and third Plenary Synods of Baltimore.[4]

4. The Provincials of Religious Orders or Congregations.

5. Consulting Theologians and Canonists. Each Archbishop and Bishop is invited or expected to nominate one or more theologians or canonists to assist him during the deliberations of the Council.

6. Those who are to assist at the Council as officials, secretaries, stenographers, ceremonialists, &c.; also all those clerics or laymen whom the Council or the bishops may

[1] Nilles, p. 68.
[2] Bouix, p. 119.
[3] See, *v.g.*, I. Westminster Coll. Lac., iii. 902.
[4] Collect. Lac., iii.; Acta et Decreta, III. Plen. Conc., Baltimoren.

require for consultation, *v.g.*, civil lawyers,[1] or for secretarial work.[2]

Neither Coadjutor Bishops, nor Abbots, nor any of those just mentioned, have the right, in case of absence, to send a Procurator to the Council.[3]

A Vicar General, as such, a Vicar Forane, a Domestic Prelate, a Rector of a Seminary, has not in virtue of any general custom the right to be summoned; at the last Plenary Synod of Baltimore, however, we find that the Rectors of the greater Seminaries, as well as many Domestic Prelates, were admitted with a consultive vote.

The list above given embraces all those who are in this country covered by the phrase *iis qui vel de jure vel de consuetudine adesse debent*.

It is not necessary, of course, that each individual should receive a personal summons. It is sufficient that the Papal Delegate issue a public edict convoking the Synod at a certain specified time and place.[4] Nor is it by any means necessary, for the legitimacy of the Synod, that all summoned should attend. It is sufficient if those who have *de jure* a decisive vote, or a sufficient number of them, attend.[5]

It is usual also to announce the approach of a Plenary Synod to the faithful generally, and to invite them, by their prayers, alms, and penitential works, to beg God's blessing on the deliberations of the Fathers.

The procedure of the Plenary Synod, when duly assembled, will furnish material for a paper in a future number.

D. MANNIX.

[1] See I. Prov. Baltimore, Coll. Lac. iii., p. 15 a.
[2] Nilles, p. 69.
[3] As for abbots, see I. Prov. Westminster Coll. Lac., ii.i, p. 897.
[4] De Luca, *De Personis*, n. 344; Wernz, p. 1088.
[5] See Wernz, p. 1088.

CORRESPONDENCE

PRIESTS AND LICENSED HOUSES.

Rev. Dear Sir,—I have no doubt many amongst the readers of the I. E. Record would welcome some words of guidance relative to the course to be followed by a priest when some member of his flock seeks to get a licence for the sale of intoxicating drinks. Is it a priest's duty to oppose the licence? There seems to be a difference of opinion and practice on this matter. Some oppose the licence, while others remain passive, and others again give their aid to the candidate. Does it matter much if a licensed house is allowed to be started in a place where one has not hitherto existed, and when one does exist may we without fear of serious evils allow others to be established *ad indefinitum?* Will the intelligence and self-restraint of our people guard them sufficiently against intemperance though its occasions are allowed to multiply in our midst?

Sacerdos.

We have no hesitation in giving our opinion for what it is worth on the points submitted to us by our correspondent:

1. The sale of intoxicating drinks involves an occupation so dangerous in itself, and so injurious, as a rule, to the temporal and spiritual interests of those who are engaged in it, that we do not think any priest should feel himself at liberty to use his influence in favour of a candidate for a licence.

2. We regard the existence of a public-house in a rural district or in a country village as an unmitigated evil, the fruitful source of misery and sin to the inhabitants of the locality; and whenever an effort is made to set up for the first time a licensed house in places of the kind, we think it is the duty of the priest to use all the influence at his command, within the limits of prudence and discretion, in opposition to the project.

3. In towns or cities where application is made either for a new license or for the renewal of an old one, it may be

the duty of the priest to remain merely passive or, without entering into the merits of individual cases, to represent to the authorities that the number of licences is already excessive. It would be also his duty to represent to the people themselves the dangers and temptations connected with this particular trade, and to dissuade them from entering into a business which brings so many calamities in its train. A word of private exhortation to those who, for good or ill, are already engaged in the sale of intoxicating liquors, is often fruitful in good results, and helps to ward off some of the worst effects of the traffic.

4. We fear that the last question of our correspondent needs no answer. As well might he ask us the general question, whether the occasions of sin may be multiplied without danger to the souls of the people at large.

We have said so much, not by way of 'guidance' as our correspondent requests, for guidance in such matters must come from the responsible authorities, but as the expression of our individual opinion. There may be, from time to time, cases of special difficulty, and the pastor who sees such difficulties in the way, should seek 'guidance' from those who are commissioned by the Church to guide him. For our own part, we regard the English public-house system which has, unfortunately for us, been imported into this country, as the worst and the most degrading in Europe. On the Continent one finds almost everywhere restaurants, and coffee-houses, neat and attractive in appearance, decked out with flowers and pictures, where the labourer and the artisan, as well as middle class people and the rich, can obtain food and drink. In such places one never witnesses the drunken brawl that is so closely associated with the public-house in England and Ireland. People enjoy themselves freely and legitimately, and are often accompanied by their wives and children, whose presence acts as a restraining influence, and inspires the men with a sense of duty and self-respect. Here there are practically no such establishments to mitigate the evils of the public-house. In Dublin, and some of our larger cities, there has been, no doubt, in recent years a great extension

of restaurants, where tea, coffee, milk, and other temperance drinks are served with the best of food at a very cheap rate; it is a pleasure to see the young men of the city going in crowds to these places where no intoxicating drinks are to be seen. We think that if the cause of temperance is to be advanced in any practical way in our towns and cities it must be by means of such rivals to the bar. The more attractive they are made, and the more they are brought within reach of the poor the better. Now that cycling has become such a universal pastime, and that tourists come in crowds to this country in the summer months, it would be a great blessing to them to have some such places to repair to for refreshments, instead of the close and unwholesome tap-rooms where strong spirits are the chief attractions.

In rural districts, of course, establishments of this kind are impossible ; but in towns of importance where they have any chance of success, we think that priests would do a very good work in encouraging their parishioners to try them. Total abstinence is, as everyone admits, the best remedy for intemperance and the most meritorious form of self-denial in a country where good example in this respect is so sadly needed; but it is, we fear, quite hopeless to expect that the mass of our countrymen will become total abstainers, and anything that helps to ward off from them the occasion of intemperance and to promote habits of sobriety and moderation, must prove an unmixed blessing. When we think of the desolate homes, the wretched surroundings, the careless and thriftless lives of so many of our countrymen, not to speak of the curses and profanations of the habitual drunkard, surely it behoves every Irishman, and particularly every priest, to do what he can to stem the tide. A people demoralized by alcohol will, in the course of a few generations, not be worth much more than a people demoralized by opium. They will have no energy for anything, no mental power to cope with oppression, or to promote industries, or to build up fortunes, and hold their natural place in the commercial life of their country.

The man addicted to drink without being a regular drunkard becomes an easy victim to the money-lender,

whether Jew or Christian. But spiritually he suffers even more than he does in his temporal interests; for, as St. Bernard says:—'Excess in drink stirs up every evil passion in man's fallen nature, and robs him of the power of resisting temptation, darkening his heart, clouding his mind, quickening every tendency to vice, and killing every tendency to virtue.' This is what gives the priest an indefeasible right to combat the traffic in intoxicating drinks, and the more systematically and intelligently he carries on the campaign the greater the blessing that is sure to attend his labours.

Ed. I.E.R.

THE LIFE OF SAVONAROLA

Rev. and Dear Sir,—I trust to your courtesy to allow me to make three observations with reference to the courteous review of my biographical study of *Fra Girolamo Savonarola*, which appeared in your issue of May.

1. The reviewer, 'R. W.' blames me for not having made use of *Il Quarto Centenario*. I repeatedly tried, but in vain, to procure this publication. Moreover, in August, 1898, the authorities of the British Museum endeavoured, at my request, to obtain a copy, but without success. I may add that the purpose of my book was to give as full a conspectus as possible of all *contemporary* documents bearing on the case. With one possible exception I do not know that any contemporary documents, hitherto unknown, were first brought to light in *Il Quarto Centenario*. The possible exception is the letter of Savonarola, given by me on pp. 267, 268.

2. The reviewer is, of course, right in saying that Lionardo de' Medici, and not Pagnotti, was Vicar General of Florence. I regret the error, and thank him for the correction. At the same time I may remind the reviewer that, so far from all the members of this family being hostile to Savonarola, at least one of them, Fra Francesco de' Medici, was a member of his own community at San Marco. He took an active part in the defence of the convent during the riot (*F. G. Savonarola*, p. 352).

3. The reviewer says that in my description of Savonarola's 'Process': 'Father Lucas places far too much reliance on Ceccone's

report, though incidentally, at the end of his description (p. 427), he speaks of Ceccone as the infamous notary who was mulcted of some nine-tenths of his promised pay, and more than once mentions his falsification of the trial.' Whether I have placed too much reliance on Ceccone's report or not, is a matter of opinion. But it is a simple fact that, at the beginning, not at the end, of my description of the 'Process,' I have devoted four and a half pages (pp. 407-411) to a careful statement of what is known concerning Ceccone's proceedings, quoting Vivoli at length (p. 408); and, also, that throughout the account of the examinations I have repeatedly called attention, at some length, to definite particulars in which Ceccone may, in my opinion, be deemed to have falsified the record (pp. 412, 413, 416, 418, 419, 421, 424, 425, 427). Putting the passages together, the reader will find not less than eight or ten pages given to the discussion of Ceccone's nefarious perversions of the evidence.

H. Lucas, S.J.

St. Beuno's College,
St. Asaph.

DOCUMENTS

AGRICULTURAL AND TECHNICAL INSTRUCTION
DECLARATION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS

At a special general meeting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, held in Maynooth College on the 16th ult., for the consideration of the new scheme of agricultural and technical instruction in Ireland, in so far as its administration might in any way affect religious interests, the following statement was unanimously adopted :—

We have deemed it our duty to devote careful attention to the administration of the new Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act, by which not only the material well-being, but also the spiritual interests of our people may be affected. Our views on the Act and its working, together with such suggestions as, at the present stage, we find ourselves in a position to make, are conveyed in the following considerations, which have been agreed to unanimously :—

First of all, we desire to express our conviction, that this Act, if administered in a wise and sympathetic spirit, is likely to prove of decided advantage to the Irish people, whose agricultural and industrial interests have been so long and so grievously neglected.

We have reason to hope that the new department will act in this spirit of sympathy and impartiality, and use their best exertions to administer the Act in the way most calculated to promote the general interests of the whole country.

But the intelligent concurrence of the various bodies to be constituted under the Act, and especially of the Agricultural Board, will be essential for the successful working of the Act; and hence we desire to impress on all who have a share in the selection or appointment of the members of these bodies the extreme importance of choosing men of the highest integrity and intelligence. These representative men should be altogether superior to selfish and partisan influences, and should be inspired with an earnest purpose of discharging their important duties solely with a view to the public good.

We also feel it our duty to take this opportunity of re-affirming the resolution, recently adopted by our Standing Committee, in strong condemnation of an unauthorized proposal to use the revenues of the new department for the purpose of bolstering up the moribund Queen's Colleges, so often and so strongly condemned by the Irish episcopacy.

Whilst any wise scheme, under the Agricultural and Technical Act, for reviving and fostering Irish industries, in accordance with the wants, capacities, and traditions of our people, will always have our earnest sympathy and support, we feel bound to place on record the expression of our deep conviction that the main source of the wealth of our country lies in her soil, and that, consequently, a leading feature in the work of the Department of Agriculture and Industry should be the acquiring, on equitable terms, of the grass lands now so indifferently utilized, with a view to their occupation, in moderately-sized farms, by industrious cultivators, many of whom are, every year, compelled to emigrate to foreign countries for a livelihood. We, therefore respectfully invite the attention of the representatives of local bodies on the Agricultural and Technical Boards, and on the Council of Agriculture, to the grave importance of seeing that the reconstruction of the long-neglected industries of Ireland will be a building, not from the top down, but from the foundation upwards; so that our over-taxed people may receive the maximum of advantage from the expenditure of the money grants placed by Parliament at the disposal of the new department.

We desire to impress upon the local bodies concerned the primary importance, in the establishment and direction of technical schools and colleges, of avoiding anything to which Catholics should object on religious grounds, whether in the teaching or in other departments of such schools and colleges. It has been the duty of the bishops to repeatedly warn their people against institutions of mixed residences for Catholics and Protestants. The principle already so successfully maintained, for many years, in the working of training colleges in Great Britain, and applied, within recent times, with the best results, in the case of similar institutions in Ireland, should be followed in this instance also, if residential institutions are to be set up.

As the Catholic youth of Ireland has laboured under deplorable disadvantages through want of provision for university and

technical education, we would suggest to the department and its boards that a suitable method of promoting the objects of the new Act, within reasonable limits of expenditure, and with a view to the benefit of those most in need of its advantages, would be to apply some of the funds placed at their disposal for the purpose of sending a number of bright, capable, well-conducted boys to such centres of industrial life as are to be found in the Catholic districts of Germany, so as to give them the advantage of a few years of the best theoretical and practical training in suitable industries.

We believe that the working of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act furnishes a favourable opportunity to the Board of National Education—especially as the system of education which they administer is now being reconstructed—for considering how far the Model Schools, which have hitherto been completely out of harmony with the feeling of the vast majority of the people, may be utilized for the purposes of the Agricultural and Technical Instruction Act.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

✠ Michael Cardinal Logue, *Chairman.*

✠ John, Bishop of Clonfert,
✠ Richard Alphonsus, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. } *Secretaries.*

THE NEW 'DIPLOMA' FOR THE ERECTION OF CONFRATERNITIES OF THE HOLY ROSARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

1.

PROBATUR NOVUM DIPLOMA PRO NOVITER ERIGENDIS SS. ROSARII CONFRATERNITATIBUS

IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS PATRIS ET FILII ET SPIRITUS SANCTI ET AD LAUDEM ET GLORIAM B. DEI GENITRICIS VIRGINIS MARIAE D. N. PIAMQUE VENERATIONEM S. P. N. DOMINICI SS. ROSARII AUCTORIS, AC INSTITUTORIS, FR. ANDREAS FRÜHWIRTH ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM HUMILIS MAGISTER GENERALIS, AC SERVUS, OMNIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM

Inter omnes orandi modos in Ecclesia usitatos, ille praecipue et Summis Pontificibus et populo fideli acceptus semper fuit, quo, sub nomine Rosarii, instar Davidici Psalterii, SS. Virgo Maria Mater

Dei, centum quinquaginta salutationibus angelicis, praemissa singulis denis oratione dominica, additisque piis mysteriorum vitae Iesu Christi Salvatoris nostri, et eiusdem sanctissimae Matris meditationibus honoratur.

Cuius devotionis orationes quo a multis per Orbem totum dispersis, caritate tamen unitis, uno quasi ore, Deo gratiores sibique efficaciores funderentur, antiqui Ordinis nostri Patres quoscunque sanctissimam Dei Genitricem per eas colentes in piam quandam confraternitatem congregaverunt. Quam confraternitatem a Rosario dictam Summi Pontifices, iisdem Religiosis petentibus, approbarunt, ac magnis privilegiis, innumerisque Indulgentiis et aliis gratiis Apostolicis certatim decorarunt, simulque curam sanctissimae Rosarii devotionis omnem Ordini nostro iure haereditario concrediderunt, eiusque pro tempore existenti Magistro Generali privative facultatem reservarunt erigendi ubique terrarum dictam confraternitatem.

Rogati ergo, ut vi dictae facultatis in ecclesia . . . confraternitatem SS. Rosarii erigeremus, libenter piis huiusmodi petitionibus secundum Constitutionem Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* d. d. 7 dec. 1604, necnon Decretum S. C. Indulgentiarum d. d. 8 ian. 1861 accedimus.

Tenore igitur praesentium Rev. . . . vel illum sacerdotem Episcopo acceptum, quem iste, fortasse impeditus, sibi substituerit, delegamus qui, praemissa apposita concione, Confraternitatem SS. Rosarii in dicta ecclesia nomine et auctoritate Nostra erigat. Hac tamen facultate a Nobis delegata uti non possit, nisi Revmus Ordinarius loci in scriptis assensum suum in erectionem eiusdem Confraternitas dederit, nec etiam in casu quo iam in alia ecclesia dicti loci Confraternitas SS. Rosarii legitime erecta existat, nisi Episcopus secundum Decretum S. C. Indulg. d. d. 20 maii 1896,[1] et Constitutionem SS. D. N. Louis XIII. *Ubi Primum* d. d. 2 oct. 1898, § 5 super hac lege rite dispensaverit.

Volumus praeterea et omnino observari iubemus, ut in capella vel altari eidem Confraternitati a delegato sacerdote nomine Nostro addicendo, imago S. Patris nostri Dominici flexis genibus de manu Deiparae Virginis Rosarium recipientis apponatur.

Novae Confraternitatis Rectorem, qui nomina Fidelium in eandem societatem recipi petentium in libro apposito scribere, rosariis

[1] *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 359. [2] *Item.*, vol. vii., p. 439.

seu coronis benedicere, et omnia et singula facere possit et debeat quae ratio ipsius Confraternitatis requirit, nominamus et facimus dictae ecclesiae Rectorem et omnes eius in hoc munere in posterum successores. Cum autem sancta huius Confraternitatis lege, a Summis Pontificibus saepius approbata, cautum sit, ne quid lucri ab ullo unquam pro admissione vel inscriptione exigatur, districte iniungimus Rectori, ut operam suam in hac re gratis praestet ad laudem SS. Virginis Mariae, aeternum praemium eius intercessione obtenturus. Tribuimus autem eidem Rectori (secundum Constitutionem mox citatam SS. D. N. Leonis XIII., § 9), facultatem subdelegandi non quidem generatim, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit. Eidem Rectori pro tempore existenti secundum Breve Pii IX. *Quod iure* d. d. 17 aug. 1877 etiam regimen et curam sodalitatis *Rosarii viventis* in eodem loco committimus. Admonemus eundem pro tempore Rectorem, inter pios huius Confraternitatis usus primum locum obtinere processiones quae prima cuiusque mensis dominica, praecipue vero prima mensis octobris dominica, ducuntur. Quapropter illas saltem per interiorem ecclesiae ambitum meliori quo fieri potest modo indicato in laudata Summi Pontificis Constitutione *Ubi primum* § 14, istam autem solemni pompa per vias publicas ducat in gratiarum actionem pro celeberrima victoria armis christianis de immani nominis christiani hoste apud Echinadas insulas reportata.

Indulgentiarum, quarum nova Confraternitas ipso suae erectionis actu particeps evadit, accuratum elenchum, ex Summario ab Apostolica Sede approbato transcriptum, hisce Nostris litteris adiunximus una cum iisdem diligenter asservandum.

Quod si sodales, vel aliqui eorum, peculiaria statuta sibi condere vellent, meminerint, addita huiusmodi statuta ab Episcopo dioecesano approbari debere eiusque moderationi manere obnoxia atque eleemosynas excipiendas et erogandas esse iuxta formam per Ordinarium praescribendam.

Quo autem inter novam Confraternitatem et sacrum Ordinem Praedicatorum a quo egressa est (ad eundem aliquando forsan regressura, si scilicet quandoque contingeret, eiusdem Religiosos in eodem loco ecclesiam obtinere) tanquam inter filiam et matrem maior caritas foveatur, omnes sodales illi adscribendos participes facimus et declaramus omnium bonorum operum quae, cooperante Dei gratia, per universum mundum a Fratribus et Sororibus dicti

Ordinis peraguntur, sicut etiam speciali quodam modo participes sunt bonorum operum, quae ceteri per Orbem dispersi sodales ex instituto communis Confraternitatis peragunt : quorum omnium orationibus et meritis et Ordo noster vicissim iuvari quam plurimum sperat. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

In quorum fiden his patentibus Litteris officii Nostri sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.

Datum Romae, die . . . mensis . . . anni . . .

Fr. . . .

Magister Generalis Ord. Praed.

Loc. ✠ Sigil. Fr. . . . .

Mag. Prov. . . .

Reg. pag. . . .

Quum S. Congregatio, Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, praesens diploma pro erigendis SS. Rosarii Confraternitatibus, a Magistro Generalii Ordinis Praedicatorum noviter exaratum post Constitutionem *Ubi primum* datam die 2 octobris, 1898, omnino conforme Constitutionibus Romanorum Pontificum neconon Decretis huius S. Congregationis repererit, illud approbavit typisque mandari permisit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 1 Februarii. 1899.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Ant. Sabatucci, Archiep. Antinoensis, *Secretarius.*

II.

PROBATUR DIPLOMA PRO CANONICE ERIGENDIS CONFRATERNITATIBUS SS. ROSARII, IAM ERECTIS ABSQUE LITT. PATENT. MAGISTRI GEN. ORD. PRAEDICATORUM

IN NOMINE SANCTISSIMAE TRINITATIS, AD LAUDEM ET GLORIAM B. DEI GENITRICIS VIRGINIS MARIAE REGINAE SANCTISSIMI ROSARII, FR. ANDREAS FRÜHWIRTH ORDINIS FRATRUM PRAEDICATORUM MAGISTER GENERALIS, OMNIBUS PRAESENTES LITTERAS INSPECTURIS, SALUTEM IN DOMINO SEMPITERNAM

Inter omnes orandi modos in Ecclesia usitatos, ille praecipue et Summis Pontificibus et populo fideli acceptus semper fuit, quo, sub nomine Rosarii, instar Davidici Psalterii, SS. Virgo Maria Mater Dei, centum quinquaginta Salutationibus Angelicis, praemissa singulis denis oratione Dominica, additisque piis mysteriorum

vitae Iesu Christi Salvatoris nostri, et eiusdem sanctissimae Matris meditationibus honoratur.

Cuius devotionis orationes quo a multis per Orbem totum dispersis, caritate tamen unitis, uno quasi ore, Deo gratiores sibique efficaciores funderentur, antiqui Ordinis nostri Patres quoscunque sanctissimam Dei Genitricem per eas colentes in piam quandam Confraternitatem congregaverunt. Quam Confraternitatem a Rosario dictam Summi Pontifices, iisdem Religiosis petentibus, approbarunt, ac magnis privilegiis, innumerisque Indulgentiis et aliis gratiis Apostolicis certatim decorarunt, simulique curam sanctissimae Rosarii devotionis omnem Ordini nostro iure haereditario concrediderunt, eiusque pro tempore existenti Magistro Generali privative facultatem reservarunt erigendi ubique terrarum dictam Confraternitatem.

Hanc ob causam SS. D. N. Leo PP. XIII. in sua Constitutione *Ubi primum* d. d. 2 oct., 1898 § iii. statuit: ' Quae anteacto tempore sodalitates sacratissimi Rosarii ad hanc usque diem sine Magistri Generalis Patentibus Litteris institutae sunt, Litteras huiusmodi intra anni spatium expediendas curent.'

Rogati ergo, ut Confraternitati, absque Patentibus Litteris sive Nostris sive praedecessorum Nostrorum in ecclesia . . . erectae easdem Litteras secundum praedictam Constitutionem dare velimus, hisce petitionibus libentissime accedimus.

Tenore igitur praesentium Confraternitatem praedictam iuxta mentem Summi Pontificis ratam habemus, comprobamus et it omnibus suis iuribus ac privilegiis spiritualibus, quantum in Nobis est, confirmamus, imo, quatenus opus sit, denuo instituimus servatis tamen de iure servandis secundum Constitutionem Clementis VIII. *Quaecumque* d. d. 7 dec. 1604, nec non Decreta S. C. Indulg. d. d. 8 ian. 1861, ac d. d. 20 maii, 1866, et Constitutionem SS. D. N. Leonis XIII. *Ubi primum* d. d. 2 oct. 1898.

Rectorem etiam Confraternitatis nunc existentem in munere suo confirmamus, et, quatenus opus sit, constituimus. Post ipsum autem Rectores dictae ecclesiae omnibus futuris temporibus sibi succedentes etiam Confraternitatis Rectores hisce Nostris Patentibus Litteris facimus et nominamus.

Volumus praeterea et omnino observari iubemus, ut in capella vel altari Confraternitati addicto vel nomine nostro addicendo, imago S. Patris nostri Dominici flexis genibus de manu Deiparae Virginis Rosarium recipientis apponatur.

Cum autem sancta huius Confraternitatis lege, a Summis

Pontificibus saepius approbata, cautum sit, ne quid lucri ab ullo unquam pro admissione vel inscriptione exigatur, districte iniungimus Rectori, ut operam suam in hac re gratis praestet ad laudem BB. Virginis Mariae, aeternum praemium eius intercessione obtenturus. Tribuimus autem eidem Rectori (secundum Constitutionem mox citatam SS. D.N. Leonis XIII § 9), facultatem subdelegandi non quidem generatim, sed in singulis casibus, alium idoneum sacerdotem, qui eius vices gerat, quoties iusta de causa id opportunum iudicaverit. Eidem Rectori pro tempore existenti secundum Brev. Pii IX *Quod iure* d. d. 17 aug. 1877 etiam regimen et curam sodalitatis *Rosarii viventis* in eodem loco committimus Admonemus eundum pro tempore Rectorem, inter pios huius Confraternitatis usus primum locum optinere processiones quae prima cuiusque mensis Dominica, praecipue vero prima mensis octobris Dominica, ducuntur. Quapropter illas saltem per interiorem ecclesiae ambitum meliori quo fieri potest modo, indicata in laudata Summi Pontificis Constitutione *Ubi Primum* § 14, istam autem solemni pompa per vias publicas ducat in gratiarum actionem pro celeberrima victoria armis christanis de immani nominis christiani hoste apud Echinadas insulas reportata.

Indulgentiarum, quarum Confraternitas ipso suae erectionis actu particeps est, accuratum elenchum, ex Summario ab Apostolica Sede approbato transcriptum, hisce Nostris litteris adiunximus una cum iisdem diligenter asservandum.

Quod si sodales, vel aliqui eorum, peculiaria statuta sibi condere vellent, meminerint, addita huiusmodi statuta ab Episcopo dioecesano approbari debere, eiusque moderationi manere obnoxia atque eleemosynas excipiendas et erogandas esse iuxta formam per Ordinarium praescribendam.

Quo autem inter Confraternitatem ita a Nobis confirmatam, imo, quatenus opus sit, denuo institutam et sacrum Ordinem Praedicatorum a quo egressa est (ad eundum aliquando forsan regressura, si scilicet quandoque contingeret, eiusdem Religiosos in eodem loco ecclesiam obtinere) tanquam inter filiam et matrem maior caritas foveatur, omnes sodales illi adscribendos participes facimus et declaramus omnium bonorum operum quae, cooperante Dei gratia, per universum mundum a Fratribus et Sororibus dicti Ordinis peraguntur, sicut etiam speciali quodam modo participes sunt bonorum operum, quae ceteri per Orbem dispersi sodales ex instituto communis Confraternitatis peragunt: quorum omnium

orationibus et meritis et Ordo noster vicissim iuvari quam plurimum sperat. In nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti. Amen.

In quorum fidem, his Patentibus Litteris officii Nostri sigillo munitis manu propria subscripsimus.

Datum Romae, die . . . . mensis . . . . anni . . . .

Fr. . . . . .

Magister Generalis Ord Praed.

Loc. ✠ Sigil. Fr. . . . .

Mag. Prov. . . .

Reg. Pag. . . . .

Quum Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo. PP. XIII. in sua Constitutione data die 2 octobris 1898, quae incipit *Ubi primum*, mandaverit ut omnes sodalitates SS. Rosarii per universum Catholicum Orbem erectae absque litteris patentibus Magistri Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum illas intra praefinitum tempus expediendas curarent, idem Magister Generalis praesens Diploma exaravit et huic S. Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae approbandum exhibuit. Porro S. Congregatio illud, in singulis suis partibus recognitum conforme Constitutionibus Romanorum Pontificum necon Decretis huius S. Congregationis, approbavit et typis mandari permisit.[1]

Data Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. Congregationis die 1 februarii 1899.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Ant. Sabatucci, Archiep. Antinoensis, *Secretarius.*

III.

DUBIUM CIRCA DESIGNATIONEM SACERDOTIS PRO AGGREGATIONE CONFRAT. SS. ROSARII ORDINIS PRAEDICATORUM

Magister Generalis Ordinis Praedicatorum a Sacra Congregatione Indulgentiarum humiliter petit solutionem sequentis dubii ex § x Apostolicae Constitutionis *Ubi primum* provenientis :

Dicitur nempe in citato § x : '(Item), ubi Rosarii sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit, Magistro Generali facultas esto designandi alios Sacerdotes, qui Fideles, Indulgentias lucrari cupidos, Sodalitati propinquiori aggregent, et Rosariis benedicant.'

[1] Prior formula perpetuo modo approbatur ; altera vero duntaxat ad diem 2 Oct. 1900 (Cfr. Rescriptum S. C. Indulg. 8 Sept. 1899 apud *Anal. Ec.* vol. vii. p. 417).

Porro ex antiqua consuetudine Magister Generalis Praedicatorum Sacerdotes, tum proprii Ordinis, tum alios huiusmodi facultate donare solet non tantum iis in locis, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit, sed in omnibus locis ubi non sunt Conventus aut Domus Ordinis Praedicatorum, et interdum, ex peculiari ratione, etiam in huiusmodi locis, eadem ratione qua alii Ordines, ut Fratrum Minorum, et Carmelitarum, facultates sibi proprias aliis sacerdotibus communicare solent; idque videtur omnino fieri sine ullo Confraternitatum detrimento, in favorem Fidelium praesertim eorum qui a Sede Confraternitatis canonice erectae longius distant.

Hinc oritur dubium :

1. 'Utrum illa facultas, hucusque a Magistro Generali Ordinis Praedicatorum ad faciliorem et ampliorem Sanctissimi Rosarii propagationem exercita, per § x Constitutionis *Ubi primum* limitata seu restricta censeri debeat ad locos illos, ubi Rosarii Sodalitas eiusque Rector institui nequit.

2. 'Et si affirmative, quid de facultatibus sine huiusmodi limitatione, sive ante sive post promulgationem praedictae Constitutonis concessis, sit tenendum.'

De quibus dubiius facta relatione Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni Papae XIII in audientia habieta ab infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto die 11 octobris 1899, idem Sanctissimus respondere mandavit ut infra ;

Ad 1^{um} : 'Facultate de qua agitur uti pergat Orator ut antea minime tamen in locis in quibus existunt Conventus Ordinus.

Ad 2^{um} : 'Quoad facultates concessas ante Constitutionem, *Ubi primum* aquiescat : quoad vero concessas post dicttam Constitutioem, quatenus opus sit conceditur sanatio.'

Datum Romae ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae die 12 octobris, 1899.

F. Hieronyus M. Card. Gotti, *Praefectus.*

Loc. ✠ Sig.

Ant. Archiep. Antinoensis, *Secretarius.*

THE RIGHT OF BISHOPS TO WEAR THE PECTORAL CROSS 'UNCOVERED,' AND OTHER QUESTIONS DECIDED BY THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF RITES

PLURA SOLVUNTUR DUBIA

Academia Liturgica Romana sequentia dubia pro opportuna declaratione Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humiliter subiecit; scilicet:

Dubium I. Utrum Episcopi, sive Dioecesani sive Titulares, Crucem pectoralem detectam gestare possint ubicumque degant?

Dubium II. Utrum super sacras vestes eamdem Crucem, vel saltem illius flocculum, gestare valeant in sacris functionibus?

Dubium III. Utrum iidem Episcopi, dum lavant manus intra Missam privatam, tegere possint caput bireto et Mitram gestare in eadem Missa dum populo trinam benedictionem impertiunt?

Dubium IV. Utrum sacrum Tabernaculum in interiori parte deauratum esse debeat vel saltem albo serico contectum; et utrum sit benedicendum, priusquam Sacra Eucharistia in illo recondatur?

Dbuium V. Pro clavibus, quae Ostiariis in eorum Ordinatione sunt tradendae, sufficit ne ut una tantum tradatur?

Dubium VI. Permitti ne possunt in Ecclesiis lumina ex oleo, quae mensae altaris imminent et ardent etiam tempore Sacrificii?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis auditoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae respondere censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Negative in omnibus.*

Ad IV. *Affirmative ad utramque partem.*

Ad V. *Servetur, in praxi, Pontificale Romanum.*

Ad VI. *Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit et servari mandvit.

Die 20 Iunii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

PORTABLE ALTARS

DUBIA CIRCA ALTARIA PORTATILIA

Sequentia super Aris portilibus solvenda dubia Sacrae Rituum Congregationi fuere proposita, nempe:

Dubium I. An Altaria portatilia, quae sunt ex lapide non

quidem marmor eo, sed duroet tamen compacto, idonea pro Sacrificio haberi possint?

Dubium II. An tolerari possint eadem Altaria portatilia, quae ex lapide puniceo sive ex gypso constant?

Dubium III. Quid iudicandum de illis lapidibus sacris, quorum sepulcrum non in medio sed in eorum fronte effossum fuit?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, omnibus mature perpensis et voto exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae, respondendum censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. 'Dicti Lapides in posterum non sunt admittendi; quoad praeteritum vero, cum commode fieri possit, iterum breviori formula consecrentur.'

Et ita rescripsit ac declaravit.

Die 13 Iunii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

THE FEAST OF THE TITULAR OF CHURCH OR ORATORY

DECRETUM GENERALE

SUPER FESTO TITULARIUM IN ECCLESIIS ET ORATORIIS PUBLICIS CELEBRANDO

Cum Sacra Rituum Congregatio compererit nonnullos irrepsisse abusus circa Titularium Festa celebranda, sicut in Ecclesiis ita in Oratoriis publicis, Decreta hucusque evulgata in praesenti renovans et confirmans declarat:

I. In quibusvis Ecclesiis publicisque Oratoriis vel consecratis vel saltem solemniter benedictis relativum Titularis Festum quotannis esse recolendum sub ritu duplici primae classis cum octava.

II. Ecclesias autem omnes esse ab Episcopo, nisi consecratae eae fuerint, saltem benedicendas, quaemadmodum etiam Oratoria publica sub formula in Rituali Romano praescripta.

III. Hinc, pro Ecclesiis et Oratoriis publicis, ad effectum celebrandi, Titularium Festa, illas sacras aedes esse intelligendas, quae pro Missis celebrandis sacrisque aliis, etiam solemnioribus, functionibus peragendis ab Ordinariis locorum destinatae, vel consecrantur vel solemniter benedicuntur, ut publico fidelium usui libere plus minusve deserviant.

IV. Relativi Titularis Festum a toto Clero, si extiterit, vel a Sacerdote Rectore Ecclesiae aut publico Oratorio addicto, per integrum Officium celebrabitur : secus, in defectu cuiusvis Cleri per solas Missas iuxta Rubricas.

V. In Oratoriis autem quae existunt in aedibus episcopalibus, Seminariis, Hospitalibus, Domibusque Regularium, relativum Titularis Festum non celebrabitur, nisi in casu quo aliqua ex iis consecrata vel benedicta solemniter fuerit.

VI. Denique Sacra Rituum Congregatio mandat, ut nullum ex Oratoriis privatis consecretur, aut Benedictione donetur solemni, quae in Rituali Romano legitur ; sed ea tantum formula benedicatur, quae pro Domo nova aut loco in eodem Rituali habetur.

Et ita declaravit.

Die 5 Junii 1899.

C. Ep. Praenest. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Diomedes Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

ABSOLUTION FROM CENSURES

E SACRA POENITENTIARIA

DECLARATIONES S. POENITENTIARIA CIRCA ABSOLUTIONEM A CENSURIS PUBLICIS

I.

In Litteris Apostolicis *Quoniam divinae* num IV legitur : ' Absolvere item possint (Poenitentiarii minores) a supra dictis censuris et peccatis, pro quibus facultas concessa est § III, poenitentes quamvis censurae quibus adstricti sunt, publicae sint, in locis unde venerunt, et quamvis deductae aut aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae in iisdem locis sint per Ordinarios, aut alios quoscumque Iudices : praemonitis tamen poenitentibus de libello, ut infra in his casibus publicis Poenitentiariae Apostolicae omnino submittendo. Post absolutionem nimirum conficiant libellum supplicem, expresso nomine, cognomine ac Dioecesi poenitentis, et casu huiusmodi censurae publicae subiecto, et subtus scribant testimonium absolutionis ab eadem censura concessae, eumdemque poenitentem dirigant ad Officium Poenitentiariae Apostolicae, ut recipere possit Breve in forma *missi*, vel *remissi* absoluti iuxta praxim eiusdem Officii Poenitentiariae.

'Haereticos vero, qui fuerint publice dogmatizantes, non absolvant nisi abiurati haeresi, scandalum, ut par est, reparaverint.

'Eos quoque, qui sectis vetitis massonicis aut aliis eiusdem generis nomen dederint, si occulti sint, absolvere possint, iniunctis de iure iniungendis: si vero occulti non sint, absolvere quidem eodem pacto possint, dummodo tamen scandalum reparaverint.'

Quaer. I. Circa verba *in locis unde venerunt:* His verbis exclusione intelligi possint qui Romae degunt, cum de his non videantur stricto sensu verificari verba *in locis unde venerunt:* an etiam cum his eadem ac cum illis regula servanda sit?

II. Circa verba *de libello, ut infra, in casibus publicis:* Libellus, de quo agitur, confici ne debet indiscriminatim de omnibus censuris, dummodo sint publicae, quamvis non sint deductae, aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae: an tantum de publicis quae sint insimul deductae aut nominatim declaratae ac denunciatae?

III. Circa verba *abiurata haeresi:* Haec abiuratio debet ne esse *absolute* publica, ac in forma solemni ab Ecclesia praescripta, an sufficere possit ut fiat coram Confessario vel quomodo?

IV. Circa verba *scandalum, ut par est, reparaverint:* Scandalia reparatio, debetne absolute praecedere absolutionem; an, si hic et nunc fieri nequeat, sufficiat ut huiusmodi poenitentes serio promittant se scandalum reparaturos, praesertim si de longinquo venerint?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, sedulo examinatis expositis, adprobante SSmo. Dno. Div. Prov. Pp. Leone XIII, respondet ut sequitur:

Ad. I. 'Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.'

Ad II. 'Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.'

Ad. III. 'Reparatio scandali publici debet esse publica: abiuratio potest esse secreta apud ipsum confessarium.'

Ad IV. 'Si serio promittant, affirmative.'

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria die 20 Februarii 1900.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIGHT OF LIFE: Set forth in Sermons. By the Right Rev. J. Cuthbert Headley, O.S.B., Bishop of Newport. London: Burns & Oates. 6*s*.

SERMONS, as usually collected and published, scarcely ever make a real book. Apart from the unity of a general moral intention, or the vast unity of the Christian revelation, they generally remain as disunited, one from the other, in thought, as are the occasions and places of delivery in time and space. It is quite otherwise with the discourses in the volume before us. One as they are in their author's characteristic beauty and eloquence of diction and the living knowledge of theology so simply displayed, they are still more one by the fact that practically all illustrate and enforce a great central truth, that God loves man, takes an interest in him, and can be loved by and attract him, for He was made flesh, and became Himself man in His Incarnation.

In the first lecture, from which the volume takes its title, the subject is opened up by presenting this mystery, and its consequent revelation, as the Light of Life, 'lumen ad revelationem gentium.' Next comes, in logical sequence, a discourse on the 'Divine Gift of Faith,' by which alone we can hold aright or avail of the light so plenteously afforded us by Christ. In the third sermon, 'The Piety of Christian Faith,' the writer deals with a side of belief which all preachers do not sufficiently attend to. We might call it the emotional aspect of faith. We know how much, at the present day, the Church loves to develop in her children an affectionate, personal love for Christ by fostering the marvellous devotion to the Sacred Heart. And it is just this same love of which the Bishop ever speaks, proving from the Incarnation its possibility and its propriety. Throughout the greater part of the remaining seventeen sermons this point is urged again and again; now, as in the discourse on the 'Ministers of the New Testament,' by directing attention to the human, natural means taken by God to perpetuate the ministry of the High Priest; now, as in the closing lecture on 'St. John the Evangelist,' the most beautiful in the book, by manifesting the

ways, so winning and attractive to man, which the Creator adopted in the Incarnation to show His solicitude for creatures, and to win their affection in return.

Thoroughly in harmony with the present-day spirit of Catholicity, his Lordship's work, in its polemical aspects, is, in consequence, fully up to date and seasonable. Thus he singles out two great living foes of piety, and against them directs all his thought, thus unified:—Worldliness, the ever-increasing distraction which sensible things occasion; and Agnosticism, the denial of any interest or care felt by God for man. From Bethlehem he triumphantly disproves the latter, while in the God-man, and His visibly perpetuated love, he finds the victorious counter-attraction to the former.

It would be quite needless to speak of the author's well-known style, its elegance and lightness, and its delightful illustrations, drawn to such purpose from field and forest, sky and sea.

One other point only shall we touch, and we shall quote St. Thomas thereon, to prevent any suspicion of impertinence the criticism might occasion. His Lordship states, in the sermon on 'Life Everlasting' (p. 130), that the Infinite, *i.e.*, God, 'is as far out of our sight (intellectual), as the sounds of music are out of the ken of the eye of the body.' St. Thomas teaches (*Cont. Gent.*, l. 3, cap. 54): 'Divina substantia non sic est extra facultatem (intellectum) quasi aliquid omnino extraneum ab ipso, sicut non est sonus a visu . . . nam ipsa divina substantia est primum intelligibile.'

P. S.

THE ORANGE SOCIETY. By the Rev. W. H. Cleary. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge-road, S.E. 2*s*, 6*d*.

THE publication, in popular shape, of a new and revised edition of Father Cleary's comprehensive work on the history of the Orange Society in these countries and the colonies, is a decided boon, for which we are indebted to the enterprise and zeal of the Catholic Truth Society. Many of the chapters comprising the present volume were originally contributed to the pages of the *Melbourne Advocate*. Subsequently they were amplified, thrown into book form, and published. So great was the favour with which the book was received on its appearance, that within a few years six editions were exhausted. The fact,

then, that this is the seventh edition is ample evidence of the quality of the work.

In his own words the author's aim is to present an 'exposition' of the aims, methods, and tendency of a little known, but active secret society which has kept a portion of the north of Ireland in a state of unhealthy ferment for over half a century, and which, for the past few years, has been executing a forward movement in our midst. With a clear, bright, and vigorous style, Father Cleary takes us through the history of this inhuman and infamous organization, from its first inception and growth out of the 'Peep o' Day Boys,' in 1795, down to its suppression by Acts of Parliament in Ireland in 1825, and in England in 1836, and traces its subsequent chequered career to our own day. The path he treads is marked by the pillage and plunder, tortures and slaughters, of unoffending Catholics. The story he tells of the amenities in which the ascendancy party in the North were wont to indulge towards their Catholic fellow-countrymen is scarcely fit for civilized ears to hear. It forms one of the foulest blots that ever disgraced the history of the nation that looked with complacency at this scene of cruelty and carnage. If for the guillotine he substituted the picket, the pitch-cap, and those other instruments of torture devised by devilish cunning, and for the infuriated French mob the Orange yeomanry and volunteers, we think that the Sage of Chelsea would have found, nearer home, materials adequate enough for the portraying of a picture of human savagery and unbridled licence as revolting and blood-curdling as any that he has drawn of the Reign of Terror. These things are sad reading; but they are useful, if only to keep those responsible for them in mind of the great atonement that is due to us for our past oppression.

Father Cleary's book bears manifest evidence of prolonged and painstaking research. In every statement he makes he quotes his authority, and his severe indictments of the association he has put on trial are confirmed and corroborated by the testimony even of the most prejudiced and hostile of English historians. Though we know a good deal already about the malpractices of the Orange lodges, still there are some facts recorded by Father Cleary that, to many people will come as a perfect revelation. For instance, we are all accustomed to associate with Orangeism the most thorough loyalty and the most unqualified submission to the Crown. The shibboleth of the

party has been, as we understand it, devoted attachment to the person of the sovereign. What, then, will be the amazement of many unsuspecting persons to hear that in this ultra-loyal organization there were actually sown the seeds of a conspiracy that had for its object (towards the end of the preceding reign) the securing of the throne for Ernest, Duke of Cumberland, brother of William IV., and Imperial Grand Master of the Orange Lodges, to the exclusion of the then heir apparent and now rightful sovereign, Queen Victoria!

In an Appendix we have a review of the position of the Catholics of the North, as contrasted with the more favourable condition of the Protestants of the South; there is an interesting account of the ritual and ceremonies of induction to the Orange degrees, and of the rules of the Loyal Orange Society of Victoria; a very full list of authorities referred to in the book; and an ample table of references.

St. John Damascene on Holy Images. Followed by Three Sermons on the Assumption. Translated by Mary H. Allies. London: Thomas Baker.

Miss Allies is already favourably known for her translations from others of the Greek fathers. In her present volume she purposes rendering accessible to English readers a selection from the finest writings of the last of the long line of Greek fathers. But upon many not quite innocent of Greek has she conferred a boon. Not every Greek scholar is so fortunate as to have Migne's monumental work at his elbow, and, even those whose sacred profession renders some acquaintance with the Patristic writings desirable, too often allow the breviary homilies (with the gleanings by the way in the ordinary course of dogma and Scripture) to represent the extent of their excursions into Patristic regions. Increased facilities for extending such acquaintance are, therefore, thoroughly welcome.

The selections from St. John Damascene's works are most opportune in view of the controversial interest recently centering around the question of image-worship. We have here translated into clear and readable English the Damascene's famous *Three Orations*, in which he shows how we 'are led through matter to the invisible God.' It is with pleased surprise one recognises, in turning over the pages of Miss Allies' translations, the arguments

and illustrations, the triumphant appeals to early tradition, the distinctions and explanations so familiar in modern treatises on the subject. Passing from those discourses to the Sermons on the Assumption, the change is very marked from the solid and argumentative dissertations on behalf of image-worship to the rushing torrent of warm eloquence in eulogy of the ever Virgin Mother of God, whom 'neither human tongue or angelic mind is able worthily to praise.' The thoughts and feelings and the mode of expression so much resemble our own to-day, that we could almost imagine ourselves reading a modern sermon on devotion to the Blessed Virgin—a powerful witness to the antiquity of this devotion. These sermons are, moreover, interesting for their account of the tradition of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin. Part of the second is read in the second Nocturn of the Office of the Feast of the Assumption in the Roman Breviary. We unreservedly commend Miss Allies for her judicious selection, and for the satisfactory manner in which she has executed the translation.

P. L.

THEOLOGIA MORALIS. Cura et Studio Joannis Morino, Congregationis Missionis. Taurini: Ex Typ. Salesiana.

'THE cry is, still they come.' Yet another all-round effort in the domain of moral theology, and a classic, of course. How on earth did those poor benighted priests get on who had to put their whole trust in 'small Gury,' with St. Alphonsus thrown in sometimes as consulting physician? Then, surely, Lehmkuhl is sufficiently up to date, though most of us would like him ever so much better if he would only let us more into his secrets. Besides, why it was only yesterday we heard the praises sung of the two Louvain lights, Genicot and Haine: usquequo?

Reverend Father, I have no desire to enter into controversy; a word of explanation will be quite sufficient for my purpose. Well, then, this is not exactly a new work, it is an *editio quinta, aucta et emendata.* Why it has been reserved for me to introduce it thus late in the day to the missionary priests of Ireland, an undue sense of modesty in the author, or a lack of commercial enterprise on the part of the publishers may, perhaps, best explain.

It is not a very ponderous work, this new arrival. It absolves the whole subject of moral theology, has a very convenient table

of contents at the end of each volume, for there are two volumes, and an alphabetical index at the end of the second volume, all within the compass of about 1,050 pages. The type is such as would tempt even the most fastidious vision, while the Latin could not give pause even to the veriest tyro. Lastly—best recommendation of all, perhaps, to those with whom the older ways of doing things are their own best advocate—from the beginning to end it swings in the good old catechetical fashion of question and answer.

Were this an entirely new work we should hesitate about bringing it under the notice of the readers of the I. E. Record, and were it not a commendable article we should be slower still to recommend it. But since both years and worth have agreed to stand its sponsors, we have great pleasure in entering into the partnership.

Father Morino, in his preface, makes the following statement: 'Novi siquidem et ego hoc opus a perfectione longe distare; attamen existimo multis perutile fore tam sibi ipsis quam animabus dirigendis.'

If perfection be taken in the more absolute sense, and the work be regarded as a scientific exposition of moral theology, we are not prepared to quarrel with the author's self-depreciation. considering perfection relatively, though that is looking at the book as a means to the end the writer has in view, as a handbook for missionary priests, and for those students of theology whose ambition is to get a grasp of everything needful without the addition of ballast which is merely ornamental, we must unhesitatingly eliminate the particle *longe*, before making the author's estimate the text of our criticism.

Imperfections there are, of course; but it would be ungracious not to confess that, in nearly every case, we had to look for them. We submit some of the results of our finding.

If a censure comes into actual existence at all, it follows necessarily in the wake of sin. This consideration we presume it was which induced Father Morino to treat the question of censures immediately after the section of sins, reserving, of course, till later on the subject of absolution from censures. We are not quite so sure that this method makes for convenience; personally, we should much prefer to have the whole question of censures treated at one sweep. At any rate, it would not be too much to expect some commentary on the censures

of the *Apostolicae Sedis;* but the author seems to think otherwise, and just enumerates them at the end of the book, without note or comment.

That confused question of abstinence is handled so wonderfully well that we are all the more sorry the equally puzzling one of fast, as distinguished from abstinence, of quantity as oppposed to quality, has received such scant recognition.

We do not consider we are hypercritical in finding fault with this definition of stealing: 'Occulta et injusta ablatio rei alienae, invito rationabiliter domino;' nor yet in joining issue with the following assertion: 'ad praescriptionem requiritur bona fides seu persuasio prudens et firma qua quis rem quam possidet judicat esse suam.'

Though there is no express declaration to the effect, still it is evidently implied that only sick persons can receive the 'Apostolic Benediction.' It has been decreed, however, that it can be administered as well to culprits condemned to death.

To give a complete catalogue of the virtues the work can lay claim to, would be to outrun the limits of an ordinary criticism. We have already referred to a few, which, though seemingly incidental, are not by any means to be overlooked as trivial. The substantial classification would spell thus: clearness, practical wisdom, and general practical helpfulness. Here is a cutting taken at random which must commend itself for clearness to everyone:—

'*Q.* Extrema Unctio potest ne conferri sub conditione?

'*R.* Distinguo.—Si dubium respicit ea quae ad Sacramenti validitatem pertinent . . . tunc ad reverentiam Sacramenti praecavendam, certe conferendum est sub conditione.

'Si vero dubium respicit *dispositiones* poenitentis, tunc conferendum est *absolute;* ratio, quid hoc sacramentum, durante eodem periculo, nullatenus, vel sine scandalo iterari non potest. Quisque autem, nisi certe constet indispositum esse, dispositus praesumi potest. Quare si conferatur sub conditione *si est dispositus*, et suscipiens dispositus non est, Sacramentum non reviviscit amplius, etsi suscipiens postea dispositus sit; contra si conferatur absolute, etsi suscipiens tunc dispositus non sit, tamen si postea sit dispositus, et per attritionem obicem infusioni gratiae tollat, Sacramentum reviviscit, et sic salutem aeternam consequi potest.'

Father Morino, unlike a great many of our moral theologians, is not content with being a guide and a philosopher. He tries

to prove himself something more—a friend, taking you by the hand and leading you along the rough ways and the smooth, through the maze and in the open. To realize how this is brought about, and what it means, one must become acquainted with his work. Such an acquaintance we most heartily recommend.

D. D.

THE ACTS AND DECREES OF THE SYNOD OF JERUSALEM. Translated from the Greek, with an Appendix containing Confession with the name of Cyril Lucar. By J. N. W. B. Robertson. London: Thomas Baker, Soho-square.

EVERYONE interested in developing from original documents the well-known theological argument from prescription will welcome this very readable translation. The name of Cyril Lucar, and his famous confession, are familiar to all students of the sacred sciences, and did not a little in their day to obscure the true nature of eastern beliefs. That they should have been gladly welcomed by the Reformers is evident from the appendix, where we see that in the eighteen articles and four questions contained in the document the then novel doctrines of Luther on Justification, the number of the Sacraments, Purgatory, &c., and of his followers on the Blessed Eucharist, were advanced as being those also of the Greek Church on the same point. More or less at the request of the French ambassador of the day, the Patriarch of Jerusalem, Dositheus, presiding at the Synod of Bethlehem, in 1672, had a document drawn up by the assembled fathers, some seventy in number, from different portions of the East, Russia, &c., proving (1) that Cyril never wrote the alleged confession; (2) that if he wrote it he did so without the sanction of the Eastern Church; (3) that, as a matter of fact, the document did not contain the real beliefs of the East; (4) that the Easterns so absorbed the confession, that although Cyril publicly denied its authenticity, and taught the opposite doctrines, he was condemned in two synods; and then in eighteen articles and four questions, setting forth their real faith. It is a very complete and convincing statement, and shows that those old Greeks of two centuries ago, while holding on all these points, save one, the doctrines of Rome, could expose a fraud as mercilessly as our nineteenth century critics. These latter eighteen articles, known by the name of Bethlehem articles, were published, with the

exception of some statement about 'accident' and 'substance,' in 1838 by the Holy Synod of Russia. The book is well worth reading, and Mr. Robertson has done a good work by rendering such useful and interesting matter so accessible to all.

P. S.

Offertoria Totius Anni. Edited by F. Witt. Op. 15. Ratisbon: Fr. Pustet.

This magnificent collection of Offertories for the whole year is the result of a gradual development. The scores of the various compositions were first published as supplements to Witt's church music periodicals, *Fliegende Blätter* and *Musica Sacra*. There was not, at first, any idea of issuing a complete collection. But when the publication of these supplements had gone on for a few years, the editor began to work out the plan of publishing a collection comprising the whole liturgical year. Later on the necessity of printing separate voice parts was felt, and in publishing these, some kind of order was observed, they being arranged more or less in accordance with the liturgical books. Finally, the scattered scores were republished in book form, following exactly the order of the voice parts. The whole collection is now complete in score and parts, some of the volumes of the voice parts having gone through a second edition. The whole work is in four volumes, the first comprising Nos. 1-53; the second, Nos. 54-99; the third, Nos. 100-143; and the fourth, 144-220. Besides the Offertories there is also an appendix containing several settings of the *Asperges*, *Vidi Aquam*, *Tantum Ergo*, *Veni Creator*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and single settings of *Ecce Sacerdos*, *O Salutaris*, *Sacris Solemniis*, and *Te Deum*. The score is also published in one volume, and in this edition, to make up for the slight want of order in the collection, three indexes are given; the first containing the initial words of the texts in alphabetical order; the second giving the compositions in the order of the Roman Gradual or Missal; and the third being a list of composers.

The collection ought to be in the possession of every good choir.

H. B.

Thirty Liturgical Chants. By J. Diebold, Op. 39. Six Parts. Score and Separate Voice Parts. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann.

This useful collection is intended for choirs of medium attainments. The compositions throughout are fairly easy, written

with a moderate amount of contrapuntal devices, effective, and dignified.

The first part contains five compositions for four mixed voices, *Asperges me*, *Vidi Aquam*, *Veni Creator*, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and *Ecce Sacerdos*. The second part similarly contains: *O Salutaris*, *O Sacrum Convivium*, *O Esca Viatorum*, *Ave Verum Corpus*, and *Pange Lingua*. The third part is for four male voices, and contains a *Veni Creator*, four *Pange Lingua* (in one of them, strangely, only the last stanza being printed), and a *Libera*. The remaining parts are again for four mixed voices. The fourth contains four Graduals: *Os Justi*, *Ecce Sacerdos*, *Audi Filia*, and *Dilexisti*; the fifth, four Offertories: *Veritas mea*, *Inveni David*, *Justorum Animae*, *Afferentur Virgines*, together with a *Pater noster*; the sixth, the four Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin: *Alma Redemptoris*, *Ave Regina*, *Regina Coeli*, and *Salve Regina*, with an *Ave Maria* added.

H. B.

Antiphonae Marianae. Pro Canto, Alto et Basso. Auctore Ludovico Hoffmann. Ratisbon: Martin Cohen.
Salve Regina. IV vocum. Auctore Ludovico Hoffmann. Ratisbon: Martin Cohen.

The four Antiphons of the Blessed Virgin for Soprano, Alto, and Bass, and a *Salve Regina* for four mixed voices, are simple and easy, but very pleasing compositions. Within their scope, we think, they could hardly be excelled. Separate voice parts are printed for both publications.

H. B.

THE IRISH

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction

VOLUME VIII.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1900

Fourth Series

DUBLIN
BROWNE & NOLAN, LIMITED, NASSAU-STREET
1900
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GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
CENSOR DEP.

Imprimatur.

✠ GULIELMUS,
Archiep. Dublin., Hiberniae Primas.

BROWNE & NOLAN, LTD., NASSAU-STREET, DUBLIN.

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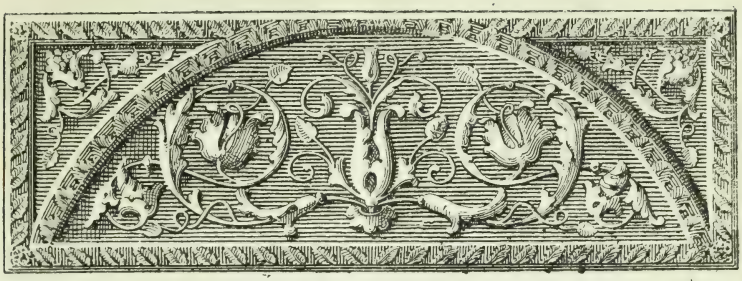
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LEAVES FROM MY EGYPTIAN DIARY

WE had been tossing on the Mediterranean for four full days, and there, at last, a speck on the horizon, was the top of the lighthouse which stands near Alexandria. Soon the loftier buildings rose up from the under-world, and a little later the whole city was before us, lying on the low shore. A great breakwater throws out its long arm from the east end of the city, and, curving round to the west, leaves but a narrow opening. We steamed safely through, and in a few moments were at the wharf. A motley crowd had come down to meet us—black faces, brown faces, and white faces; head-dresses of every colour, the most striking and most common of all being the scarlet tarboosh, which popped up everywhere, like an inverted geranium-pot. I scanned all the faces eagerly, in hopes of seeing my friend, Hashán Effendi,[2] an Egyptian officer, the commandant of a fort near Alexandria, in which he had kindly invited me to take up my abode. To my intense disappointment and bewilderment, he was nowhere to be seen. I discovered subsequently that the letter which I sent him, three or four days before my departure from Oxford, did not reach

[1] Paper read last year at a meeting of St. Mary's Literary Society, Maynooth College.

[2] The name is, of course, fictitious.

Alexandria earlier than myself, although I had come down through France in the most leisurely fashion, spending a night in Reims, another in Dijon, and a third in Marseilles.

And so there I was, on the quays of Alexandria, somewhat in the predicament of the Saracen lady who came to England knowing only the two words, 'Becket' and 'London.' By the use of natural signs I called a cab—a low, open vehicle. Then, by uttering the name of the village near Hashán Effendi's fort, I got the driver to understand that he was to take me to the railway station, from which I could get thither. In driving across the city I noticed, especially in the poorer quarters, many evidences of Oriental taste. No man was so poor as to be satisfied with such a legend as 'John Brown, Baker,' or 'Thomas Jones, Butcher.' The Alexandrian describes his house very frequently as 'The Grand Oriental Magazine of Egyptian Commerce,' or 'The Wonderful Emporium of Eastern Magnificence,' even though he sells nothing better than shoe-strings. I saw one little shop, owned by a Greek, who, although its front was only seven or eight feet, yet gave it the title: ΠΑΝΤΟΠΩΛΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΞΕΝΟΔΟΧΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΦΝΕΙΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΑΡΤΟΠΟΙΕΙΟΝ.[1] These little shops are all much alike. The door is usually closed. Instead of the window, there is an open space and a counter, so that one must stand in the street when making purchases. As to the wares offered for sale, one sees a lot of bright-coloured ribbons and shawls; a heap of bread in one corner, and vegetables in another; plenty of tobacco and coffee, and in the background, perhaps, a little boy grinding corn or sifting flour, and a woman combing a child's hair or preparing dinner. It is, therefore, like all the little shops in the East, really little more than a private room, with an opening on the street.

All this, and much besides, I noticed on my way from the steamer to the station. I arrived about three hours too soon at Mohatta Bab el Ghedeed, for that, I found afterwards, was the name of the station. I then dismissed the driver, paying him, I believe, about three times his legal fare.

[1] Universal Magazine, Hotel, Caffee, Bakery.

Now, however, I felt myself more at home, as some of the railway officials could talk French or English, and with their help I was able to send a wire to Hashán Effendi. During the few hours' delay I had an opportunity of observing the natives, who had assembled in a crowd around the luggage office. I sat in the open air, outside the railway buffet, and watched their movements, whilst I sipped a tiny cup of delicious Egyptian coffee. They seemed, as I thought, to be possessed with a species of frenzy. They were about fifty in number, but made noise enough for five hundred. Every man spoke as if he were convinced that the person addressed was at least five miles away from him; and occasionally someone amongst them, fearing lest proceedings might become monotonous, silenced all his companions with a yell which for pitch and volume could be equalled only by an Irishman in a bayonet charge. Add to all this the loose, flowing garments, the under garment of white, the outer of blue or brown material; the dark faces and the gleaming teeth; the turban, consisting of a soft white cloth wound round a low scull-cap; and picture the wearers all dashing to and fro in an insane hurry, pushing, pulling, and shrieking, and you will have some conception of what I saw at Mohatta Bab el Ghedeed.

At last, the train is ready to start. I step into the compartment, and am barely seated when a porter comes in and with a large cloth whisks about the thick deposit of dust which had settled on the cushions, in spite of the venetian shutters attached to all the windows. It was useless for me to interfere. He would neither cease dusting nor yet allow me to leave the compartment. He was evidently interpreting too literally some direction which he had received, not to allow passengers to step out of the train a minute or two before starting. Every movement of mine was met with a gesture of lofty and stern prohibition, accompanied by that inarticulate sound so common amongst the Egyptians, which we usually represent by the words 'tut-tut.' I was thus almost choked with dust, so much so that I was scarcely able to appreciate the hot dispute that now arose between the guard and the engine

driver, the former affirming that he had sounded the horn for departure five minutes before, the latter swearing by the prophet's nose and eye-brows that he had not. In the midst of the dispute, the station-master rushed up, hustled the disputants off to their posts, and stood on the platform pouring out volleys of teriffic Mohammedan oaths after the departing train. After a journey of about three-quarters of an hour, I arrived at the little station of Chafakhana, and saw the welcome figure of my friend Hashán Effendi on the platform, with a squad of soldiers ready to carry up my baggage, which, however, consisted of only one trunk, and a small one at that.

After a light meal, consisting chiefly of curry and bananas, followed, of course, by coffee, I was shown over the fort, an immense building with two quadrangles, one of which is used as a drill ground, the other as a garden where the roses were already in bloom, the fig-trees bursting into leaf, and the vines that grew over a cage-shaped trellis within which a fountain played were just waking from their winter sleep. The fort is now used more as a barrack than as a fortress. Still, from its position on a rock with a deep moat all round, it would be difficult to storm. It stands but a few hundred yards from the coast, Alexandria lies five miles to the east, and the Bay of Agamé, or, as Europeans call it, Aboukir, lies a mile to the west. When night came on, although it was in the month of February, we sat, Hashán Effendi and I, by the open window sipping coffee, whilst we listened to the strains of the band which he had ordered out to do me honour. Most of the musicians were Soudanese, natives of upper Egypt, stalwarts of the true negro type, well over six feet in height, with crisp curly black hair, coal black faces, and large lips. To my amazement they commenced with the well-known tunes rightly despised by self-respecting Irish people, 'Killaloe and Enniscorthy,' and then drifted into weird Arabic airs. And so the music went on, a dirge broken now and then by a lively European melody that came like laughter in the midst of tears. At length, the Khedivial hymn was struck up, and we retired to rest.

Hashán showed me to my bedroom, a very large apartment about ten metres square, and six metres high. Just as he was bidding me good-night, he told me that the room was supposed to be haunted by an old Egyptian wizard.

'Of course,' said he, 'you don't mind about it. The story goes that he was strangled by Satan because he feared that the wickedness of the black-hearted magician might surpass his own. But, you know,' he went on, 'there's no truth in it. I may tell you, though, that I heard strange goings on in this very room myself. But, then, you see, it doesn't make any difference, you don't believe in these things.'

And so he left me. The room, truth to tell, was eerie enough. Quaint cupboards everywhere, mysterious nooks and recesses, and heavy hangings of antique tapestry, adorned with the figures of ancient Egyptian gods and demons, and with grotesque representations of the crocodile and the ibis and other uncanny creatures of the Nile, all dimly visible by the light of a single candle. However, I was too tired to think much of ghosts. I got into bed and drew around the muslin mosquito curtains which hung from a square frame overhead. Once or twice I was aroused from my slumbers by the thunder of hoofs on the drawbridge as the mounted patrol came in from the desert, or by the sound of the waves of the Mediterranean falling on the sandy beach.

A few days later we hired a dahabieh, and sailed across the bay of Agamé to the headland of the same name. A dahabieh is a low, fast boat, much used on the Nile. It carries a single sail, fixed to a slanting pole. One end of this pole is fastened to the bow, and the centre is tied loosely to the top of the mast. In about half an hour we had crossed the bay, and were climbing over the rough ground to the top of the low hill. On our way up we saw a native engaged in building. Just as we were looking at him he heard the cry of the mueddin, *i.e.*, the signal for prayer, from some distant mosque. He at once stood up, though he was on the top of the wall, turned towards the east, and began a series of movements and gestures, now kneeling down, and touching the ground with his forehead, now

standing erect, with his arms close to his sides or held high over the head, with outturned palms, preserving throughout a stony expression of deep solemnity. We passed on, and soon reached the top of the hill, which is all littered with the ruins of a fort destroyed during the bombardment of Alexandria. Here and there a few rooms escaped ball and shell, and one of them had been used as a cell by a Mohammedan hermit. He was known to the natives all along the coast, and far inland, as the Sheik of Agamé, and was famed for his fasting and merciless austerity. When he died his remains were reverently interred in his little cell, the scene of his earthly conflict. Ever since, the place is holy ground, and we dared not cross the threshold. Within, several lamps were burning, and innumerable votive offerings of tiny boats and ships, more or less rudely made, were fixed to the wall or placed on the floor. These were the gifts of devout sailors, who attributed their escape from dangers on the deep to the patron of mariners, the Sheik of Agamé. The sight of these offerings brought my thoughts back to an evening in autumn, some five years before, when I went into one of those grey-stone cathedrals in a little town in the North of France, and saw in the Lady Chapel, high up in the air, a great ship hanging like a phantom in the deepening twilight, masts, spars, and shrouds all complete, the gift of captain and crew of some ship that had escaped disaster off the Breton coast.

On reaching the foot of the hill we found horses awaiting us. Hashán, for some reason or other, wished to make the return journey by land. About half a mile from the fort we saw a group of fishermen sitting on the rocks, busy with their lines. We drew near to watch the sport. We could see right down through the clear water to the end of the line. The bait consisted of a small fish, which the victim was supposed to swallow entire. Presently we saw a large fish dart up through the waters. The excitement amongst the fishers was intense. They nudged one another, and strained forward to watch events. But the fish was evidently an old campaigner. He reconnoitred for a few seconds, and then, in the most gingerly fashion, nibbled off

the tail of the bait, and plunged back into the depths. The deluded fisherman leaped to his feet with a shriek, careered madly round, and ended by walking about on his hands. Then articulate utterance returned. He stood solemnly at the water's edge, and, with hand stretched forth, he cursed the fish, the fish's father, and the fish's religion, and called him a hypocrite and a liar. At length he sat down again, and plied his trade as before, occasionally nudging his companions, and muttering: 'Wasn't that a terrible hypocrite? Allah never made him.'

We hurried along towards the fort, and on our way were invited by a Bedouin family to come into their tent, and drink coffee, a sincere invitation, which, however, we politely declined. These Bedouins form a distinct class in the Egyptian population, not by reason of race, but by reason of habit. Like the other Egyptians around Alexandria and Cairo, they are a mixture of Turk and Arab, but prefer the roving life of the desert to the monotonous life of the town. In appearance the Arabs, or Turco-Arabs, are handsome and good-humoured, with large dark eyes, full of expression. The Bedouin women do not comply with the ordinary Mohammedan law of covering with a veil the entire face, except the eyes and forehead, a law strictly observed by the women of the other sections of the population. Whatever may be thought about this apparent want of ceremonial observance in the Bedouin woman, one thing is quite clear—that she has a higher sense of her duties as a mother. She keeps her children clean, and takes especial care to remove sand or flies from the eyes of the child, when too young to attend to itself. The other Egyptian mothers never take the least trouble to keep the children's eyes clean. The result is, that the eyes become very sore, never healing, even in after life. Foreigners imagine that the sand and the bright sunshine are to blame; but that is not true. The Bedouins are almost always roaming over the great wastes of sand, are exposed to the sun's fiercest rays, and yet their eyes are bright and clear. The explanation is simply as I have given it—the carefulness of the mother in one case, and her

carelessness in the other. The Bedouin woman, besides, is more respected than the other Arab women. During their journeys over the desert she is never compelled to trudge painfully along, as her less lucky sister must often do when a change of residence has to be made.

One day Hashán and I saw a young Arab boy driving proudly along in a little cart; the lord of creation he thought himself, haughty of mien as any Spanish knight from the court of Ferdinand, whilst his poor old mother—or grandmother she might have been—was hobbling along quite footsore by his side. Hashán rushed at him, seized him by the neck, flung him on the sand, and put the poor woman in his place. Then, with a sound drubbing, he helped still further to impress on the young rascal his first lesson in politeness.

Every morning during my residence in the fort, I used to watch the soldiers' drill. The words of command in Arabic uttered with a shriek and the rattle of muskets are still in my ears, and I can readily paint for myself again the picture I then beheld; the crimson turban, the dusky uniforms, the black faces, the glittering steel, and the eye-balls flashing white. These soldiers, Hashán said, are practically ignorant of what fear is. Like some dogs, they fight when their masters tell them, never thinking of consequences or seeking for reasons. There is no such thing in Egypt as a national question, no such cry as Egypt for the Egyptians. The people can be roused to revolt only by some religious impostor, like the Mahdi,[1] who professed to have been sent by Heaven to conquer the whole world, and who proves his mission by the words of the prophet in the Koran. But to return to the soldiers. I noticed after a week or two a general disimprovement in their appearance and style of marching; not a very considerable disimprovement, perhaps, but still obvious enough to one who had been watching them rather sharply for several days. The cause, I discovered, was, that Ramadan, the Mohammedan Lent, was then in progress. Ramadan is the name of the ninth

[1] Pronounced with a guttural sound, as if spelled 'Mochdi.'

month of the Mohammedan year, but since it is given up to penance and fasting, its name, Ramadan, is often transferred to the fast itself. The Mohammedan year being lunar, Ramadan occurs eleven days earlier every year. There are some religious details in connection with its formal opening by the Sheiks with which I was unable to make myself quite familiar. I could gather, however, that the fast is not proclaimed, until the principal priest in charge of the great mosque at Cairo sees the delicate crescent of the new moon mirrored in the waters of a deep lake near the citadel; but that its termination is declared when the crescent of the next new moon has been seen in any part of the Egyptian land. Ramadan is not a fast, in our sense of the word. One is forbidden to eat, drink, smoke, or bathe between sunrise and sunset, but after sunset one may do as one pleases. The rich people get over all difficulties by simply turning night into day; the poor people who have to work all day must try to eat and sleep at night. Taking the population as a whole, the fast is observed with a fidelity which should put many a Christian to shame. Several of those poor soldiers of whom I was speaking used to cover their nose and mouth with their hands when they passed near anyone smoking a cigar; some of them, in fact, seemed to me to grudge themselves the very air they breathed. About sunset, the scene in the great quadrangle was quite exhilarating. The little children used to stand watching the sun, and the moment they saw the lower rim touching, or almost touching the sea, they clapped their hands with joy, and ran helter-skelter to tell their mothers to put the kettle down. In a few moments a bright fire in a brasier is blazing outside the doors of every house, and the first meal is ready in a few moments. Of course, none of the small Egyptian houses has such a thing as a fire-place; all cooking is done out of doors. As soon as dinner is over—vegetable fare, as a rule—they drink coffee and smoke for an hour or more, and then retire to rest. At twelve o'clock they take a second meal, usually of the lightest kind, often nothing more than bread and water, return to bed again, rise at half-past four, and take a hearty meal before

beginning the work of the day. When Ramadan is over, a period of rejoicing follows, called Beiram. It lasts three days, during which the whole country gives itself up to feasting and amusement. The Arabs from the country flock into the towns, dressed in their Friday robes, for their Friday corresponds to our Sunday. The children dance about in long dresses of pink, blue, or yellow, all flashing with spangles, and fly through the air on hobby-horses or swings. Everybody eats Beiram cakes, the ingredients of which I was unable to discover. They are very white, are covered with powdered sugar and flour, but to me were not very palatable. Unlike days of rejoicing in our country, Beiram is unmarred by scenes of drunkenness. The only Arab vice is of the very mildest kind, coffee-drinking. And their coffee is unlike ours, both in quality and in the quantities in which it is taken. It is pleasant, refreshing, mildly stimulating, is served up in tiny cups about one-third the size of ours, and is drunk in sips. After a day of marching or camel-riding in the desert, or of any fatiguing work, the weary Arab finds a complete restorative in this, the national beverage. To me it was always an agreeable sight, to see some poor fellow who had been slaving all day carrying bales of cotton, lolling peacefully outside his own door, in a species of paradise 'twixt pipe and cup, watching with half-shut eye the crimson sunset and listening to his children's voices as they played about on the sand.

A few days after the termination of Beiram, Hashán Effendi and I drove into Alexandria, over the rough path that connects the fort with the town. About half-way in, our driver, wishing to make things more comfortable for us and easier for his horses, drove along the tram-lines, which had been carried out some distance beyond the suburbs. Just as it happened, the old man whose duty it was to keep the rails free from dust was coming towards us at the time, pushing a pole with an iron ferule along the rut. When he saw the car approaching, he dropped his pole, threw up his hands, and uttered a series of yells that brought all the women and children to the doors. The moment, however,

he saw Hashán in his Turkish uniform, with countless decorations on his breast, his demeanour changed with amazing rapidity.

'What's the matter?' said Hashán, with a look of feigned bewilderment.

'Oh, it's all right,' he answered. 'Tis a very fine day.'

'Yes; but what are you shouting about?'

'Tis a very fine day. The oats will be coming up soon in the soft ground; Satan himself won't be able to stop it.'

'Yes. That's all right, but we're not going to drive on till we know what you were making all that noise for.'

'Ah, well, you know,' said he, 'I have to keep these lines clear, and your car is pushing back all the dust again.'

'I know,' said Hashán, 'but what are you paid for? If somebody doesn't keep filling in the ruts there'll be nothing for you to do, and you'll lose your situation.'

The old man's face was a study. After a moment's hard thinking, he raised his hand slowly to his forehead, as much as to say—'Effendi, you've got a head, and no mistake.' Then, aloud, in a low, eager tone—'Of course, you won't say anything about it.' Hashán shut his eyes, and shook his head slowly, and made that 'tut-tut' sound to which I referred in an earlier part of the narrative. We then drove away, leaving the old man standing in the same place, with his red tarboosh and his long robes, the pole still on the ground where it had fallen, gazing after us with a look of admiration and fear.

We called that morning to see an Irish family which had settled in Alexandria. The hearty welcome which I received as being the first priest of the race who had ever crossed their threshold, the enthusiasm of the children of whom I am sure there were a dozen, these and numerous points of social detail, I must of necessity pass over. I noticed that the children from the age of three upwards, *i.e.*, those who were able to speak at all, spoke two, three, or four languages. They all knew Arabic and English. The other two languages were, in their case, German and Italian. I afterwards discovered that the same is true of almost all European children. As a rule, they learn the various languages from their little playmates who, in such

a mixed population as that of Alexandria, are sure to belong to different nationalities. Of course, they also learn languages in school, or, rather, they learn to read and write the languages which they are already able to speak. What I noticed principally about all these European children in Egypt, was their quickness of intellect and their readiness of speech, advantages which the educated speakers of more languages than one always enjoy. As all educationalists know, one of the most useful exercises for the mind and for the organs of speech is the expression of the same ideas in different ways. Children who speak one language are not accustomed to do this; and, in fact, can be got to do so only in a very imperfect way through means of a number of laborious written exercises. On the other hand, children who habitually speak two or more languages are of necessity always clothing their thoughts in different garbs, and always instinctively comparing the various modes of expression. The truth of this theory, obvious enough in itself, was first driven home to me by what I saw in Egypt; and it was there I became convinced of the enormous educational advantage of getting our own people to talk their own language again, in addition to English, a conviction made all the firmer some months later when I witnessed the enthusiam of German scholars for the distant past of our race.

Towards the end of February I took the mail train to Cairo, which is, roughly, about a hundred miles south of Alexandria. The scenery on the way up was interesting, and yet there was little variety—the Nile, now approaching, now receding, with its yellowish surface dotted over with lazy dahabiehs; the rich green of the cultivated lands along its banks, a brighter, richer green than we ever see even in this country; the clumps of date-palms, with their feathery foliage; the natives lounging lazily underneath, smoking their long pipes, and the wastes of sand in the distance, thrown into hillocks, with here and there a ridge of yellow slate or purple sandstone. On such a journey one easily realizes the truth of what Herodotus says: ἡ Αἴγυπτος τὸ δῶρον τοῦ ποταμοῦ—Egypt is the gift of the Nile. The river

rises about the summer solstice, and attains its highest at the autumnal equinox. Canals, provided with sluices, run off on each side at right angles to the river. Across the Nile, here and there, are immense barrages, or dams, made of concrete, which drive the water out into the canals. The farmers, or fellaheen, to give them their Arabic name, draw the water from these canals by various appliances—by force pumps, by the Archimedean screw, the sâkiyeh, the shâdoof, and the táboot. Most people are familiar with the Archimedean screw, one of the most ingenious of mechanical contrivances, which makes water rise by falling. The sâkiyeh and táboot are nothing more than wheels, slightly differing from one another in matters of detail, to the rims of which a number of buckets or receptacles are attached. These pour the water into a trough, which empties itself on the land. The shâdoof is still more primitive; it is nothing more than a kind of rough balance, consisting of an upright stake and a horizontal pole. To one end of the latter is tied a heavy stone, to the other a bucket. The bucket is pulled down into the water, and then is raised by the weight of the stone. When the water leaves the trough or pipe which conveys it to the land, it is not allowed to flow freely about; it is carried over the little farm through tiny canals, a few inches deep, and from these is roughly spread by the hand or by a spade over the adjacent ridges, on which it deposits a thick silt. Every farm is thus like a miniature Egypt. Crops of every description grow with amazing rapidity, the productiveness of the land being about treble that of ours. Cattle, when grazing, are fastened to a stake by a very short cord, because of the richness of the pasture, and also, of course, because the farms are not separated from one another by fences or palings of any kind, but merely by stones laid here and there along the line of division, just as it was in the old times, when, as recorded in Sacred Scripture,[1] a curse was pronounced against the man who moved his neighbour's landmark.

After a few days' rest in Cairo, I began to explore the

[1] A friend of mine at home directed my attention to this.

city, going to the various mosques and gardens. Cairo is gradually becoming more European, but still is far more Oriental, and a far finer city in every way, than Alexandria. It is built round a steep rock, which forms its citadel, and its suburbs stretch down to the banks of the great river. The gardens in Cairo are like fairyland—palms of every description, little groves and valleys, with streams rushing along, and fountains without number playing; rustic summer-houses here and there, and flowers of every hue, numbers of which are to be seen in this country only in the hot-house. Even at night-time these gardens are scarcely less attractive, with coloured lanterns hanging from every tree, and with the Khedivial bands playing. The principal mosque in Cairo is on the citadel, and in size is, I am told, equal to San Sofia. When Hashán and I got into the courtyard, outside the entrance to the great mosque, he told me that I should either have to take off my boots when going in or put over them a pair of slippers, specially provided at the door; but he remarked that if I took off my boots, and if they were worth stealing, I should probably not find them when I came out. So I put on a pair of flaming yellow slippers, evidently made to meet all emergencies, as they were at least sixteen inches long. The inner walls of the great mosque are built of Oriental alabaster, a kind of stone which seems somehow to be more like amber than marble, being rich and warm in colour, with curious veins of white or red running through it. The floor is covered with carpet. There are no seats of any kind, no stands, no altar, no pictures. There is a low pulpit, in a remote corner, from which the priest reads the Koran on Fridays. There are pillars and columns innumerable, with arches between, all aglow with the most brilliant colours. The windows are of stained glass, 'richly dight,' but not 'storied.' In the centre of the mosque springs up the magnificent dome. Underneath the dome, and about twenty feet from the ground, hangs a great horizontal ring, about fifteen yards in diameter, from which are suspended a number of lamps. Besides these lamps there are many others all over the mosque, at various heights, varying from six feet to thirty

feet; so that at night-time the spectacle must be very brilliant.[1]

As we were leaving the mosque, we saw approaching us an aged man, straight as a lance, with long grey beard, and snow-white turban. When his eyes met those of Hashán, they both uttered a cry, and after the manner of the people in the *Arabian Nights*, fell into one another's arms and wept. When the storm of emotion had subsided, as the novels say, Hashán explained with Egyptian volubility that this was his old schoolmaster who had taught him Arabic years and years ago, and who had grown rich in the meantime. I was then formerly introduced to him. His name was Ahmed Suleiman Ben Amar. When we had shaken hands, he did as all true Egyptians do, he laid his right hand on his forehead, then on his heart. He then invited us to his tent, which was pitched some twelve or thirteen miles from Cairo, away on the Libyan desert. On our way out we passed by a band of wretched prisoners who were working under the scanty shade of some date trees. Most of them carried heavy chains round their waists, and some dragged iron balls after them. In my expression of disgust at the sight, Ahmed heartly joined. 'Yes,' said he, 'it is a shame. It encourages others.' Here I saw that there must be some misunderstanding, as I could not conceive Ahmed attempting a witticism similar to Voltaire's when he heard of the shooting of Admiral Byng.

'What do you mean?' I said.

'Oh,' said he, 'these men's heads should be cut off at once. They're all murderers. Nobody will be prevented from committing murder by seeing them so well and happy. They haven't very hard work, they're sure of their meals, and they've clean houses to live in.'

'But,' said I, 'what about those chains?'

'The chains,' said he. and here he made that tut-tut sound, 'why they only like to have those chains about them! they look on them as ornaments.'

I must really say that a closer scrutiny of the prisoners

[1] As a matter of fact, the lamps are never lit. The birds have built their nests in them, and, being looked upon as silent worshippers of Allah, enjoy secure possession.

only helped to confirm Ahmed's assertions. They looked at one, not wistfully like some pent-up bird, but proudly as if they expected one to admire them.

We remained several days in Ahmed's tent, wandering over the desert in the early morning, or the cool of the evening, and at night we slept on the sand, rolled up in single blankets. One evening we ventured farther out into the desert than usual, and it was almost midnight ere we turned our camels for home. On the way we noticed a rather lofty ridge to our right, we turned aside, climbed up the easy ascent, and there in a little valley below, protected from sand-storms by the surrounding rocks, was a Mahommedan graveyard. The moon hung high in the clear blue heavens, seeming to breathe down peace on the abode of the dead. Every jut of yellow rock, every fern-like branch of the stately palms, every stone in the graveyard was softly, delicately defined in the flood of ghostly light. Suddenly we heard a cry in the distance. It came nearer and nearer, shaping itself into a dreary chant. It was a funeral, unusual with them at night-time as it is with us. They moved quickly over the sand. The words became audible, 'La, La, ill-allah, Mahmoud Rasoul, ill-allah.' 'There is no God but God, Mahomet is the prophet of God.' They now passed close beside us, the men in front of the bier, the women behind, and as they were droning out the words they moved their right hands in a circle, signifying by that mystic symbol the eternal duration of the truth they were proclaiming. We stood by the shallow grave. The body, wrapped up in cloths, was taken off the stretcher, and laid to rest without further ceremony. The sand was quickly shovelled in. A heavy slab was laid on top, on which were placed two little white-washed pillars, one over the head, another over the feet. Food and drink were then set beside the grave, and in an instant all had disappeared over the ridge, the women wailing out a rude lamentation which rose or fell as the breeze came or went, and at last died away in the distance.

On the way Ahmed insisted on telling us, for the twentieth time at least, the history of Egypt from the time

of the French occupation under Napoleon. After all, Ahmed had been a schoolmaster; and I suppose, the habit of exposition, like other habits, is not easily laid aside.

'Ah!' said he, at the conclusion of his history lecture, 'Mohammed Ali was the best of the Khedives.'

'Why,' said I, 'wasn't it Mahomet Ali whom the Sultan of Turkey sent into Egypt after the departure of the French?'

'Yes,' said he.

And, to the intense annoyance of Hashán, he began the story over again. When the French had been crushed at Aboukir, or Agamé, and on the Nile, the Mamelukes, the feudal lords of the country, who resembled the Norman barons, regained their estates, and refused to acknowledge the sovereignty of the Sultan of Turkey, to whom Egypt had belonged since the ancient days of Mohammedan con quest. The Sultan sent a young Turkish officer, named Mohammed Ali, to make terms with the rebel chiefs—a commission which he executed in the most satisfactory way. All the Mamelukes were invited to a peaceful conference in the citadel of Cairo. In the midst of their deliberations the soldiers of Mohammed Ali rushed in, and cut them all to pieces—all, with the exception of one, who made his escape somehow from the banqueting-hall, leaped over the parapet down a sheer depth of at least one hundred feet, was unhurt by the fall, mounted a horse, and rode away into the desert. All Egypt was thus in the hands of Mohammed Ali, who, however, had now, in his turn, become an object of fear to the Sultan. Certain tribes along the Red Sea were giving trouble about this period, and the Sultan, with sinister motives, directed Mohammed to reduce them to submission. The expedition was a disappointing success, and the loyalty of Mohammed's soldiers to their commander was assured. An open rupture now took place between him and the Sultan. They met in battle at Nizib, in Syria, and the Turkish forces were routed. A peace was signed, according to the terms of which Mohammed and his children for ever are to retain possession of Egypt, with the title of pasha changed,

later on, into that of khedive, and are bound, at the same time, to pay a yearly tribute to Turkey. At this point Ahmed burst into a fresh eulogium of Mohammed Ali, which I thought fit to interrupt by reminding him of the massacre of the Mamelukes. 'Oh, well, you know,' said he, 'he had to do that, because he was only *beginning!*'

We were too tired next morning to attempt a fresh expedition. The next morning but one we started off for the Pyramids, the great graveyard of the Egyptian kings. These immense monuments lie along the west bank of the Nile, beginning a few miles from Cairo, and extending in groups up the country for sixty or seventy miles. On the day of which I speak we confined ourselves entirely to the first group of pyramids, consisting of the Great Pyramid, the Pyramid of Chephren, and the little Pyramid of Menkaura. In the distance the Great Pyramid looks like the geometrical figure of the same name, with perfectly smooth sides, tapering to a point. However, on nearer approach, I found that it was a rough mountain, consisting of a number of layers of stone, each layer three or four feet high with square surface being smaller than the layer underneath. Thus each slanting side of the pyramid is exactly like a staircase, which narrows as it ascends. Originally the sides of this pyramid were perfectly smooth; but the great triangular prisms of stone, which were laid lengthwise along the steps, have been removed by successive invaders. The neighbouring Pyramid of Chephren is still smooth, and polished towards the top; so, too, are a number of others. The Great Pyramid can be ascended, as is apparent; but not so easily as one might suppose. The steps are so high, that you must hire two Arabs to help you up. One of them holds you by the waist, and tells you to throw up your feet on to the step above, and the other seizes you by the hands, and pulls you up. This goes on, step by step, till you reach the narrow platform on top; but by that time you are so completely exhausted, so torn to pieces and dislocated generally, that the magnificent panorama, the long line of pyramids rising up in the desert glare, the white walls of Cairo, and the great white-domed mosque on the citadel,

the brown river hurrying through the belt of green, all this swims dizzily before the eye, to be enjoyed only in its recollection. How can I convey an idea of the size and the massiveness of the Great Pyramid? There is no building with which we are both acquainted that could serve as a common term of comparison. It is more than one hundred and fifty yards high (formerly it was one hundred and sixty yards high), and each side of the square base is two hundred and fifty yards long. Thus it covers an area of thirteen acres, and its contents exceed eight hundred and nine million cubic feet. Nowadays, when one reads a description of some enormous book or building, one is told, for instance, that, if the leaves of the book or the bricks of the building were laid down side by side, they would make a tessellated pavement for the bed of the Pacific Ocean. Some calculator of this school has been busy with the Great Pyramid, and he discovers that if the contents of the vast structure were laid down in a line, a foot in depth and half a foot in breadth, this line could form the curb-stone of a footpath thirty-four thousand miles in length. The companion Pyramid of Chephren is only a few feet smaller.

In the presence of these mighty buildings two questions force themselves upon us, how they were built, and why they were built. Modern scholars have answered these questions, and answered them satisfactorily in the main, although some points of detail are still enveloped in mystery. The stones of which the Great Pyramid consists are chiefly of granite, and were brought from the quarries of Syrene, five hundred miles away. The magnitude of the task will be understood when I tell you that some of these stones are four feet high, six feet wide, and thirty or forty feet in length. I have measured them myself. These stones, as is evident from the lines and scorings on them, were cut from the rock by a kind of saw, still used at the present day for the same purpose, a saw the teeth of which are set with diamonds. Each stone, cut near the ground, was dragged out by ropes on to a massive wooden sledge; this sledge, to which slaves by the hundred were harnessed, ran along a wooden causeway, specially laid for the purpose

and thickly covered with oil.[1] Thus, with practically no machinery each block was conveyed to the ground on which the pyramid stands. But, now, how was the *second* flight of stone erected? how were these huge blocks lifted? They were lifted, as we may infer from Herodotus, just as great blocks of stone are often lifted at the present day. Each block was brought by the sledge quite near the edge of the first layer. As the workmen were drawing off the stone, they slipped underneath a low block of wood, probably bound with iron bands. This block stood some few feet away from the centre of the stone. The longer end of the stone was then raised up by means of levers and possibly by means of pulleys, until the shorter end touched the ground. A larger block or two smaller blocks were put under the longer end, a few feet from the centre of the stone as before. This process was repeated several times. Thus the stone was raised inch by inch on two gradually growing pillars, as it were, to the top of the platform. Throughout the operation the stone was guided by uprights and secured from shooting off by ropes. When the stone had to be raised to the third or any higher platform, it was raised as before from the ground to the edge of the first platform, from this platform it was rocked up to the next, and so on. Tradition says that this slow process required, in the case of the Great Pyramid the labour of one hundred thousand men for twenty years.[2]

And now, the next question, why were the Pyramids built? Why did these Egyptian kings, ever so many centuries before the coming of Christ,[3] waste so much time and treasure on the erection of these mighty monuments? It was the belief of the ancient Egyptians that the soul sur-

[1] Whenever possible, the stones were placed upon rafts or inflated skins and floated down rivers and artificial canals. Some consider this to have been the more usual method of conveyance.

[2] See contribution from Flinder's Petrie in 'Engineering,' 22nd June, 1883; also, the fascinating little book by V. E. Johnson, *Egyptian Science*.

[3] 'On suppose que ces pharhons, *i. e.* les bâtisseurs des grandes Pyramides, ont regné 4,000 ans à peu pres avant J.-C., et l'on doit admettre que la civilisation Egyptienne fut tres avancée à cette epoque lointaine.'—Vigouroux *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, art. on 'Egypt.'

vived after death only so long as the body remained incorrupt.[1] Hence the infinite pains which they took in embalming their dead; hence these mighty pyramids, each one containing several chambers in which the royal dead had hoped to sleep undisturbed for ever. The chambers are ventilated by shafts of ingenious construction, and are protected from the vandal by being sealed up with smooth stone and by numerous decoy passages leading to chambers containing nothing. The modern scientist, alas! has outwitted the Pharao, and ancient Egypt's kings and queens have been exiled to the various museums of Europe.

Only a few paces from the Great Pyramid stands the Sphinx. It is a great stone figure cut out of the natural limestone rock, with the face of a man, the body of a lion. It is about sixty feet high, and one hundred and fifty feet long. The upper portion of the face has been disfigured by fanatics, but the mouth still wears that wondrous smile, that smile of dignity, of power, of mystery, that smile which subdues to awe even the most thoughtless beholder. Thus a writer of the present day, habitually trifling and flippant though he be, speaks of the Sphinx:—

After years of waiting, it was before me at last. The great face was so sad, so earnest, so longing, so patient. There was a dignity not of earth in its mien, and in its countenance a benignity such as never anything human wore. It was stone, but it seemed sentient. If ever image of stone thought, it was thinking It was looking toward the verge of the landscape, yet looking *at* nothing —nothing but distance and vacancy. It was looking over and beyond everything of the present, and far into the past. It was gazing out over the ocean of Time—over lines of century-waves which, further and further receding, blended at last into one unbroken tide toward the horizon of remote antiquity. It was thinking of the wars of departed ages; of the empires it had seen created and destroyed; of the nations whose birth it had witnessed, whose progress it had watched, whose annihilation it had noted; of the joy and sorrow, the life and death, the grandeur and decay

[1] Maspero, *Histoire Ancienne*, Vigouroux, 'La Bible, et les Decouvertes Modernes en Palestine, en Egypte, et en Assyrie,' vol. iv. A learned authority on Sacred Scripture has pointed out to me that Pharao's punishment of the baker as foretold by Joseph (Genesis xl. 19) was the severest that could have been inflicted. He was beheaded, and his flesh torn by birds. Thus, the body was destroyed, and, consequently, the soul was deprived of immortality.

of five thousand slow revolving years. It was the type of an attribute of man. It was Memory, Retrospection, wrought into visible, tangible form. All who know what pathos there is in memories of days that are accomplished and faces that have vanished—albeit only a trifling score of years gone by—will have some appreciation of the pathos that dwells in these grave eyes that look so steadfastly back upon the things they knew before History was born—before Tradition had being—things that were, and forms that moved, in a vague era which even Poetry and Romance scarce know of—and passed one by one away, and left the stony dreamer solitary in the midst of a strange new age and uncomprehended scenes.

The Sphinx is grand in its loneliness ; it is imposing in its magnitude ; it is impressive in the mystery that hangs over its story. And there is that in the overshadowing majesty of this eternal figure of stone, with its accusing memory of the deeds of all ages, which reveals to one something of what he shall feel when he shall stand at last in the awful presence of God.

The sun had passed the meridian hours before, and we made haste to mount our camels and move towards the tent of our hospitable friend. On our way we were all busy with our thoughts. I was thinking, and the others also, I believe, that those great memorials would yield some day to the law that denies eternity to man and his works. The day will surely come, I thought, when those huge blocks of stone, and that great sightless face with the mystic smile, shall be buried, far down from the light of day, beneath the shifting sands of the ever-changing desert, or beneath the waves of the tideless Mediterranean: the chambers of the royal dead shall be choked with sand, or draped with sea-weed, and the fishes flit in and out, and thus be accomplished at last the destiny of all things human.

Here I must take my fabric of recollections from the loom, leaving to yourselves to weave on in your own imaginations all that I have left unsaid.

M. Sheehan.

THE DOUAY BIBLE

THE Douay Bible is the name very often—in fact, commonly—given to the translation of the Holy Scriptures current among English-speaking Catholics. The title is an historic one; so much so, that it will seem almost an irreverence to find fault with it. At the same time it is not strictly accurate, and however ancient, may very easily be misleading. During the last three hundred years, so seriously has the original text been altered, so many changes and modifications have been introduced into it, that no longer is it possible, without a straining of terms, to speak of any of the versions now in use as identical with that which first went by the name of the Douay Bible. 'To call it any longer,' writes Cardinal Wiseman,[1] 'the Douay or Rhemish version, is an abuse of terms. It has been altered and modified till scarcely any verse remains as it was originally published.' Cardinal Newman was of the same opinion. Speaking of Dr. Challoner's revisions—and prescinding entirely from subsequent corrections—he hesitates not to pronounce the Bishop's labours 'as issuing in little short of a new translation.'[2] With such valuable testimonies to smooth and prepare the way, Catholics will still find it hard to abandon a title so historic, and for them, bound up with so many bright traditions. Nor is it any wonder. For although the work of translation was pursued and completed, as we shall see, at Rheims, the men who worked upon it were all Douay men, or closely associated with that historic college.

The reign of Queen Elizabeth was a fateful time, and for English Catholics fraught with many dangers. As a consequence, many, and among them some of the most cultured in the country, had to seek on the Continent the religious liberty so cruelly denied them at home. In an especial manner was the University of Oxford a sufferer by this

[1] *Essays*, vol. i., pp. 85, 86.

[2] *Rambler*, July, 1859.

literary exodus. Some of its best men remaining faithful to the old religion were driven into exile, and took with them a large portion of the culture of the country. Hitherto they had been scattered up and down the Continent—in France, and Spain, and the Low Countries. But about this time, mainly through the exertions of Cardinal Allen, a select body of them were brought together, and a college, destined to play a memorable part in the history of English Catholicism, was founded at Douay.[1] This was in 1568. Years before in England, they had seen the baneful influence of the varying versions of Scripture which were then appearing almost every year. And so on coming together, they resolved that one of their first works in the service of their countrymen, would be a version in English of the Holy Scriptures. In their zeal they little thought of the dangers and difficulties that were before them. Already for their religion, they had been driven into exile and forced 'to go over the sea.' They thought, and reasonably, that, whatever difficulties might hamper them, persecution from the home country, as far as they were concerned, was now at an end. But they soon got a rude awakening. Owing to political troubles, brought about in all probability by Elizabeth's[2] agents, they soon found it necessary to quit Douay, and seek a home elsewhere. To be outside the dominions of the King of Spain—in which Douay was at the time—they removed to French territory, and after some difficulty succeeded in establishing themselves at Rheims. It was intended to be only a temporary removal, and so, as we shall see, it proved to be. But it was here, during their temporary stay at Rheims, during the years of what we may call their second exile, that the task of translating the Scriptures was taken in hand, begun, and finished. The very day almost when pen was first set to paper can luckily be determined. In a marginal note in the *Douay Diaries*,[3] amongst the entries for 1578, we read :—

On October 16th, or thereabouts, Mr. Martin, the licentiate, commenced his translation of the Bible into English

[1] Dodd, *Church History of England*, vol. ii., pp. 165, *et seq.*
[2] Philopater, pp. 65, 66. [3] *Douay Diaries, Diar. Secund*, p. 145.

And that a work from which much utility is expected may the more quickly appear, he does two chapters each day, he himself translating; but that the work may be done as well as possible, our president, Dr. Allen, and our master, Dr. Bristowe, read them through, and in their wisdom faithfully correct whatever seems to them to need it.

Five names in all are mentioned as concerned in the work—Dr., afterwards Cardinal, Allen, Dr. Gregory Martin, Dr. Richard Bristowe, John Reynolds, and Thomas Worthington. All were Oxford men—fellows or graduates of that university. Cardinal Allen, in the olden days, had been a student of Oriel—Cardinal Newman's College—and subsequently principal of St. Mary's Hall. Bristowe, 'noted for his acute parts,' was an ex-fellow of Exeter, as John Reynolds was of New; whilst Gregory Martin, to whom fell the chief part of the translation, had been one of the original scholars of St. John's. A south of England man by birth, and a native of Maxfield, near Winchelsea in Sussex, he had, in 1557, been nominated one of the original scholars of St. John's College by its founder, Sir Thomas White. There, amongst others, he had as fellow-student, Blessed Edmund Campion, both friendly rivals and fast friends. Indeed, it was Martin's influence brought Campion out of Oxford, and its many dangers in those days for a Catholic, and started him on the career which ended in a martyr's crown. 'If we two,' he wrote[1] to him, 'can live together, we can live for nothing; if this is too little, I have money; but if this also fails, one thing remains: they that sow in tears shall reap in joy.'

In 1569 Martin accepted the position of tutor in the family of the Duke of Norfolk. Shortly afterwards when the Duke visited Oxford and was presented with an address, the fellows of St. John's College thought it not out of place to show their grateful remembrance by alluding to Martin, their former master, as the 'Hebraist, the Grecian, the poet, the honour and glory of the college.' Solid learning, scholarly abilities, powerful patronage, everything that could ensure success, were already his. Yet all were sacrificed, freely

[1] Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary*, vol. iv., p. 485.

given up, home and friends and preferment, rather than abandon the faith. He preferred the free exercise of his religion to all hopes of advancement, and escaping to Flanders, obtained admittance into the newly-established College of Douay. Wood[1] bears testimony to his 'incredible industry,' and speaks of him as 'a most eloquent linguist exactly read and versed in the Sacred Scriptures, and going beyond all his time in humane literature, whether in poetry or prose.' Even Moulton is constrained to admit him to have been 'a man of great learning.'[2] And Dr. Westcott, the great Protestant biblical authority, willingly testifies to his distinguished attainments, particularly in Hebrew and Greek. All writers, indeed, admit him to be one of the ripest scholars of his time. As a linguist he was, perhaps, not excelled in his day; and the many works he has left behind him bear ample testimony to the breadth and depth of his scriptural knowledge.

Almost immediately upon their arrival from Douay, in 1578, the work of translation was taken in hand. Careful translation is at all times necessarily slow, and more especially is this the case when there is question of the Scriptures. At first sight we should not expect the translation of a work so extensive for many years. Difficulties,[3] too, financial and otherwise, would seem in their poverty to have hampered and hindered them. But there were giants in those days, giants in faith and perseverance; and, with the untiring industry of Gregory Martin at their disposal, most of the work of translation was got through and finished by 1582. That same year, a memorable one in the history of our English Bible, saw the publication of the New Testament. Martin, as has been said, was the translator, but the notes were the work of Cardinal Allen, then President of the refugee College at Rheims, and his right-hand man, Dr. Bristowe.[4] It comes to us on the authority of certain divines of the Cathedral and College of Rheims. A long

[1] *Athen. Oxon.*, 1691, 1.
[2] *Cambridge Companion to the Bible*, p. 32.
[3] Constable, *Specimen of Amendments*, p. 133.
[4] Cotton, *Rheims and Douay*, p. 13.

preface, but one of consummate skill, is prefixed, in which we are told the circumstances that called forth the work, and the principles that guided them in their translation. The Old Testament was translated at the same time, and at Rheims, but for want of funds its publication was delayed. As they themselves tell us in their preface, 'owing to a lack of means in their poor estate of banishment' it had 'to lay by them.'[1] It was only twenty-seven years after, and a considerable time after their return to the old home at Douay, that their labours were brought to a successful issue, and the Old Testament appeared in two volumes, dated 1609 and 1610. In the meantime Gregory Martin had died. The needs, too, and changes of a troublous time had separated the little band of workers; and so, upon Thomas Worthington, then President of Douay College, devolved the task of seeing it through the press. The notes, not so copious as those of Allen and Bristowe on the New Testament, are his ;[2] and so also are the historical tables we find appended. Like the New Testament, it has no *imprimatur*, and comes to us on the authority of certain divines, this time of Douay.

Thus it came about that neither Old or New Testament was translated at Douay, and a part only, though the larger, was published there. It is the custom, when speaking of the New Testament alone, to refer to it as the Rheimes, or Rhemish Testament. When both Testaments are alluded to, you hear them very often—in fact, ordinarily—spoken of as the Douay Bible. A less convenient, but more accurate title, and one we should be glad to see become popular would be the Rheims and Douay Version.

At these dates, 1582 and 1609-10, the versions of the New and Old Testaments were respectively published; that of the New at Rheims, that of the Old at Douay. After an interval of twenty-five years, the Old Testament came to a second edition in 1635. A second edition of the New Testament had been brought out at Antwerp in 1600; and twenty-one years later was followed

[1] *Preface to Rheims New Testament*, 1st edition, 1582.
[2] Mombert, *English Versions*, p. 294.

by a third edition printed at the same place, and at a more popular price. In 1633 a fourth edition appeared. It went back to the old quarto form of the first edition, and was brought out at Rouen, in France. The fifth edition, in folio, a very handsome volume, and the smartest, perhaps, in appearance of all the editions, bears the date 1738. Where it was printed, or to whom we are indebted for this edition, we do not know; nor does the volume itself offer any information on these points. It has been[1] suggested, by way of conjecture, that it was printed in London, and was brought out under the joint editorship of Dr. Challoner and Father Blythe, a Carmelite priest. The sixth edition, which is practically a reprint of the fifth, with here and there a marginal note left out, was printed in Liverpool in 1788. In 1816-18 an edition or editions of the whole Bible were published in Ireland, in which, as regards the New Testament, the old Rhemish text and notes was followed. This edition or editions—for whether it must be spoken of as one or many is doubtful—is sometimes regarded and spoken of as the seventh edition of the Rheims Testament. The last and eighth edition appeared in New York, where it was brought out by a Protestant party, and ostensibly for controversial purposes. It bears the date 1834.[2]

And here, before we come to the question of the merits of the Rheims and Douay, it may be convenient to offer a few specimens of its style and language, illustrative of its most salient features and characteristics:—

23. And when Jesus was come into the house of the Governour, and saw minstrels and the multitude keeping a sturre, 24. He said: Depart, for the wench is not dead but sleepeth. And they laughed him to skorne. 25. And when the multitude was put forth, he entered in, and held her hand. And the maid arose. 26. And this bruit went forth into al that countrie.[3]

And a certain young man followed him clothed with sindon upon the bare; and they tooke him; but he casting off the sindon fled from them naked.[4]

[1] Cotton, *Rheims and Douay*, p. 47.
[2] Newman, *Tracts Theol. and Eccl.*, pp. 363 and 364.
[3] Matthew ix. 23-26.
[4] Mark xiii. 51.

And he spake, also a parable to them, that it behoveth always to pray and not to be weary, saying: There was a certain judge in a certain citie, which feared not God, and of man made no account.[1]

O Timothee, keep the depositum, avoiding the profane novelties of voices, and oppositions of falsely called knowledge.[2]

No one now-a-days would think for a moment of judging conditions of society long since passed away by modern standards, modern methods of life. In theory, at least, it will be conceded that to come to an accurate judgment, to form a correct estimate of times or things in the distant past, we must throw ourselves back, as it were, and live and move in the conditions and among the men we are studying. This principle, insisted upon in most things when judging the past, should not be lost sight of in forming an opinion on the literary merits and critical value of the Rheims and Douay. The circumstances that called forth the work, the end the translators proposed to themselves, the principles which guided them in their translation, are considerations which, if duly borne in mind, will help us not a little in forming an opinion, and prepare us for many things that might otherwise strike us as strange. It would be a great mistake to suppose the Douay translators to have taken upon themselves the task of producing a Bible in every way suitable and adapted to modern needs and tastes. No doubt, it was their wish, and they laboured with the view that their work might be as permanently useful as they well could make it. But their version was made primarily for their own contemporaries, for their own countrymen, and the trying circumstances in which they were then placed.[3] In the days before their exile they had seen only too often the pernicious influence of the versions which were being then scattered broadcast among the people. Literary excellence these translations may, indeed, have had; but on the confession of Anglicans[4] themselves, there can be little doubt that they were wanting, and sadly wanting, in truth and fidelity. In

[1] Luke xviii. 1, 2.
[2] 1 Tim. vi. 20.
[3] *Tablet*, 1871, vol. xxxix., p. 585.
[4] Ellicott, *Pastoral Epistles*, xiii.

translating the Sacred Scriptures, as, indeed, any book, ambiguous phrasings, doubtful collocations, readings open to a variety of meanings, will necessarily be sometimes met with; and it is only reasonable to expect that the fair translator will deal impartially with these, importing nothing of his own into them, and leaving them as he found them, open, and not closed. Of course, he is within his right in having his own opinion, and expressing his own views, but justice demands that attention be called in some way, either in the notes or on the margin, to the alternative readings and interpretations. Now this was what the early Reformers—Coverdale and Tyndale and Cranmer and Knox and others—did not do. On the contrary, they scrupled not in very many and very important places to twist and distort words and phrases which at most were ambiguous. At a time when 'the Bible, and the Bible only,' was the cry, it is only too evident how ruinous such a method of procedure could prove to be. The Scriptures were stolen from the Church, and then the Church, or what was left of it, was stolen from the Scriptures. It was to stem the tide of these wilful corruptions, to open the eyes of these misled people, who thought that in the corrupt texts they possessed they had copies of the Word of God, that Gregory Martin and his companions resolved to bring out a translation, at once accurate and faithful, and, as far as in them lay, fair and impartial.

> Since diverse learned Catholics [they tell us in their preface to the New Testament [1]], for the more speedy abolishing of a number of false and impious translations put forward by sundry sects, have published the Bible in the several languages of almost all the principal provinces of the Latin Church . . . We, therefore, having compassion to see our beloved countrymen use such translations, have set before you the New Testament to begin withal, trusting that it may give occasion to you, after diligent perusal thereof, to lay aside at least such impure versions as hitherto you have been forced to occupy.

Perhaps if this point, the end the translators proposed to themselves, had been kept more prominently in view, not a

[1] Ward's *Errat*, pp. 40-91.
[2] Preface to *Rheims Testament*, 1st edition, 1582.

little of the differences of opinions about the merits of the Rheims and Douay might have been avoided. Their great aim was to try and stop the liberties that were being constantly taken with the text by would-be reformers. And so they resolved above all things that, in their version, the true and genuine text would be given; and, like loyal Catholics, they resolved that the Latin Vulgate used everywhere throughout the Church would be the basis of their translation. In doing this they did not forbid themselves—as is so often unfairly implied—the use, whenever necessary, of the Greek and Hebrew texts. Indeed, the traces of their use of both Greek and Hebrew are to be largely met with in almost every chapter and page of the work. To confine ourselves to the Greek, perhaps the most remarkable proof of the extensive use they made of that text is to be found in their treatment of the Greek article. Seeing that a Latin text, the Vulgate, was the basis of their translation, and that the Latin language has no article, one might very naturally be tempted to suspect the Douay Bible to be not over exact in this respect. Yet the very reverse is the case.

There are many instances [writes Dr. Moulton[1]]—a comparatively hasty search has discovered more than forty—in which of all versions from Tyndale's to the Authorised inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article.

Their treatment of the article [adds Bishop Westcott[2]] offers a good illustration of the care and skill with which they performed this part of their task . . . The central function of scholarship is dealt with more satisfactorily by them than by any earlier translator. And it must be said that in this respect the revisors of King James were less accurate than the Rhemists, though they had their work before them.

What the Bishop's Bible was to the Authorized, that the Vulgate was and more to the Douay. And yet with a strange inconsistency both then and since, the Rhemists have been severely criticised for abandoning and not going back to the Hebrew and Greek. As they themselves tell us, the original texts were used, and largely used, as their

[1] *The Bible Educator*, vol. iv., p. 362.
[2] *History of the English Bible.*

translation abundantly testifies. Those who are erroneously condemnatory forget how loud they can be in praise of the so-called Wickliffe Bible, though it is almost certain that the 'original verities' were not consulted in the making of that version. They sing the beauties of the Authorized, 'the well of English undefiled,' and for the moment it is forgotten that the Douay principle was adopted by its editors if only the Bishops' Bible be substituted for the Vulgate.[1] Much, no doubt, of past criticism has been due to prejudice, but lately textual critics are coming to recognise the fact that, though the Vulgate is a Latin text, it represents a Greek one, and for all practical purposes may be regarded as such.

The Latin translation [to quote from a writer in the *Bible Educator*[2]] being derived from manuscripts more ancient than any we now possess, is frequently a witness of the highest value in regard to the Greek text that was current in the earliest times, and its testimony is in many cases confirmed by Greek manuscripts which have been discovered or examined since the sixteenth century.

It should be remembered [writes Mombert[3]]—not at all for the most part appreciative in his remarks on the Rheims—that the Latin of the New Testament is of a very ancient date, and that many of its readings, being derived from early documents, are of critical value and in perfect agreement with the most authentic manuscripts.

Their next principle was to be a still further refutation of the manner of action of the early Reformers. Their translation would be, they resolved, whatever else might be its faults, faithful and literal and impartial.

In this our translation [they write in their preface], because we wish to be most sincere as becometh a Catholic translation, we are very precise. . . . We have used no partialitie for the disadvantage of our adversaries, keeping ourselves as near as possible to our text, to the very words and phrases, acknowledging with St. Jerome that in other writings it is enough to give in translation sense for sense, but that in Scripture, lest we miss the sense, we must keep the very words.

[1] Paterson Smyth, *How We Got Our Bible*, p. 109.
[2] *Bible Educator*, vol. iv., p. 362.
[3] *English Versions*, xii. 335.

Good intentions they most certainly had; and how faithfully they fulfilled them even the most cursory examination of their work will amply prove. Whatever be its shortcomings—and it is not perfect; what is?—it assuredly is not wanting in fidelity and accuracy; nor has anyone ever denied these qualities to it. At times, indeed, their principles they may have strained and pushed to extremes, and the result to have been in places hard and unfamiliar latinisms. But, however easy to find fault, it is extremely difficult to find a way out of the skilful arguments they offer in defence of their principle.

'If,' they ask,[1] 'such words as "Raca," "Hosanna," and "Belial" be retained, why not "Corbona"? If Sabbath is kept for the seventh day, why not Parasceue for the Sabbath eve? If Pentecost is a proper word and seemeth not strange, why should not Pasch and Azymes be also retained, seeing that they also were solemn feasts, as Pentecost was? If "proselyte" and "phylacteries" be allowed, why not "neophyte" and "didragmes." . . . And therefore it is we say, "depositum," "he exinanited himself," "you have reflorished."'

Strange and stiff they well knew these words to be, but they were retained not without a purpose. As they quaintly remark, their fathers kept the faith as long as they kept to the words; and it was thought better to offend against the rules of grammar than to risk the sense of God's Word for the sake of a fine sentence. Besides, they expected that, as time went on, many of these words and phrases would become familiar, and what was now stiff and strange would become popular. Rather a presumptuous hope, it may be said, but not so foolish when we remember that a considerable number of these Anglicised latinisms were received and adopted by King James's translators, and are current English at the present day.[2]

A literature quite unique, and certainly not tolerant in spirit, is gathered around the early history of the Rheims and Douay. Some, as Cartwright and Fulke, were especially selected and handsomely remunerated to assist in the work of its refutation; others spontaneously, like Bulkley and Whitaker, took up their pens against it. Catholics, too, very

[1] *Preface to New Testament*, 1382.

[2] *The Month*, June, 1897

few in number, and for the most part back in the early days, were inclined at times to undervalue and minimize its work. William Blundell, writing in the seventeenth century, says: 'the Rheims Testament is bad English. I heard that Sir Toby Mathew, reading the title page, "The New Testament, &c., faithfully translated into English," said it was a lie, for it was not English.[1] And a well-known nobleman once went so far as to style it 'the obscure work of a few well-meaning divines.'

Textual critics, however, especially those who have laboured in the department of English Bibliography—men such as Eaddie and Moulton, Mombert and Westcott—are now showing forth how foolish the bigotry of early days could make itself, and are only too willing to pay tribute to the merits of our Catholic version. One great quality all concede it to have, and one rarely to be found in its day, and that is its fidelity to the text it professed to translate.

The translation [writes Dr. Moulton,[2] to confine ourselves to non-Catholic authorities] is literal, and, as a rule, if not always, scrupulously faithful and exact. . . . Only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work.

Sometimes, indeed, the translators, in their anxiety to be faithful, may have pushed their principles too far, and the result may have been stiff and strange expressions; but even with this fault their strict fidelity and adherence to the Latin text has not been without advantage.

The spirit of fidelity to the letter [writes so capable a critic as Dr. Westcott[3]] often led them to keep the phrase of the original where other translators had unnecessarily abandoned it. They frequently reproduced with force the original Greek, and even whilst many unpleasant roughnesses occur, there can be no doubt that the version gains, on the whole, by the faithfulness with which they endeavoured to keep the original form of the Sacred writings.

Much, indeed, has been written on these roughnesses, perhaps the only fault to be found in the Rheims and Douay. But we should not forget that language is never an invariable quantity, and what may read stiff and strange to us

[1] Gibson, *Crosby Records*, p. 198.
[2] *History of the English Bible*, pp. 185-188.
[3] *Dublin Review*, 1881.

may very easily have been quite intelligible to their contemporaries. Besides, the number of strange words and unfamiliar latinisms is, all things considered, comparatively small. Page after page may be read without encountering a single instance; and when they are to be met with, are mostly always intelligible, and the result, not of incapacity, but of principles deliberately adopted, and intelligently applied. The reasons for their retention we have already hinted at; and Martin and his companions were noted Oxford scholars, who had received and profited by the best training of their day. Perhaps no greater praise can be given to our version than when we say, that to it more than to any other cause must be attributed the appearance of the Authorized Version. The Rheims Testament, as Dr. Westcott observes, showed the need there was for a revision of the Bishops' Bible; and how highly King James's translators thought of it is patent from the large and frequent use they made of the Douay men's translation. Dr. Moulton[1] says that the Rheims Testament has left its mark on every page of the Authorised; and Mombert[2] adds that it were well if they had imitated it still more in the uniformity of its readings. By their rule King James's men were made to take the Bishops' Bible as their basis, and to depart from it only where necessary, using, if possible, in correction Tyndale's, and Coverdale's, and the Genevan. Yet very little trace of any or all of these versions is to be found in the result of their labours. 'On the other hand,' says the preface to the Revised Version of 1885, 'their work shows evident traces of influence of a version not specified in the rules, the Rhemish versions made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek original.' With such recommendations in its favour, and from sources not at all likely to be prejudiced, there is no need, surely, to be ashamed of our old and historic Bible, 'wrought in the days of martyrs, prized by heroic confessors, and read by Catholics oftentimes at the risk of life, liberty, and property.'

THOMAS J. BUTLER.

[1] *History of the English Bible*, p. 207. [2] *English Versions*, p. 307.

ALLELUIA'S THOUGHT SEQUENCE

II.—THE SEQUENCE

Sit nomen Domini benedictum
Ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum.
A solis ortu usque ad occasum
Laudibile nomen Domini.

TOWARDS the end of the ninth century there gradually spread throughout the Churches of Northern Europe a liturgical usage which soon became universal, and—whatever may have been the immediate cause of its origin—after a time assumed, in the minds of the Churchmen of the day, a highly mystical character. This was the custom of prolonging, and then singing to musical notes, the final vowel of the Alleluia, chanted between the Epistle and the Gospel. It was from the first called 'Jubilatio,' understood, in St. Augustine's sense, as a wordless self-utterance of joy.[1] At first this 'Jubilatio' was little else than a joyous singing forth of the final 'a' *ad libitum magistri choralis*, in which not the choir only, but all those of the congregation who desired to do so, could join. After a while, we are told, 'exercising the skill of the monastic musicians,' it gave rise to a distinct form of musical composition—a kind of wordless cantata, quite a 'song without words.' This came to be generally known by the name of Neume, more correctly written *Pneume*, from the Greek word Pneuma (*spiritus*), the whole being supposed to be the spirit's natural self-song of joy, inspired by the thought of the truth implied in the affix of the mystical acclamation, as some explain; or, as others say, merely because it was a natural, joyous *forth-breathing* series of sounds (*spiritus se spirans*). Both senses evidently fitted; it was physically one thing, and ideally represented the other. But, musically regarded, this *Pneume*, though the word has been rendered 'air,' was distinctly not an 'air,' in our sense

[1] 'Sonus quidem est laetitiae sine verbis.'—(Aug. in Psal. xcix., n. 4.)

of the word. It was not a tune; it was a sequence of musical phrases, each complete in itself; yet, as an ordered series, making a musical whole *sui generis*. Either because it was such a sequence, or because it was 'cantus Alleluia *sequens*,' possibly somewhat for both reasons, it came to be simply called 'Sequentia.' *Sequitur Jubilatio quam Sequentiam vocant*, says the Roman *Ordo*. Amalaire, Etienne d'Autun, and Rupert, notes Lebrun, remark that this 'Jubilatio' recalls the mystic spirit-song of the blessed in heaven, 'where we shall need words no more, where thought alone shall declare what is in the soul.' Most ancient writers refer to it in the same mystical strain. After a time it was thought advisable to put words to some of these pneumes or sequences for solemn occasions; the words expressing, generally in popular style, the special spirit of the festival or holy season.[1] For these lyrical effusions, as distinguished from hymns, being first written neither in regular metre nor rhyme, though with an ordered rhythm of their own, just to suit the notes of each 'Pneume,' the name of 'Prose' was very generally adopted. Ultimately that of 'Sequence' came to be reserved for them, while the name of 'Pneume' was retained for the musical compositions to which they owed their origin. Of those worded Sequences, there was one specially known as '*Sequentia Alleluiatica*.' It was that of Blessed Notker,[2] successively calling on all forms of created Nature to join in the sacred acclaim, and commencing: *Cantemus cuncti melodum nunc Allelu'ia!*

Now, what I propose to bring out in this article, what I have called 'Alleluia's Thought-sequence,' and, at the end

[1] There are several easily accessible and well-edited collections of them, such as that of Neale, Moore, Daniel, and others. The latest and best is that published by Dr. Joseph Kehrein: *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters*. Mainz, 1873.

[2] 'Blessed Notker'—a monk of St Gall (ninth century), the principal and one of the first, if not quite the first writer of 'sequences.' He was beatified by Pope Julius II., in 1573. In French and English biographical dictionaries he is called simply Notker or St. Notker; in French dictionaries usually in the latter way. But it appears that he was never formally canonized, though there was a regular office in his honour at St. Gall's.—Conf. *Lebensbild des heiligen Notker von St. Gallen*, by G. Meyer von Knonau. Zurich, 1877.

of my last article, explained as to be 'Reason's sequence of Divine names,' in reality is *The* 'Alleluiatic Sequence' *par excellence*. It is so as being thought's own, through the thought of the word's affix successively declaring all that affix really imports; thus giving, as I said, reflecting reason's own 'Allel' to 'IA,' proclaiming how 'He Who Is'—The Absolute or Being-absolutely—as being so, must logically be said to be in regard to all else, so, according to reason's order, should successively be named.

This self-formed, logical sequence of Divine thought-terms I now proceed to unfold. I intend to do so very briefly, considering the complex character of the subject. I wish to suggest general lines of thought and reading, in furtherance of my view, rather than to attempt anything like an exhaustive treatment of even one phase of it. I hope, however, as I go on, to open vistas into what I conceive to be its doctrinal import in the orders of reason and of revelation, especially in regard to man's apprehension of that truth of truths which is their mean, which when all is said, lies at the heart of every meaning in any way worth minding.

It being here a question of terming thought's own sovereign Term, we may proceed by way of pure reason, which in this case would be that of *a priori* synthetic assertion, declaring what 'being absolutely,' as so being essentially imports; or we may proceed analytico-synthetically through self-reflection's rational experience. The latter way I select; the former, however, it may be remarked, I have already suggested, indeed, in a manner lined out on page 505 of my last article. On a general subject of this kind the object of a magazine article as distinct from professional work I take to be rather to interest than to teach, to suggest and stimulate rather than to satisfy personal inquiry. As, then, I do not mean these pages to be more than suggestive, I leave the outline at the end of my last article stand for its method's form of suggestion, and proceed, as I say, through experience: that of one's own spiritual existence self-manifesting through logical reflection.

I.

Evidently, first of all, reflection thus gives for successive data as distinct notes through *being's* ascending scale of perfections or superior modes of *existence* or ways of being *in act*:—I here now *am* (*in act*) sensibly indeed in the act of other than I, yet am (1) really *substantial* being; (2) truly *subsisting* (an individual or complete self);[1] (3) *acting* forth my nature's act; more, one (4) actually *living;* more still, (5) *understanding;* furthermore (6), *willing-well*, with all in the way of act that essentially implies; not, indeed, so acting perfectly even for such as I, and, as imperfectly not permanently, not even for long continuously, since human life naturally proceeds through enforced periods of unconsciousness, and through consciousness itself by ever-varying modes of faint and failing moral action; well-willing, then, I say, but, even for such as I, far from perfectly or constantly, still (7) naturally tending, wishing, wanting to be made so *for ever*. This is rational life's first, simplest, most natural longing when at rest: to be always and all-ways good as wholly well-willing for ever—which is essentially good-will's as it is love's self-generated and self-resting thought—for ever and ever!

Thereupon, through its first practical principle, the principle of causality, reason's direct datum is the truth of One there in the nature of things essentially well-willing or all-righteous in act, through whose act others become so and may be made so for ever. That is the truth of the absolutely Everlasting Will, since the essence of righteousness, as universal rectitude or re-actitude, is simply the conformity of present act, or actual mode of being, with that of will absolutely everlasting. So Tennyson well said of the man of real insight:—

> He saw through life and death, through good and ill;
> He saw through his own soul.
> The marvel of the Everlasting Will,
> An open scroll
> Before him lay.

The marvel is precisely what has been noticed: that

[1] In the scholastic sense of *suppositum*.

Everlasting Will logically self-reveals at the summit of life's thought-terming, at the summit of the moral order, as being all that the One Who is all that, absolutely speaking, there ever need be is finally recognised as absolutely being all that good wills, at their highest, and truest, and best, naturally wish to be in act all at one with for ever. For, be what may thought's true theory of knowledge determining how we come to know or may logically prove *that* there always must be, clearly there is, in reality, no reason *why* there always must be life, or truth, or love with all it imports of liberty and right—no reason why anything of the kind should be eternally even possible for any being—except because it is all what the One that *absolutely* is, and so *must* be, must always be. A glance of thought's *processus* here will suffice. When treating of those synthetic judgments[1] whose terms as reason's own are those of reflection's data above enumerated, I remarked that, while there is logical thought-sequence from term to term of perfection descending, there is none ascending the series for being in general; and precisely on this account I held that propositions so formed, though expressing essential truths, are all synthetic. For instance, taking as test-term that of 'thinking,' this being given in will's natural act of loving, I observed that, while one thinking is evidently, as such, a living being, and as a living being a being acting, one acting is not necessarily living, nor is one living, as such, necessarily thinking or able to think; so on to the end. Similarly, proceeding from the beginning, I noticed that actual being, as such, is not necessarily substantial, nor the substantial subsisting. In short, I observed there is no pure logical sequence, no sequence from notion of one term as subject to a necessary attribution of the following term as predicate, no pure thought-sequence ascending the series for being generally. But, I now observe, there is such sequence for being-absolutely. Being no way term-wise in or acted by the act of another is manifestly *eo ipso* (1) *substantial*, not accidental

[1] Reason s Synthetic Judgments, I. E. Record, 1897.

reality (non eus *in alio* tanquam in subjecto); (2) as absolutely substantial *subsists;* (3) as absolutely subsisting *acts*, is not merely acted, or naturally apt to act in the way of real perfection; (4) as thus absolutely acting acts self, that is, *lives;* (5) as absolutely living or acting self acts through self (*per se* agit), is a personal. conscious, *thinking* agent; (6) as thus again absolutely acting, through self, wholly self-determines, or *wills* (per se agit *se agere*); and (7) finally, as thus self-determining or willing absolutely is so everlastingly—is will absolutely everlasting as to actuality and action, since naught can pass from potency to act, from act to act, or from act-term to act-term, in any way, except through the act of another.

II.

Here, then, for reflection's reply to Allelu-ia's acclaiming call, giving Reason's own sequence of Divine names, the question becomes: What must the actually Absolute (*Ia*) be successively said to be in regard to *all others* as (1) the absolutely substantial or fundamental Reality, (2) absolutely subsisting, (3) acting (4) living, (5) knowing, (6) willing, and (7) act-wise, absolutely everlasting? This is the problem of Alleluia's thought-sequence.

Now, with regard to the first thought-term of the series, taking *substance* in the concrete as ontologically meaning active force, or 'power,' and thus regarding the causation of the totality of a thing's substance as its absolute causation (*non ex aliquo precedente*) so to be termed 'Creation,' manifestly for Absolute Substance, for the absolutely substantial or fundamental Reality, reason's proper name would be THE CREATOR, as signifying The Power or The Good in the first instance, that is, GOD in the sense of Absolutely First Cause. Similarly, a little thinking out of the fundamental notion of *subsistence* will suffice to make it evident that reason's proper name for (2) Absolute Self or One absolutely subsisting is The Uncreated—the SELF-BEING; so (3) for Absolute Agent, or One absolutely acting, it is Being beyond the possibility of subjection in any way to the act of aught else, the Infinite—THE MOST HIGH; (4) for

Absolute Life, The One absolutely living or acting self, it is the Supreme or All-over—THE LORD, the One to whose act all others that may be must be subjected; (5) for the One absolutely Knowing, or Absolute Intelligence, it is—THE ALL-SEEING; for (6) Absolute Will, or the One absolutely willing, it is—THE ALL-MIGHTY, as signifying Will all-powerful for good in the second instance, or in regard to the existing, as 'Creator' meant All-powerful for good in first instance, or in regard to the purely possible; finally (7) for the One absolutely Everlasting viewed in regard to all others, reason's proper name is clearly the Timeless, the Interminable—THE ETERNAL, and as such, Self-source of righteousness or universal rectitude for all agents through time.

That leaves for logical sequence of names giving thought-wise reflecting reason's reply to Allelu-ia's call for All-praise to The Absolute ('*Ia*'): (1) Absolutely First Cause—THE CREATOR; (2) THE UNCREATED OR SELF-BEING; (3) THE MOST HIGH, the One that can have naught over; (4) THE LORD, the One that, in regard to all others there may be, must be all-over; (5) THE ALL-SEEING; (6) THE ALL-MIGHTY; (7) THE ETERNAL—Whose it is act-wise to determine all creatures through time aright and for ever.

Upon these seven logically consequent terms it must be noticed that they are given as names, and should consequently, be taken in their nominal meaning, not merely in the verbal sense which is so generally a noun's first supposition in English. Thus THE CREATOR there means not merely the One that has created, or now is creating, but the One whose it is to create, the subject or principle of action to whose free will all creation, possible or actual, is to be attributed. Similarly, there, THE MOST HIGH, or the Infinite, does not mean merely the One that has actually no superior, naught over, or that is not actually bounded, but the One that could not be so, the One so absolutely acting that naught could be in act whereby such a one could be ever bounded. In short, as logically consequent names, these are all terms of essentiality; while THE ABSOLUTE ('*Ia*') as a fore-name (prenomen) come of real though but

reasoning *knowledge*, is a term of actuality, signifying, as I put it in my first article, the One there now in act logically known as Being no way term-wise in or acted by the act of aught else, and accordingly to be positively first thought of as the One by whose act all else is being naturally acted. Thus, logically regarded as a term of real denotation it designates the One now known to us as the Unseen Agent, whose act is one way or another determining all others aright—including ourselves, and all that we may through any form of natural experience immediately or directly perceive. Then, preserving that thought of actuality, as proceeding from real knowledge, and continuing through the principle of causation by still verbal forms of expression, the logical truth of our sequence may be directly presented, quite independently of the rational *rapprochement* hitherto observed, thus: The One there in act no way acted by the act of another, and, therefore, absolutely self-acted ('Ia'), as being so must be said to be, in regard to every possible other that may be.[1] He (1) Whose it is in the first instance to absolutely cause or *make be;* but (2) Who cannot in any sense have been caused or *made be;* or (3) as acting be ever in any way *subject to* the act of another; while (4) all others in act must in every way be *subjected* to His; Whose act (5), moreover, *must be* always all-wholly self-representing, that of one through self-knowledge *all-knowing;* yet Who (6) *may be* in regard to all others, in act just *as He freely wills* or self-determines to be; while (7) what His free will does thus self-determine to, He is—albeit freely—absolutely *self-determined* to *from and unto everlasting:* which, as His last, for us creatures living time's way is naturally His life's sovereign mystery.

III.

That is all we made for; reason's full self-forming sequence of Divine Names, term for term corresponding to those of Alleluia's thought-sequence, as these do to those of reflection's self-data: terms that in themselves represent

[1] 'He'—being personal as thoroughly self-acted and supremely personal as absolutely self-acted. Conf. Summa S. Thomas, Pars Ia., Quest. xiii., 'De nominibus Dei.'

all the categories of essential truth, the constituent rays of reason's light, making time's way the notes of thought's mystic gamut—*notæ notarum*—all that really go to make the music of the human mind as being our spirit's natural self-echoes of the word that enlightens every man coming into this world.

But the point I desire here particularly to note, and mainly in elucidation of which I have written the foregoing pages, is that this rationally self-formed sequence of Divine thought-terms gives those of all the Hebrew Scripture Names for God, *and in the exact order of each one's first appearance.* Thus we have, as the reader may easily verify for himself: (1) Genesis i. 1, *El'ohim*, the Creator; (2) Genesis ii. 4, *Iâvâ* (Jehovah), the Uncreated or Self-being; (3) Genesis xiv. 18, *El 'Elion*, the Most High; (4) Genesis xv. 2, *Adonai*, the Lord, or the One All-over; (5) Genesis xvi. 13, *El 'Roi*, the All-seeing; (6) Genesis xvii. 1 *El 'Shaddai*, the All-mighty; (7) Genesis xxi. 33, *El 'Olam*, the Eternal. After that there is no thought-term formally presented as Divine Name throughout the Book of Genesis, or anywhere else in Holy Writ, till we come to the names of the Man-God Himself: whose first-given name, *Immanu'el*, be it noted, is formed from *El* the primitive of first of the above series (*El'ohim*); while His second, *Ie'shua* (Je'sus) is from *Ia*, the primitive of the second, of Ia'va (Je'hovah).[1] This remarkable, and, as far as I know, hitherto unnoticed correspondence of the sequence of Divine Names in the order of written revelation with that of reason

[1] 'Iava.'—In addition to the reasons given in my last article for adopting this form of transcription and consequent pronunciation of the Divine Name revealed to Moses, and which some learned friends found rather 'singular,' I would here add Dr. Smith's remark (*Bible Dictionary*): 'Jahveh or Yahveh has been very generally adopted by modern scholars. But, perhaps, *Jahvah* has a better claim'—that, of course, according to the continental pronunciation of those modern scholars, would be Iahvah or Yahvah. Now, not for purely philological reasons only, but in accordance with the most recent discoveries of archæologists in regard to earliest forms of Semitic names, particularly those made by recent American explorers in the East, under the direction of Professor Hilprecht, Pinches distinctly adopts the pronunciation *Yahvah*. This, it will be seen, is precisely the one I adopted. The transcription only I consider faulty in that it presents six letters, while the original has only four, is essentially tetragrammatic, and as 'the sacred *tetragrammaton*' is traditionally held to be pregnant with mystic meaning. Moreover the two letters added are

as based on reflection's self-data, I may take up for distinct treatment in a future article.

For the present, I conclude with accentuating its last thought-term, that of *El 'Olam* (the essentially Eternal), as term-thought of Alleluia's thought-sequence, taking that sacred acclamation in the fulness of its sense to reflecting reason as meaning: All-hail to the actually Absolute as the absolutely Everlasting Will and as such the One All-righteous, so all-righting for ever—*ex hoc nunc et usque in saeculum!* This, in truth, is the formal reason of its being at once universal and paschal, the universal acclaim and the paschal or pass-over ovation. The acclaim is to the actually Absolute; the ovation, 'for ever!' is to Him as Will absolutely Everlasting with all of *right* that implies and act-wise *de facto* for ever imports. Thus it is seen to be the kind of acclamation and form of ovation 'that,' says Calmet, 'grammarians cannot satisfactorily explain;' for, beyond time-thought words, with their tenses and accidences, it passes to the thought of life absolutely timeless. We may rest for the present in the so far satisfactory truth of its being thus Creation's paschal acclaim through time, the call of all good wills there to each and of each there to all for All-glory to the ever-living, all-ruling Creator of all as always all-ruling rightly; universal cry thus all at once of joy, and praise, and thanksgiving, not alone for having through His act as creatures been brought to be, but also and particularly for being thereby continuously acted or constantly treated as they are in view of all there is to be on the whole and for ever.

Thus it shows throughout the Psalter,[1] thus in the

quite useless for the proper pronunciation. Then, in reply to the charge so frequently made, in various forms, that 'the most ancient and traditionally most sacred of all terms for the Deity is never once heard in the liturgy of Rome,' recalling all said in this connection in my first article, by way of synthetic remark I here note that the primitive or formative principle of Ia'va (Jehovah) is the acclaiming affix of Allelu'ia, and that this affix, in turn, is the proclaiming prefix of *Ie'shua* (Je'sus—as a matter of fact, pronounced Ie'sus in the living language of the liturgy of Rome).

[1] Note, especially, the Alleluiatic psalms in the Paschal 'Allel with their stirring responses ending, in 'for ever!' in reply to Alleluia's acclaim. Note also the last words of the Psalter: 'Let every spirit (or everything that breathes) praise forth the Lord (the term here in the Hebrew text is *Ia*);

Apocalypse,[1] thus in the Church's earliest versicles, antiphons and hymns; and thus, as I elsewhere brought out in detail,[2] it was taken up by the early Christians of every class; always as voicing the service of the universe, as wording through time the very sense of the rhythm of things. So through all ways of things it was held to be right that men of good will should hear it. And so they heard it, not only through the Church's words, through her seven canonical hours of Divine service,[3] as I elsewhere noted, but, as I would here now note, through the ceaseless word of their own lives and that of this mysterious world of sense through whose cosmic act human life is being borne. They heard it through the rhythmic throbbing of their hearts, and all the sounds, indeed, all the forms and phases of nature's energizing around them. They heard it in the morning chorus of the birds, and the other cheery voices of earth's awakening life. It was for them the word of the rising sun, of the wind through the trees, of rivers on their way to the sea, and of the many-voiced sea itself. 'Alleluia' was to them literally what the waves are saying all day long—what all things on earth are saying 'from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.' Then, 'when the sun goes down, and the stars come out, far over the summer sea,' whence once more to sight 'the heavens are telling the glory of God,' still would 'Alleluia be to those spiritual-minded men what the planets and the constellations as they shine are singing in harmony with 'the choirs on high'—*cœlestes*

Allelu'ia!' Giving to 'Ia' the literal translation of *Adonai* (Lord) in this and similar texts naturally somewhat detracts from the literal appositeness of the original; though, of course, the doctrinal sense is not in the least affective, as the denotation is absolutely the same for both terms.

[1] 'Allelu'ia! Salvation and glory and power to our God, for true and righteous are His judgments.' . . . And again—'They adored God sitting on the throne, saying: Amen (*so be it*, i.e., as Thou dost rule): Allelu'ia!' Finally—'Allelu'ia! for the Lord our God the Almighty reigneth.' (Apoc. xix. 1-5.)

[2] See 'Alleluia's Story' in *Dublin Review*, and 'Alleluia as Christian Acclaim' in *American Ecclesiastical Review*, 1897. Compare earliest known Eastern liturgies, notably those of St. Mark and St. James.

[3] In reference to that continuous service of Divine praise, recall the prophetic utterance of Psalm ci.: 'Be this written unto another generation: the people that shall be created shall praise *the Lord*. But here again note the term thus translated, as though it were *Adonai*, in the Hebrew text is Ia.

chori qui cantant in altum. So sang Blessed Notker a thousand years ago in Europe's then chief school of sacred music and song, in the monastery founded two hundred years before by the Irish foreign missioner, St. Gall. So, after all those years, with the selfsame faith as his, while we look on what Blessed Notker looked on, as his did may our spirits hear through the glory of the summer night—

> The planets glittering on their heavenly way,
> The shining constellations joining say:
> Allelu'ia!

T. J. O'Mahony.

STRAFFORD AND HIS CENSORS

AMONG the many 'educated' persons who know a little about the history of England, and nothing, or next to nothing, about the history of Ireland, the impression, I apprehend, is pretty general that the policy pursued by Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, while Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, marks an epoch of exceptional character in the English administration of Irish affairs. But this is altogether a mistake. I have no intention of putting myself forward as an admirer of Wentworth, or as an apologist for his infamous conduct on either side of the Channel. On the contrary, I would say that the fall of his head was but poor atonement for one hundredth part of the enormities perpetrated by him in connection with the county Galway alone. What I would insist upon is, that for every atrocity which may be laid to his charge he had ample precedent in the action of his predecessors; and among those who followed him, and decried his memory, he found imitators who far surpassed him in heaping wrongs upon the people of Ireland, including under that designation not merely the ancient inhabitants, but the descendants of the earlier English settlers. And among all the lord-deputies who scourged the race, he is, perhaps, the only one who can claim to have done anything to benefit posterity as a sort of

set-off against a course of crime and oppression. The prosperity of Ulster—or of that north-east corner of it which loyalist orators and writers parade as Ulster—is, as is well-known, due in no small degree to the efforts made by Wentworth to improve the cultivation of flax and the manufacture of linen in that particular quarter. It would be easy enough to show that many chief governors of Ireland went as far as they could in the direction of perpetrating the same crimes; while, on the other hand, they have done nothing for Ireland beyond giving their worthless names to a street or a square in Dublin city. My purpose at present is, however, to institute some comparison between this governor-general of Ireland and the governors who brought him to the block; and I shall fail very much in making good my purpose, if it does not appear that, bad as Strafford was, he was far out-done in cruelty and oppression by the godly race who pursued him to death, and then took up his work in Ireland. With this object in view, I shall confine myself, in the main, to an examination of the behaviour of the accused and of his accusers, in reference to the locality which furnished the chief grounds of complaint against his Irish administration. I cannot help thinking, that if it had not served the interests of the Parliamentary party in England to prosecute so able and prominent a royalist, the readers of school and college histories of England would have heard little of Strafford's career in Ireland. But when it became necessary to fish up evidence against him, the people of England learned something about his treatment of the Galway jurors, although very few of these people ever learned that the same treatment of jurors was not then new in Ireland, and was practised in the same country long after Black Tom's bones had mingled with the dust.

Among the grievances voted 'real' by the Commons in reference to Strafford's administration, the following is supposed to refer to the Galway case in particular:—

> That jurors who gave their verdict according to their consciences were censured in the Castle chamber in great fines, sometimes pilloried with loss of ears, and bored through the

tongue, and sometimes marked on the forehead with an iron, with other infamous punishments.

Such conduct on the part of a ruler could not be stigmatized too severely. And would to heaven it were of only one ruler of Ireland that such complaint could be made!

In January, 1631, Viscount Wentworth was made Lord-Deputy of Ireland. In 1639 he became earl, and was invested with the title of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, a title which had not been borne by any predecessor since the time of Essex. He had well earned such marks of favour from his royal master, just as he had well earned the further distinction which awaited him on the 12th of March, 1641, when he laid his head upon the block, preaching, like Wolsey, an impressive sermon to over-zealous ministers who would serve their sovereign by defying the God of Justice.

In 1634 the lord-deputy visited Galway. During his stay he was the guest of Sir Richard Blake (the ancestor of the present Lord Wallscourt), whose name is conspicuous in the contemporary history of Connaught. The deputy expressed himself much satisfied with the highly finished state and opulent appearance of the town. At this time Galway took rank, not merely as the second city of Ireland, but, according to a statement published under the Commonwealth, in commercial importance it came next to London itself. And even in the quaint and sadly ruined town of the present day, the most casual observer cannot fail to discover abundant evidence of the former greatness and splendour of the western capital.

The stately citizens of Galway could hardly have imagined what this affectionate admiration had in store for them. But they were not long to remain in the dark. In the very next year Wentworth had matured his plan for enabling the king to rule without aid or encumbrance from parliament. The able and despotic minister had made the discovery that the last titles of the Connaught proprietors contained a flaw which could be worked into a rich harvest for the crown. 'It is a maxim in law,' says Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, 'that no one can profit by his own fraud or

negligence.' But, as this accomplished writer observes, such maxims do not bind despots when they see their way to work out their own selfish ends. It appeared that owing to the ignorance, or negligence, or the fraud of the officials, the title deeds procured by the Connaught proprietors in the time of James I. had not been duly registered in the chancery, although from no fault of the proprietors themselves, they having taken the necessary steps, and paid the required fees. 'Discoverers with eagle eyes, piercing into the grants made to them under the commission of James, took advantage of the persons employed in passing the patents.' The king connived at the minister's project, although the proprietors had bought off any claim the king could advance as derived through the De Burgos, whose daughter and heiress, Lionel, son of Edward III., had married. In spite of all this, Wentworth held that the whole of Connaught was vested in the Crown, and at its disposal. He, therefore, made the generous proposal, that on a voluntary surrender of the whole the alleged proprietors would be secured in one-half of their respective holdings.

To give proper effect to these views the deputy, on 15th June, 1635, caused separate commissions to issue, directed to the commissioners who were to inquire, by the oaths of a jury, what title the king, or any of his progenitors, had to every county in the province of Connaught. Leitrim surrendered without a trial, the futility of opposition or defence before a court of Wentworth's appointing being manifest from the start. The first trial was held at Boyle, in county Roscommon, on 10th July following, when the jury found the king's title 'without scruple.' This servile example was followed in Sligo, on the 29th of same month, and in Ballinrobe, county Mayo, on the 31st. In four of the five counties, the deputy and his commissioners had it for a walk over. It was, in reality, a royal progress. But the progress came to a memorable stop when the commissioners came to hold inquiry for the county Galway.

The trial came on at Portumna Castle. As with the object of awing the jurors into compliance, the lord-deputy himself had a seat on the bench. Yet they remained firm, and found against the king's title.

Enraged at the finding, the lord-deputy at once put the sheriff, Mr. Martin Darcy of Kiltulla, and the jurors, under arrest. He had them brought close prisoners to Dublin, where they were 'tried' before himself in the Castle chamber.

He fined the sheriff £1,000 to his Majesty, the jurors in £4,000 each; all were to be imprisoned until the fines should be paid, and until they should acknowledge their offence in court upon their knees. The jurors petitioned to be discharged, but were refused except upon condition of their making a public acknowledgement that they committed not only an error in judgment, but even perjury in their verdict—terms which they disdainfully rejected. The sheriff died in prison, owing to severe treatment, and the jurors were most cruelly used; finally, at the instance of the Earl of Clanrickarde, the fines were reduced, and themselves released after suffering all the rigors of confinement.[1]

The same writer prints a letter which the lord-deputy wrote from London to Christopher Wandsworth, Esq., Master of the Rolls, and dated 25th July, 1636, expressing himself in this callous manner about the sad death of the sheriff:—

I am full of belief they will lay Darcye the sheriff's death to me. My arrows are cruel that wound so mortally; but *I should be more sorry the king should lose his fine;* therefore, I pray you consult it thorowly with the judges.

Here there is no affectation of grief, nor does the despotic deputy pretend to 'seek the Lord,' or to make the God of heaven and earth a party to the villainy, as his accusers would have done. 'The king's fine' is the object, and woe to him who stands in the way! That is Wentworth's avowed policy, and to carry it out, let men and principles of law alike go down.

Thus determined to carry his point, Wentworth caused two new commissions to issue: one to find the king's title to the county, the other to the 'county of the town of Galway;' for, since 1620, Galway had, as Drogheda had previously, been constituted a separate county. He paved the way for a more satisfactory finding than he had been able to get at Portumna.

[1] Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 105, *et seq.* Dublin, 1820.

The Commissioners who were to try the county case met 5th April, 1637, at the Franciscan abbey, outside the town-wall on the north side. We may add that the present county court-house (opened in 1815) stands on the site of the ancient abbey which had long been used as the county court, and was, therefore, not included in the 'county of the town' of Galway. Terrified by the example of the Portumna jury, the present jury was induced to find for the Crown, as did the jury for the county of the town, on the following day, at the Tholsel-hall. 'Upon the return of these findings the county was planted at a double rate, and the natives lost one-half of their lands, whereas the other less refractory counties lost but a fourth.' So says the historian of Galway; but I am afraid he under-estimates the extent to which proprietors, native and Norman, were deprived.

Some further particulars of the final trial may be interesting: they are from Hardiman:—

At the inquiry held at the Tholsel, 6th April, 1637, the presiding Commissioners were:—

Lord Ranelagh, President of Connaught.
The Archbishop of Tuam.
Robert, Bishop of Elphin.
Sir Charles Coote.
James Barry, 2nd Baron of Exchequer.
James Donnellan, Chief Justice of Connaught.
Sir Francis Willoughby.
Sir Edward Povey.
Anthony Dopping, Esquire.

JURORS.

Sir Dominick Browne, of Galway, Knight.
Nicholas Lynch Fitz-Marcus,[1] Alderman.
Geoffrey Martin, ,,
George Martin, ,,
Marcus Lynch Fitz-Christopher, ,,
John Bodkin Fitz-Dominic, ,,
Francis Blake Fitz-Valentine, Esquire.
Nicholas Blake Fitz-Robert, ,,

[1] It is rather curious that, of the eighteen names, as many as fourteen have the prefix *Fitz* in the agnomen. Thus, the second on the list means simply 'Nicholas Lynch, son of Marcus.' The nomenclature was, no doubt, adopted to avoid the confusion arising from several individuals, in the same town or locality, bearing the same Christian name and surname. Not more than one or two of these combinations remain in use.

John Blake Fitz-Nicholas,	Burgess.
Walter Blake Fitz-Arthur,	,,
Edmond Kirwan Fitz-Patrick	,,
Alex. Browne Fitz-Dominic,	,,
Michael Lynch Fitz-Stephen,	,,
Nicholas Blake Fitz-Anthony,	,,
Walter Browne Fitz-Thomas,	,,
Stephen Martin Fitz-Francis	,,
Jasper Ffrench Fitz-Andrew,	,,
Thomas Butler,	,,

The late Mr. John P. Prendergast says :—

More unscrupulous than James I. who took a-fourth from the native Irish, Strafford resolved to take one-half of the lands of the old English of Connaught with the intention of founding there 'a noble English plantation.' And when Lord Holland, in the Privy Council in England, declared that taking so much might induce them to call the Irish regiments out of Flanders, Lord Strafford answered that, if taking one-half should move that country to rebellion, the taking one-third or one-fourth would hardly ensure the Crown their allegiance; and if they were so rotten and unsound at heart, wisdom would counsel to weaken them, and line them thoroughly with Protestants as guards upon them

His despotic proceedings in the confiscation of Connaught was made one of the grounds of his impeachment; but the managers for the Parliament abandoned it. It had served its purpose by swelling the train of the earl's accusers; and in their declaration concerning the rise and progress of the Irish Rebellion, the Commons of England made it a ground of complaint against the King that he had allowed the Connaught proprietors to compound with him for their estates.[1]

The charge of having punished jurors for giving verdicts in accordance with their conscience was but a sham on the part of his accusers. Strafford might well have retorted on them that he was only carrying out the policy of land-transfer, acted upon by the English in Ireland for almost five centuries; and, while holding the position of chief governor, it was no more than his duty to carry out the established canons according to the rule of 'thorough.' He could point out that within little more than half a century there had been repeated confiscations on a gigantic scale, and that the forfeited lands were made over to as many

[1] *Cromwellian Settlement*, Introduction, lxxiv.

bands of 'undertakers' and 'plantators.' There were people then living who could remember the Desmond clearance, when half of Munster passed to the stranger. The great sweep of Ulster in the reign of James I. was comparatively recent; and this monarch had made a precedent for the invasion of Connaught by a new race of proprietors. It was hardly necessary to cite the confiscations in Leix and Offaly in the time of Queen Mary, or any earlier enterprise at the expense of the Irish. The more recent events alone were sufficient to show that *planting and supplanting were the salient points in the English code of civilization for Ireland.* The 'Saxon land-thirst' had to be satisfied; and if the land could not be had on one pretext, it could on another pretext equally good. If the lands of the ancient natives would not suffice, why not have it from those 'degenerate English' who had become 'more Irish than the Irish themselves?' 'The victor taken captive by the vanquished' to no country is more applicable than to Ireland. Should anyone be disposed to doubt this, let him consider for a moment the necessity for such an enactment as 'The Statute of Kilkenny' (1367) which was directed against not the Irish, but the Anglo-Irish. The proprietors who suffered most by Strafford's high-handed action were mainly of the latter class. The term 'English rebels,' had come to be the designation of great Norman nobles, like the De Burgos, who had practically given up the status of feudal lords for that of Irish princes; and such proprietors had been looked upon as lawful spoil to the newest invaders from England for ages before Strafford set foot on Irish soil. Mr. Prendergast quotes (in his preface) the remarks made by one of the old English in 1644:—

> Was it not the usual taunt of the late Lord Strafford and all his fawning sycophants, in their private correspondence with those of the Pale, that they were the most refractory men of the whole kingdom, and that it was more necessary (that is, for their own crooked ends) that they should be planted and supplanted than any others; [and that] where plantations might not reach, defective titles should extend.

For both forms of procedure he had only too much

precedent in the history of Ireland since 1172; and the Defective Titles measure, as a fiscal resource, was not unknown in the history of England. The idea of 'lining' the old proprietors with Protestants was but a pretext. The authority quoted by Prendergast says that he had known many an officer and gentleman who had got maimed at Kinsale, fighting in defence of the Crown of England when the Spaniards and the Earl of Tyrone were defeated by Lord Mountjoy, to be afterwards deprived of his pension for refusing to take the oath of supremacy and allegiance in the Protestant form, though, as one of them remarked when charged with 'recusancy,' 'it was not asked of me the day of Kinsale what religion I was of.' And, on grounds equally futile, the Anglo-Irish were deprived of their estates, or of a considerable part of them, by Strafford, the real reason being that money was to be made by the transaction; and the lord-deputy well knew that his royal master would not be displeased with the means of procuring, provided the money came in sufficient supply to the treasury.

Passing over fourteen or fifteen troublous years, we come to consider what the people of Galway, in particular, and of Ireland in general, gained when Strafford's accusers came to be undisputed masters of the country.

Galway was the last walled-town to surrender to the army of Cromwell. The siege lasted nine months, and was characterized no less by the vigour of the assault than by the unflinching bravery of the defence. The inhabitants resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. But the want of provisions conquered them in the end. Two attempts to get food supplies into the town failed. About eighty men went privately out of town and seized about a hundred head of cattle, but were met by the enemy, sixty of their number were killed, and the cattle were re-captured. A more serious disappointment followed: two vessels laden with corn were pursued by two parliamentary frigates; one vessel was taken, and the other was wrecked on the rocks adjoining the Isles of Aran. But in spite of these calamities, and of the hostility of Ludlow, the inhabitants succeeded in procuring terms honourable to themselves, and

not disadvantageous had the said terms been honourably observed by the Parliament.

The conditions originally offered to Limerick by Ireton were made the basis of the articles which were finally agreed upon and signed on 5th April, 1652. By these articles the town forts and fortifications were to be delivered up on the 12th to Sir Charles Coote for the Parliament; all persons within the town were to have quarter for their lives, liberty, and persons, and six months to depart with their goods to any part of the kingdom, or beyond the seas. The same time was allowed the clergy to quit the kingdom; and all those comprised in the second article were to have an indemnity except certain specified persons who had taken part in seizing a parliamentary ship, so far back as March 19, 1641. The inhabitants were to enter into and enjoy all real estate. The Corporation charters and privileges were guaranteed, &c. Coote was to procure the ratification of the articles within twenty days. Sir Valentine Blake, Sir Oliver Ffrench, John Blake, and Dominic Blake were to be delivered as hostages. The new castle at Tirrelan, on the east bank of the Corrib river, and the fort on Mutton Island, where the lighthouse now stands, were to be surrendered by noon the following day.

Sir Charles Coote transmitted the particulars to the Dublin Commissioners of the Parliament for their approval. His dispatches arrived at the Castle on the 11th April. So great was the importance attached to the matter that, although it was midnight, the Council was immediately summoned. *The articles were considered too favourable to the people of Galway.* The result of the conference was despatched back on the same night with the object of preventing the completion of the treaty. But ere the countermand could speed over the hundred miles (Irish) between Dublin and Galway, all preliminaries had been arranged, and the town given up on the 12th, when Colonel Peter Stubbers marched in with two companies of foot.

From the moment the articles were signed [says Hardiman], it was resolved to violate them. Coote informed the Commissioners, that if the Parliament ordered that no Papist should

be permitted to reside in any garrison in Ireland, he was sure the inhabitants of Galway would declare themselves bound by such a law, and that they would not insist on the articles! By these and similar contrivances they were gradually evaded.

They would not insist on the articles, forsooth! Coote evidently meant that he would take good care that the inhabitants would not derive any advantages from the articles which had cost them so much. The suggestion is that Parliament should set aside not only the Galway articles, but all previous conventions since the surrender of the Leinster army on 12th May, 1650, and, as will appear, the hint was not lost on either the Commissioners or the Parliament. By the Kilkenny (or Leinster) articles the confederates, on submitting, were led by Ludlow to expect 'such remnant of their estates as would make their lives comfortable among the English.' But all these stipulations were, it would appear, simply intended to induce the Irish to surrender and disarm, and this accomplished, the function of the treaties was discharged.

In his essay on Clive, Lord Macaulay expatiates on the confidence which the British officers' yea or nay inspires among the dusky Orientals. But the British commanders' solemn treaties with their brethren and kinsfolk in Ireland were set aside without shame or remorse. On the contrary, the treaty-breakers took credit to themselves for thereby promoting the glory of the Lord of Hosts!

Colonel Stubbers, who was appointed military governor of Galway, proved himself the scourge not only of the town but of the surrounding country.

Under the pretence of taking up vagrants and idle persons, he made frequent night excursions with armed troops into the country, and in this way seized over a thousand persons, without discrimination of rank or condition, whom he transported to the West Indies, and there had sold as slaves. But the town was the great scene of persecution. Immediately after the surrender, a contribution amounting to four hundred pounds weekly was imposed contrary to the articles, which terminated in the total ruin of the inhabitants. The excessive charge was exacted with the utmost severity. An author [Lynch, the author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, and *Vita Kirovani*], who was then in the town, relates that unless it was paid to the last farthing at a certain hour every

Saturday, of which notice was given by beat of drum, or sounding of trumpet, the soldiers rushed to the houses of the inhabitants, and with their muskets pointed to the breasts of the inmates threatened them with immediate death unless they paid whatever they thought proper to demand; and when, from the continual payment, the townspeople were unable any longer to discharge it, such articles of household furniture as the soldiery could find, even to the clothes of the women, were seized, and sold in the market-place for whatever they would bring; so that, according to this author, the return of Saturday, being the period of payment, and visitation, seemed to the inhabitants to realize the idea formed of the Day of Judgment, the sound of the trumpet striking them with almost equal terror.[1]

Hardiman says, that upwards of fifty of the Catholic clergy (*i.e.* of Galway and vicinity) were shipped to the Isles of Aran and Bophin (Innisboffin), until they could be transported to the West Indies; 'and being allowed but twopence a day each for their support they were nearly famished.' However, Prendergast[2] quotes a Treasury warrant, dated 3rd July, 1657 :—

To Col. Thos. Sadlier, Governor of Galway, the sum of £100, upon account, to be by him issued *as he shall conceive meet* for the maintenance of such Popish priests as are, or shall be confined in the Island of Buffin, after the allowance of sixpence *per diem* each. And for building of cabbins and other necessary accommodation for them.

But this was at a later period, when priests had been transferred from various jails to the islands of Aran and Innisboffin, which had come to be regarded as a penal settlement for such malignants, the cost of transportation beyond the seas having been found burdensome. It need hardly be added, that the nuns fled from the convents, and that convents, monasteries, and churches were converted to secular uses. Even the great church of St. Nicholas, which had for almost a century prior to 1641 been in the hands of the Protestants, did not escape desecration.

It also appears [adds Hardiman], that the very men who were hourly violating all the laws of religion and humanity, with their usual consistency of character now considered it necessary

[1] Hardiman's *History of Galway*, p. 134, &c.
[2] Page 162.

to erect a meeting-house *for the service of God*, the expenses of which they took care should be defrayed by applotment on the Catholic inhabitants.[1]

As if the said Catholic inhabitants had not been already sufficiently burdened by the weekly contribution in support of their unwelcome guests, the 'saintly' garrison!

For so far, there was no general or direct expulsion of the inhabitants; but as many as could sought escape from what had become the house of bondage, and the burdens thereby thrown on those who remained were all the more oppressive. But the time was coming when the Parliament, in open defiance of articles and stipulations—and moved, of course, by the spirit of the Lord—resolved on the total extirpation of the Irish nation, including the Anglo-Irish who had not shown a 'constant good affection' towards his Highness and the Parliament. Under the Leinster articles as many as forty thousand swordsmen left Ireland to take service under the King of Spain, the King of Poland, and the Prince de Condé. Many of the gentry and leaders, including the clergy, had sought asylum under strange skies. The Irish, being now disarmed and helpless, the Parliament on 26th September, 1653, passed an act for the new planting of Ireland with English.

The Government reserved for themselves all the towns, all the church lands and tithes, for the abolished archbishops, bishops, deans, and other officers belonging to the hierarchy. In those days the 'Church of Christ' sat in Chichester House, on College-green. They reserved also for themselves the four counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlow, and Cork. Out of the lands and tithes thus reserved, the Government were to satisfy public debts, private favourites, eminent friends of the republican cause in Parliament, regicides, and the most active of the rebels, not being of the army. They next made provision for the adventurers [*i.e.* the capitalists who had advanced money to the Parliament in anticipation of extensive forfeitures in Ireland].

The amount due to the adventurers was £360,000. This they divided into three lots, of which £110,000 was to be satisfied in Munster, £205,000 in Leinster, and £45,000 in Ulster, and the moiety of ten counties were charged with their payments:—Waterford, Limerick, and Tipperary in Munster; Meath,

[1] Page 135.

Westmeath, King's and Queen's Counties in Leinster; and Antrim, Down, and Armagh in Ulster. . . . The rest of Ireland, except Connaught, was to be set out among the officers and soldiers, for their arrears, amounting to £1,550,000, and to satisfy debts of money or provisions due for supplies advanced to the army of the Commonwealth, amounting to £1,750,000. Connaught was by the Parliament reserved, and appointed for the habitation of the Irish nation; and all English and Protestants having lands there, who should desire to move out of Connaught into the provinces inhabited by the English, were to receive estates in the English parts, of equal value in exchange.

It might be imagined [says the same author] that this fearful sentence was a penalty upon the supposed blood-thirstiness of the Irish. But for blood, death, not banishment, was the punishment; and the class most likely to be guilty of blood—the ploughmen, labourers, and others of the lower order of the people—were excepted from transplantation. The nobility and gentry of ancient descent, proprietors of landed estates, were incapable of murder or massacre; but it was they who were particularly required to transplant. Their properties were wanted for the new English planters.

Three reasons were assigned for excepting the 'toilers': first, they were useful to the English as earth-tillers and herdsmen; secondly, deprived of their priests and gentry, and living amongst the English, it was hoped they would become Protestants; and thirdly, the gentry, without their aid, must work for themselves and their families: if they did not work they should die; and, if they did work, they should, in time, turn into common peasants.[3] But it is known that the county Tipperary was made so desolate by the Transplanation, that it was found necessary to bring back four peasants from Connaught to point out boundaries of estates to Petty's surveyors.

For such a scene of desolation as the cities and towns of Ireland presented at this period, recourse must be had to the records of antiquity; and there in the ruined state of the towns of Sicily, when rescued by Timoleon from the tyranny of the Carthaginians, there is to be found a parallel. Syracuse when taken was found comparatively destitute of inhabitants. So little frequented was the market-place that it produced grass

[1] Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 23-25.
[2] Pages 27, 28.
[3] Morison's *Threnodia Hiberno-Catholica*, p. 25.

enough for the horses to pasture on, and for the grooms to lie in by them as they grazed. The other cities were deserts full of deer and wild boars ; and such as had this use for it hunted them in the suburbs round the walls. And such was the case in Ireland. On the 20th December, 1652, a public hunt by the assembled inhabitants of the barony of Castleknock was ordered by the State by [reason of] the numerous wolves lying in the wood of the Ward, only six miles north of Dublin.[1]

Such was the desolation wrought by the war which had raged from 1641, when the 'saints of God' came to the conclusion that the idolatrous nation ought to be wiped out, at any rate, from three of the four provinces, and, as will appear, from a considerable section of the remaining province.

Galway town was reserved 'for the Government.' In fact, it was appropriated by the leading men among the successful invaders. For instance, the valuable salmon fishery of the Corrib, formerly an appanage of the Franciscan monastery, was let to Paul Dod at the nominal rent of ten shillings *per annum*.

So far back as 14th July, 1643, the Parliament proposed this and other towns for sale to English and foreign merchants at the following rates :—

Galway,	with	10,000	acres, for	£7,500	fine and	£520	rent.
Limerick,	,,	12,000	,, ,,	30,000	,,	£625	,,
Waterford,	,,	1,500	,, ,,	30,000	,,	£625	,,
Wexford	,,	6,000	,, ,,	5,000	,,	£156 4*s.* 4*d.*	,,

But the moneyed men did not see their way to purchase and pay for the bear's skin while the bear was still at large. The proposals, accordingly, fell through.

Upon a petition from 'the English Protestant inhabitants of Galway'—most of them recent arrivals, it may be presumed—an order was made by the Council of State, on the 25th October, 1654, that the mayor and other chief officers should be 'English' and 'Protestant;' and in case the then mayor and other chief officers were 'Irish' or 'Papists,' that they should be removed.

This order was immediately carried into execution.

[1] *Cromwellian Settlement*, pp. 143, 144.

The Mayor, Thomas Lynch Fitz-Ambrose (whose beautiful marble residence, known as Lynch's Castle, still stands in Shop-street), was deposed from office; as were John Blake, the Recorder, the Sheriffs Richard Lynch and Anthony Ffrench Fitz-Peter. In their places were appointed Colonel Peter Stubbers, the military governor, to be mayor, Paul Dod and Marcus Lynch Fitz-Thomas, to be sheriffs. Hardiman says that, according to tradition, the individual last named was the only one who, at the time, changed his religion and his principles, and joined the common enemy of both; in consequence of which all communication was denied him by his friends for the rest of his life, and he is said to have died of a broken heart, occasioned by remorse and shame for his apostacy.

The next move was to banish all the native inhabitants out of the town, and to supply their place by an English colony. Accordingly an order, dated 30th October, 1655, of the lord-deputy and council to this effect, was carried out by Sir Charles Coote, the Lord-president of Connaught, with unrelenting severity. The wretched inhabitants, without distinction of rank or sex—except a few oppressed by sickness and years—were driven out of the town in the midst of winter (still the favourite season for 'eviction'). The winter was an unusually severe one. The poor wretches, many of whom had been used to elegance and comfort, were forced to take shelter by the ditches and in the cabins of the poor peasantry, without fire or sufficient clothing; in consequence of which many fell victims to privation and the inclemency of the season. The town presented the appearance of a military camp, and rapidly began to decay. We know that in Cork city it had been the practice of the soldiery to dismantle unoccupied houses to obtain fire-wood; and we may well suppose that similar practices prevailed in Galway in those days of affliction. For the effective manner in which he carried out the order, Coote received the thanks of the Council, but was cautioned to take care that the few so dispensed with should be removed as soon as the season would permit! When the Government offered Galway, on certain terms, to the city of Gloucester, it was

held out as an inducement 'for that noe Irish are permitted to live in the city or within three miles thereof.'

We need hardly pause to reflect on the calamity it was to the proud representatives of the Fourteen Families whose ancestors had been in occupation since the twelfth century, to be hunted out to make room for the canaile that had suddenly risen to power. As Mr. Blake-Forster, quoting from the Corporation Book of the time, remarks, in his *Struggle for the Crown*:—'Cromwell's followers, who were all cobblers, butchers, bakers, soldiers, and mechanics, were made free of the Corporation, while the former, respectable natives and gentry, were turned out of the town.' One instance mentioned by the same writer is worth quoting. In a picturesque situation on the east bank of the Corrib river, just where it issues from the great lake of the same name, stands Menlo Castle. At the time of the Cromwellian Settlement this beautiful castle was in the possession of Sir Valentine Blake, as it still is in possession of his descendant. But the distinguished owner was for a time displaced to make way for a Cromwellian apostle, named John Mathews, originally a weaver; this Mathews, and another canting hypocrite named John Camel, were sheriffs of Galway in 1655, the mayor being Lieut.-Col. Humphrey Hurd. At the Restoration Jack Mathews fled from Menlo, Sir Valentine Blake resumed possession, while his retainers celebrated the event by making a great bonfire in front of the castle, and piling on it all the tracts and prayer-books accumulated by Mathews in furtherance of his mission.

Many of the Cromwellians took the King's return as the signal for a stampede. But others, wiser in their generation, stood their ground, and, in spite of Charles II.'s Act of Settlement and the special orders issued to give up possession to the ancient owners, retained their allotments in the town of Galway, and some of them, as the Eyre family, remained prominent in the history of the town into the present century.

I can give only a hasty glance at the general condition of Connaught under the operation of the Transplantation scheme. It is to be borne in mind that the Irish of three

provinces were to be dumped upon a locality already occupied to, perhaps, the full extent of its capabilities. We may take it that the parts of Connaught really worth occupying were already occupied ; and there would be very little welcome for the new-comers. Two counties, Leitrim and Sligo, with a good slice of Mayo, the richest bit in it, were reserved for the soldiery. A border all round the province (which was made to include the county Clare), four miles wide, was also reserved; but this border was eventually reduced to one mile. There were choice morsels reserved for particular favourites. Thus, 'the Lord Henry Cromwell,' got Portumna Castle, the seat of the earls of Clanrickarde, with 6,000 acres adjoining. The barony of Clare-Galway, in county Galway, was reserved for the Government. 'Sir Charles Coote, Colonel Sadlier, Major Ormsby, and others, did not think it beneath them to still further diminish the fund of land for the support of the exiled Irish nation, and got grants in Connaught.' We may well suppose that not many of the 'English' and 'Protestant' proprietors already in Connaught, voluntarily gave up the bird in the hand for the bird in the bush, to take part in the scrimmage with the soldiery and adventurers who laid claim to the other three provinces. The Transplantation scheme, which had been made to look as fair as possible on paper, became wholly impracticable. Proprietors who had been promised lands as good as they left were sent, after many delays, to the bogs and bleak mountains. The affecting case of Lord Viscount Roche may be cited as an example of the cruel injustice of the scheme; 'his whole case well illustrates the misery of Ireland.'

In the first place, the Viscountess Roche was hanged soon after the surrender of 1652, on a charge of murder, the only evidence against her being that of an infamous character, while it could be proved that the accused was twenty miles off at the time. Then, in 1654, Lord Roche was dispossessed of his whole estate, having (as set forth in his petition, which Prendergast prints [1]) the charge of four young

[1] Page 241.

daughters unpreferred, to whose misery was added the loss of their mother by an unjust and illegal proceeding, for whose innocence he appealed to the best Protestant gentry and nobility in the county of Cork. The noble petitioner and his daughters were destitute of all manner of subsistence (except what alms some good Christians, in charity, gave them); the consequence was that one of the daughters fell sick and died 'for want of requisite accommodation either for her cure or diet.' After ten months' attendance on those in authority, all the succour he got was an order to the Loughrea Commissioners to set him out some lands *De Bene Esse* (*i.e.*, provisionally). With this order he was necessitated *to travel on foot* from Dublin to Connaught, where he spent six months in attendance on the Commissioners at Athlone and Loughrea, and in these attendances, and in the prosecution, ran himself £100 in debt. Yet at last he had but an assignment in 'the Owles' (*Tir-an-Umwal*), among the Nephin Beg Mountains in Mayo, and part in the remotest part of Thomond, all waste and unprofitable; and from these he was evicted before he could receive any manner of profit, by others to whom the Commissioners had disposed of the same by final settlements, both before and after.

And not less touching is the story of the three daughters of Jordan Roche, of Limerick, 'reduced from a landed estate of £2,000 a year to nothing to live on but what they could earn by their needles, and washing and wringing.' No wonder it was found necessary to encourage transplantation by hanging. In April, 1655, Mr. Edward Hetherington was hanged in Dublin, with placards on his breast and back 'for not transplanting.' The officers were 'tender of hanging any of the Irish proprietors *but leading men;* and so they resolved to seize and fill the jails, by which this bloody people will know *that they* (the officers) *are not degenerated from English principles.*'[1] 'Yet we shall make no scruple,' the document proceeds, 'of sending them to the West Indies, where they will serve as planters, and help to plant the plantation that General Venables, it is hoped, hath reduced.' No wonder that people went mad and committed

[1] Document, dated March 4th, 1644-5, quoted by Prendergast on p. 52.

suicide; that many took to the hills, and the woods, adopting such a course of reprisal as elsewhere had been glorified by the genius of Walter Scott—'To spoil the spoiler, and from the robber rend the prey.' [1]

Had the Cromwellian regime lasted a few years longer, it is possible that the Lord would have moved men in high places to remove the idolatrous proprietors from Connaught also, and send them to the West Indies, where, according to the Lord Henry Cromwell, they could 'learn some Christian duty.' Yet, as a missionary enterprise, the Cromwellian settlement was a huge abortion. It was fondly hoped that the farm-labourers, and artisans not transplanted, would very soon become absorbed in the general Protestantism of the three 'English' provinces. But what was the result? Let Primate Boulter answer. Writing from Dublin on 13th February, 1727, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, his Grace says: 'There are, probably, in this kingdom *five Papists*, at least, *to one Protestant*.' Again, on 7th March, 1727, in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle, Dr. Boulter writes:—

> We have in this kingdom but about six hundred incumbents, and, I fear, three thousand popish priests, and the bulk of our clergy have neither parsonage, houses, nor glebes; and yet till we can get more churches or chapels, and more resident clergymen instead of getting ground from the papists we must lose to them, as we do in many places, *the descendants of many of Cromwell's officers and soldiers being gone off to Popery.*

What a confession to be made seventy-four years after the passing of the Act for planting more than three-fourths of Ireland with anti-Popish and anti-Irish settlers! The Papists still *five to one* after the Cromwellian plantations, the Williamite plantations, and over a quarter of a century of the most grinding and oppressive legislation the world has witnessed since the days of Nero or Domitian! Nor can it be pleaded, that the work of Cromwell was undone by the Acts of Settlement and Explanation of Charles II. Under these Acts a few of the old proprietors were restored, but the Court of Claims had proceeded but a little way when

[1] As Sir Charles Gavan Duffy points out in his *Bird's-eye view of Irish History*.

its operation was brought to a full stop by the outbreak of the 'Phanatic Plot' of 1663, the Cromwellian officers conspiring to overthrow the Government because of the proceedings of that court. Indeed it was not difficult to defeat the claims of the Irish ex-proprietors. The one thing in the career of Cromwell which gave satisfaction to the English royalists was his wholesale confiscation of the Irish royalist property; the arch-Regicide merely did on a large scale, and with a bolder hand, what they would themselves have done towards the Irish supporters of the King, on the first available opportunity. The worst things that Cromwell did in Ireland assured him of pardon for the crimes he committed in England.

We may take it, then, that the Cromwellian settlement of the land was not materially interfered with by the legislation of Charles II.; and the legislation of James II. came to nothing. The legislation of William III. was to uphold and extend the land system of Cromwell. Then followed, in natural sequence, the penal legislation of William III., Anne, and the first two Georges. Just as one lie requires another lie to back it up—as one villainy requires a deeper villainy to follow at its tail—so did the plantations of the seventeenth century render necessary the hideous penal laws of the eighteenth. And the Carthaginian policy of these two centuries in particular was sufficient to sow the land with dragons' teeth for the legislators and rulers of later days.

It is, therefore, a mistake, I submit, to charge Strafford with having done anything extraordinary in Ireland as compared either with what preceded or what followed his time. He worked on the same lines as others had done, and he had ample precedent for all his acts without going back farther than the reign of James I. In Michaelmas term, 1616, the jurors who were imprisoned for refusing to find verdicts against their fellow-Catholics *were packed in jail like herrings in a barrel;* their fines reached to £16,000, which, instead of going to the poor of the parishes, went to private favourites. Those of the county Cavan alone were fined £8,000.[1] And as regards the proprietors who are

[1] *Analecta de Rebus Catholicis in Hibernia*, p. 59. Dublin, 1617.

turned out of house and home it matters little whether the 'transplantation' is the act of a despotic ruler in whose appointment they have no voice, or of an equally despotic parliament in which they have no adequate representation. The despot finds a flaw in a title deed, the parliament raises a cry of 'rebellion,' or 'idolatry.' In both cases the real crime is that the despised race has lands and tenements which would make eligible holdings for the 'well-affected' of the 'superior' race.

THOMAS FITZPATRICK.

THE GOSPELS IN THE EARLY CHURCH

III.

WE have shown that the words of Papias regarding the Gospel of St. Matthew are naturally to be understood of our present first Gospel, and that Eusebius, with the complete work of Papias before him, understood them in this sense. We shall now proceed to show that there is nothing in his reference to the Gospel of St. Mark to preclude the belief that he speaks of our present second Gospel. And let it be remembered that the burden of proof rests not upon us but upon our adversaries. When we find the fathers, at the end of the second century, unanimous in accepting our four Gospels in their present form as inspired and apostolic; unanimous, too, *in appealing to the tradition of earlier times* in favour of this belief, it is clear that the words of an earlier writer like Papias ought to be interpreted in accordance with this later belief, unless it can be proved that they are incapable of bearing such an interprètation. Hence it is only necessary for us to show that Papias' words *can* refer to our present Matthew and Mark; for if they can, then by every law of interpretation it is of these they ought to be understood.

But, we are told, they cannot refer to our present Gospel

of St. Mark, because the work of which Papias speaks was deficient in orderly arrangement: 'And the Elder said this also: Mark, having become the interpreter of Peter, wrote down accurately everything that he remembered, without, however, recording in order what was either said or done by Christ.'[1] This is a fine example of what a slender foundation suffices the 'higher critics' when they want to build a theory destructive of the Gospels and meant to be destructive of Christianity.

Because Papias quotes an Elder who said that Mark did not record the words and deeds of Christ in order, we are to believe that our present Mark was not then in existence; that the Gospel of Mark known to Papias was quite different from the work of the same name everywhere received throughout the Christian world at the end of the second century; that the earlier work somehow disappeared completely or changed its name within less than fifty years, and that the change took place so secretly that Irenæus, Clement, Tertullian, Origen, and Eusebius had no suspicion it had taken place, and understood Papias to speak of our present St. Mark.[2] And all this we are asked to believe because Rationalists assure us that the Elder quoted by Papias could not justly have spoken of our present St. Mark as wanting in order. Surely, even if this were true, it would be more reasonable to conclude that the Elder was mistaken in his criticism than to accept a theory involving all the improbabilities we have just mentioned. But is it a fact that the Elder could not justly speak as he did concerning our present St. Mark? In other words, is the order of that Gospel so perfect that his words cannot apply to it? When the question is stated in this way, the answer is obvious. The order in our present Mark differs in many instances from that in Luke and John, and if we suppose that the Elder preferred the order of either of the latter, this supposition is quite sufficient to explain his language.

[1] For the remainder of the quotation from Papias, see I. E. Record for May, p. 437.

[2] Iren. iii. 1. 1.; Clem., apud Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 15, vi. 14; Tertull., *Adv. Marc.*, iv. 5; Orig., apud Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 25, ii. 15; Euseb., *H. E.*, ii. 15; Demonst. Evang., iii. h.

And he might naturally prefer the order of St. Luke's Gospel, because in the beginning of the book St. Luke says, that it is his intention to write in order.[1] This view, that Papias or the Elder had the Gospel of St. Luke before his mind, is the one adopted by Salmon. But, though it enables us to explain the language of Papias, I cannot think it is the correct view; and my reason is this: Papias evidently accounts for the want of order in Mark by the fact that he was not an immediate disciple of Christ, but had to depend for his knowledge on the preaching of Peter, while Peter's preaching was regulated by the needs of his hearers, and gave neither a complete nor orderly account of our Lord's life. Now this same reason might be put forward for a want of order in St. Luke, who was not an immediate disciple of Christ any more than Mark, but a follower of Paul, who, as well as Peter, would, no doubt, regulate his preaching by the needs of his hearers. It is true, it may be said that this presumption against the observance of chronological order in St. Luke is removed by the clear statement of the Evangelist, that he undertakes to write in order. We are not prepared to deny this; but we hold that, if Papias or the Elder had held the correct order of the Gospel narrative to be that of St. Luke, he would never have accounted for the want of order in St. Mark on the ground that Mark was not an immediate disciple of Christ.

What the correct order was, in the view of Papias or the Elder, cannot be said with certainty. Whether it was the order of the Fourth Gospel or of the First, or some order different in some points from that of any of our Gospels, and known to him by tradition, may never, perhaps, be clearly proved. But, at all events, it has long been generally agreed by harmonists that the order of our present St. Mark is not perfect; and so we may well believe it is of our present Mark that Papias speaks.

I cannot pass from Papias without calling attention to a conclusion which Rationalists seek to draw from the words

[1] γράψαι καθεξῆς, L. i. 3.

of his Preface quoted by Eusebius. Papias is explaining what the plan of his work will be, and he says that along with his interpretations he will give a place to traditions gathered in time past from the Elders. 'For,' he continues, 'I did not think that I could get so much profit from the contents of books as from the utterances of a living and abiding voice.'[1] From this it has been inferred that, if Papias was acquainted with any written accounts of our Lord's life, he set no value on them in comparison with tradition, and that his object in writing his book was to compile, with the aid of tradition, a more reliable account of our Lord's life than any that was in existence. Thus the author of *Supernatural Religion*,[2] after quoting the Preface of Papias, says :—

> It is clear from this that, even if Papias knew any of our Gospels, he attached little or no importance to them, and that he knew absolutely nothing of Canonical Scriptures of the New Testament. His work was evidently intended to furnish a more complete collection of the discourses of Jesus from oral tradition than any previously existing, with his own expositions; and this is plainly indicated by his own words, and by the title of his work, Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησις.[3]

And, again, in another passage, the same writer asserts :—'Whatever books Papias knew, however, it is certain, from his own express declaration, that he ascribed little importance to them, and preferred tradition as a more reliable source of information regarding evangelical history.'[4]

Now, it is not difficult to show that this writer, and all who hold the same view, completely misunderstand the design of Papias. On the face of it, indeed, it is absurd to suppose that Papias, who tells us that SS. Matthew and Mark left written records about Jesus, and who three times insists on the accuracy of Mark's record, set no value on these writings, or that he valued them less than oral traditions handed down from the same St. Matthew, or other Apostles.

[1] See the whole passage in the I. E. Record of May, p. 436.

[2] Vols. i. and ii. of this work were published in 1874, and vol. iii. in 1877. The work ran through many editions, and attracted much attention; but its dishonest and unscholarly character was ably exposed by Lightfoot

[3] Second ed., vol. i., p. 435.

[4] *S. R.*, vol. i., p. 484.

Papias, indeed, should be strangely constituted if he preferred traditions claiming to represent the views of Matthew or Mark to their own carefully-written records. As a matter of fact, the title of Papias' work (Λογίων κυριακῶν ἐξήγησεις) shows that it was a commentary or interpretation. The primary and obvious meaning of ἐξήγησις is 'interpretation;' and that this is the meaning here is proved by what Papias says in his preface:—'But I will not scruple also to give a place along with my *interpretations* (συγκατατάξαι ταῖς ερμηνείαις) to all that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders.' Here he uses the unambiguous word ἑρμενείαις, which can mean nothing but interpretations, and signifies that he will illustrate his interpretations from tradition. But interpretations suppose something that is to be interpreted, and the words we have just quoted from the preface of Papias prove that what he undertook to interpret was not tradition, but something distinct from it:—'But I will not scruple *also* to give a place *along with my interpretations* to all that I learned carefully and remembered carefully in time past from the elders.' Hence, the words of Papias imply (*a*) a text, (*b*) interpretations, which were to explain the text, (*c*) oral traditions which were to illustrate and enforce the interpretations. We are now in a position to understand what Papias means in this passage where he is said to disparage all written records of our Lord's life and words. We have shown that he must have used a text, which he intended to interpret, and which there is no reason to doubt was identical with one or more of our Gospels. It cannot be that he includes his text among the books to which he prefers tradition, and the obvious and necessary conclusion is that he refers to books already written for the purpose of explaining or illustrating the Gospel narrative. To all such works he prefers tradition, but to suppose that he prefers it to the text on which he was commenting, is to suppose an absurdity. The works to which Papias refers are, probably, Gnostic writings, many of which must have already appeared in his time; and it is likely enough that his sarcastic reference in his preface to those 'who have so very much to say' may be an allusion,

as Lightfoot supposes, to the elaborate work, in twenty-four books, of the heretic Basilides on 'The Gospel.'

It follows, then, from all we have said, that there is no solid ground for doubting that Papias speaks of our present Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, and we may safely acquiesce in the view of Eusebius, who had the complete work of Papias on which to base his judgment, that it is of our present Gospels he speaks. Regarding the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, we have shown[1] that we ought not to conclude, because Eusebius preserves no reference of Papias to them, that Papias did not receive them. The scope of Eusebius forbids such a conclusion; while his ordinary practice of noting opinions that were peculiar, warrants us in concluding from his silence, that Papias was not peculiar in his attitude towards the Gospels, but, like the rest of the Catholic world, knew and received all four.

Our next witness is Aristides, an Athenian philosopher, whose *Apology*, long thought to have been lost for ever, has been recently discovered.[2] Eusebius refers to the work: 'Aristides also, a man faithfully devoted to the religion we profess, like Quadratus, has left to posterity a defence of the faith addressed to Hadrian. This work is also preserved by a great number, even to the present day.'[3] And in his *Chronicon*, at the year 125, the same writer says, that Aristides presented his *Apology* to Hadrian when the latter visited Athens, in the eighth year of his reign, that is, in 125 A.D.

The evidence afforded by this very ancient work in favour of the Gospels is less than we might desire; still it is of great importance, and worthy of notice. Aristides does not mention any of the Evangelists as having written a Gospel, nor does he quote any of the Gospels, but he does refer

[1] I. E. Record for May, p. 439.

[2] In 1889, Professor Rendel Harris of Cambridge discovered the Syriac manuscript containnig the *Apology* in the library of the convent of St. Catharine on Mount Sinai. Soon after, Professor Robinson, also of Cambridge, on reading the translation of the Syriac Version, discovered that the original Greek text of the *Apology* is incorporated in an early Christian romance, *The Life of Barlaam and Josaphat*.

[3] Euseb., *Hist. Eccl.*, iv. 3.

the Roman Emperor, Hadrian, to a *written* Gospel current among Christians, and the brief summary of Christian doctrine that he gives is in entire accordance with the teaching of the four Gospels.

The Christians [he tells the Emperor] trace their origin from the Lord Jesus Christ. And He is acknowledged by the Holy Spirit to be the Son of the Most High God, who came down from heaven for the salvation of men. And being born of a pure virgin, unbegotten and immaculate, He assumed flesh, and revealed Himself among men, that He might recall them to Himself from their wandering after many gods. And having accomplished His wonderful dispensation, by a voluntary choice, He tasted death on the cross, fulfilling an august dispensation. And after three days He came to life again, and ascended into heaven. And if you would read, O King, you may know the glory of His presence from *the holy Gospel writing*, as it is called among themselves (ἐκ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς καλουμένης εὐαγγελικῆς ἁγίας γραφῆς ἔξεστί σοι γνῶναι).[1]

From this passage it is undeniably clear that Aristides was acquainted with a Gospel history which was already committed to writing; equally clear, too, that this history was substantially the same as our four Gospels; teaching, like them, the Divinity of Christ, His Incarnation, and birth of a virgin His voluntary, yet fore-ordained death, His resurrection from the dead, and His ascension into heaven. What, then, would Rationalists gain even if it could be shown, which it cannot, that Aristides used some other Gospel different from any of ,our four? Would it not still be unquestionable that the faith of Christians in the year 125 A.D. was the same as ours: that the great fundamental truths of Christianity, which Rationalists deny, were then as fully recognised and as firmly believed by Christians as they are now?

The same sort of evidence, confirming the substance of our Gospel history, is afforded by another recently discovered manuscript containing a fragment of the Apocryphal Gospel of Peter. In 1885, the French Archæological Mission, Cairo, found the fragment in a grave at Akhmîm (Panopolis), in Upper Egypt. The date of the original is not quite

[1] Greek text of the *Apol.*, ch. xv. In the Syriac Version the passage stands in ch. ii.

certain, though all are agreed that it is very early, and Harnack places it in the first quarter of the second century.[1] The fragment treats only of the Passion and Resurrection of Christ, and though there are many minor points of difference between it and our Gospels, yet, on the great important facts it confirms the Gospel history. Thus it refers to Christ as the Lord; it represents the Jews as saying while they scourged Him, 'With this honour let us honour the Son of God;' it mentions that Christ was crucified between two malefactors, that at His crucifixion darkness came (over all Judea); that He died on the cross; that He was buried; that He rose from the dead; and that an angel appeared to Magdalen and her friends, saying: 'Whom seek ye? Him that was crucified? He is risen and gone.' Evidently the 'myths and legends,' on which the Christian religion is based, had been developed at a very early date!

We may next refer to the *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, a work commonly referred to the end of the first or the beginning of the second century.[2] The work in its present form contains four distinct references to a then existing Gospel text (chaps. viii., xi., xv.). Even if we admit that these references were inserted by a later hand, there still remain as unquestionably belonging to the original work, striking coincidences of language with peculiarities of St. Matthew and St. Luke.[3]

It is worthy of note, too, that it speaks of Christian baptism, which, it declares, was to be administered *In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost*, of fasting and prayer, and of the Blessed Eucharist, in regard to which it enjoins:—

> Let no one eat or drink of this Eucharistic Thanksgiving, but they that have been baptized in the name of the Lord; for concerning this also the Lord hath said: 'Give not that which is holy to the dogs.'[4]

[1] It was in circulation in the time of Serapion, Bishop of Antioch, (190-203), who said that most of it belonged to the genuine teaching of the Saviour, but some things were additions, (Euseb., *H. E.*, vi. 12, 2.)

[2] Hilgenfeld, a leading German Rationalist, dates it 97 A.D.

[3] See, *e.g.*, iii. 7; i. 3, 4, 5; vii. 1; viii. 2; xi. 7; xiii. 1.

[4] Chap. ix., compare St. Matt. vii. 6.

And we commend to Rationalists the thanksgiving prescribed to be offered after the reception of the Holy Eucharist :—

We give Thee thanks, Holy Father, for Thy holy name, which Thou hast made to dwell in our hearts, and for the knowledge and faith and immortality which Thou hast made known unto us through Thy Son Jesus; Thine is the glory, for ever and ever. Thou, Almighty Master, didst create all things for Thy name's sake, and didst give food and drink unto men for enjoyment, that they might render thanks unto Thee ; but didst bestow upon us spiritual food and drink and eternal life through Thy Son.

It is, indeed, possible to cavil here, just as it is in regard to almost any extract, however clear; but the obvious meaning of this passage implies belief in the Divinity of Christ, and in the sacramental efficacy of the Blessed Eucharist.

We next proceed to consider briefly the character of the evidence derived from the Apostolic fathers, Clement of Rome, Ignatius, Polycarp, and Barnabas. They represent the generation immediately succeeding the Apostles, and they speak for widely separated parts of the early Church. The first thing that must strike anyone who reads their works is the identity of their teaching with that of the Gospels regarding all the great truths of the Christian faith. In this way they vouch unconsciously for the truth of the Gospel history, and prove that from the very beginning, and not merely from the middle of the second century, as Baur and his followers would have us believe, the great fundamental truths of the Christian faith were everywhere accepted. The Gospel they accepted is one with the Gospel of the four Evangelists.

To bring this point home to the reader in all its force, let me sum up the teaching of the Apostolic fathers. They tell us that Christ, the Word, the Lord and Creator of the world, who was with the Father before all time,[1] humbled Himself, and came down from heaven, and was born of the Virgin Mary, of the seed of David according to the flesh,

[1] Ignat. Ad. Rom. inscr., c. iii ; Ad. Ephes. inscr. ; Ad Magnes. viii. ; Barn, v. ; Ign. Ad Magnes. vi.

and that a star of surpassing brightness appeared at His birth.[1] They tell us that He was baptized by the Baptist, to fulfil all righteousness, and that then He invited not the just but sinners to come unto Him.[2] That under Herod and Pilate He was crucified after He had been offered vinegar and gall to drink.[3] That on the first day of the week He rose from the dead, the first-fruits of the grave, and that many prophets were raised by Him for whom they had waited. That after His resurrection He appeared to His disciples, and ate with them, and showed them that He was not an incorporeal spirit.[4] That, finally, He ascended into heaven, and sat down at the right hand of the Father, whence He shall one day come to judge the living and the dead.[5]

Such, in their own words, is the Gospel of the Apostolic fathers; such was the faith of four widely different parts of the Christian Church at the end of the first century. Christ's Divinity, His incarnation, and death, and resurrection were then, as now, the firm foundation of the faith, the sure anchor of the hope of Christians. Thus at a time when, according to Baur, the Petrine and Pauline factions had not yet united together to form the Christian Church, when, according to Strauss, the myths and legends now clustering round the personality of Christ had not yet had time to develop, we find in Antioch and Alexandria, in Smyrna and Rome, the same Divine Christ, the same Christian faith, that is portrayed in the four Gospels.

Nor do the Apostolic fathers merely confirm the *substance* of the Gospel history, though this in itself were much. Their language in very many instances reflects that of the Gospels, so that there can be little doubt that they were familiar with the Gospel narratives. It is true they do not refer to any of the Evangelists by name; true also that, with one exception of which I shall speak presently,

[1] Clem. xvi.; Ign. Ad Magnes vii.; Barn. xii, Ign. Ad Smyr. i., Ad Trall. ix.: Ad Ephes. xix., xx.

[2] Ign. Ad Smyr. i.; Ad Rom. viii.; Barn. v.

[3] Ign. Ad Magnes. xi.; Ad Trall. ix.; Ad Smyr. i., Barn. vii.

[4] Barn. xv.; Ign. Ad Magnes. ix. Cleon. xxiv. Polyc. ii; Ign. Ad Magnes. ix,; Ad Smyr. iii,

[5] Barn. xv,; Polc, ii,; Barn, vii,

they do not say they are relying upon or quoting from a written Gospel rather than tradition. It must be borne in mind, however, that even when they quote the Old Testament, none of them, except Barnabas, ever refers by name to the writer whom he quotes, so that nothing can be concluded from the fact that they do not refer by name to the Evangelists. They simply weave the Old Testament, and, as it seems, the New into their narrative, without caring to name the source from which they quote, because like the writer of the *Muratorian Fragment* they believed all to be the work of the same Divine Spirit.

One or two extracts from Clement of Rome, who is held to have been the earliest of the Apostolic fathers, will show the general character of these quotations. Writing to the Corinthians, he says :—

> Remember the words of Jesus our Lord, for He said : 'Woe unto that man; it were good for him if he had not been born, rather than that he should offend one of Mine elect. It were better for him that a mill-stone were hanged about him, and he cast into the sea than that he should offend one of Mine elect.' [1]

And in another place he says :—

> Most of all remembering the words of the Lord Jesus which He spoke, teaching forbearance and long-suffering, for thus He spoke : Have mercy, that ye may receive mercy; forgive that it may be forgiven to you. As ye do, so shall it be done unto you. As ye judge, so shall ye be judged. As ye show kindness, so shall kindness be shown unto you. With what measure ye mete, with the same shall it be measured unto you.[2]

It is, of course, possible that Clement had learned these sayings of our Lord from tradition, and not from any written Gospel; but when we remember that he had never preached to the Corinthians, to whom his letter was directed, and can hardly have known the extent of the oral instruction imparted to them, and that he, nevertheless, takes for granted their knowledge of the sayings, it seems natural to conclude that he was acquainted with a written record containing those sayings which he knew to be possessed also by the Corinthians. And the probability of this conclusion is greatly increased by what I am now about to mention.

[1] Clem. Rom. c. 46. [2] C. 13.

In the Epistle of Barnabas, which, though not the work of the Apostle Barnabas, is admitted to date from the end of the first century or the beginning of the second, we have what, in my opinion, cannot be reasonably denied to be a clear quotation from St. Matthew. The passage occurs in the fourth chapter of the Epistle, and is as follows: 'Let us take heed lest, *as it is written* we be found many called, but few chosen.' Barnabas evidently regarded the words, 'Many called, but few chosen,' as Scripture; for he introduces them with the well-known formula of Scripture quotation: 'It is written.' Now, these works are not found in Scripture, except in St. Matthew xxii. 14; and hence it follows that some written work of St. Matthew was not only known to Barnabas, but also accepted by him as inspired Scripture. For a long time the first four chapters of Barnabas were known only in a Latin translation, and Rationalists held that the words, 'It is written,' could not have stood in the original, and must have been an interpolation of the Latin translator. But when, in 1859, Tischendorf discovered the great Sinaitic manuscript, which contains the complete Greek text of the Epistle of Barnabas, lo! it was found that the words 'As it is written,' ὡς γέγραπται, formed a part of the original fourth century text. Since then some of the Rationalists have suggested that the text is a quotation from the Second Book of Esdras: 'Many are created, but few shall be saved;' others pretend that it may have been taken from a lost apocryphal book; while others, I believe, have modestly accused Barnabas of a blunder, a slip of memory, in introducing the quotation by the words, 'It is written.' It is the old story, that no evidence suffices to convince men against their will.

Thus while the witness of the Apostolic fathers to the authenticity of the Gospels is meagre, it is consistent with all the other evidence that we have examined, and points in the same direction. If, then, as we have shown, our present four Gospels were everywhere known and received in the Church as authentic in the second half of the second century, received, too, because their authenticity was vouchsafed for by the tradition handed down from earlier times; if in the

year 125 A.D., Aristides was acquainted with 'The Holy Gospel Scripture;' if the language of each of the Apostolic fathers is coloured by that of the Gospels; if one of the Apostolic fathers, Barnabas, writing not later than the opening of the second century, quotes the Gospel of St. Matthew as inspired Scripture; and, finally, if the only reason why we cannot adduce still earlier evidence is because no earlier uninspired writings are known to us, it is, surely, unreasonable for Rationalists to persist in denying that the Gospels are the work of the first century, and of the men to whom the tradition of the Church has always ascribed them.

We have deliberately omitted to speak of several other heads of evidence, in favour of the authenticity of the Gospels, which would tend much to confirm our conclusions, and which we should certainly feel bound to dwell upon, if we were attempting anything like an exhaustive treatment of this subject. Thus the fact that the Gospels bear their present titles since at least the second century, affords a strong argument in support of their authenticity. Again, the oldest versions of the New Testament, namely, the Peshito Syriac, and the Old Latin, from the time of their first appearance, contained the four Gospels. Now the Peshito is held by all competent scholars to date at least from the first half of the second century, and the Old Latin cannot be later than the second half of the same century, so that these ancient versions bear witness that in the second century the four Gospels were publicly read and reverenced as Scripture alike in the East and West. Again, we might easily have drawn an argument from the acquaintance of early heretics such as Basilides, Valentinus, and Heracleon with our Gospels; but as it was not our object to do more than outline the most important evidence, and as we believe sufficient evidence has already been advanced to prove to any honest inquirer the authenticity of the Gospels, we shall here bring this part of our subject to a close. In a future number we hope to treat of the authority of the Gospels.

J. MacRory, D.D.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF PROPAGANDA TO HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE, APPROVING THE STATUTES OF MAYNOOTH COLLEGE FOR THE CONFERRING OF DEGREES IN THEOLOGY, PHILOSOPHY, AND CANON LAW

S. Congregazione de Propaganda Fide
Protocollo, N. 38,848.
Oggetto,
Sugli Statuti del Collegio
di Maynooth.

Roma, 9 *Giugno*, 1900.

EME. AC RME. DOMINE MI OBSME.,

Moderatores Collegii Maynoothiani litteras hortatu Hibernicorum Praesulum superiori mense Novembri Sacrae huic Congregationi dederunt quibus significarunt quomodo ad mentem Sacrae hujus Congregationis modificatum fuerit statutum de ratione studiorum in praedicto Collegio servanda. Eorum litterae, una cum statuto recenter modificato ab Emis. Patribus hujus Sacri Consilii in Plenaria Congregatione die 24 superioris mensis Maji adunatis examinatae fuerunt, eorumque mens fuit ut Eminentiae Tuae litterae darentur quibus commendaretur sollicita cura in exequendis ad amussim Sacrae Congregationis praescriptis. Quapropter hac studiorum ratione servata gradus academici conferantur per praefinitum alias septennium, quo elapso iterum Statutum exhibeatur Sacrae Congregationi, cujus erit examinare utrum ante definitivam adprobationem aliqua ulterior modificatio, quam forte utilem experientia monstraverit, introduci debeat. Hanc vero sententiam Cardinalis hujus S. Consilii Praefectus, vigore specialium facultatum a SSmo. D N. Leone PP. XIII. ei concessarum, nomine et auctoritate Sanctitatis Suae ratam et adprobatam esse declaravit. Quae dum Eminentiae Tuae significo maximo cum obsequio manus tuas humillime deosculor.

E. T.
Addictissimus Servus,
Pro Emo. Cardinali Praefecto.

Pro R. P. D., *Secro.*, ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secrius.*
C. LAURENTI, *Off.*

RESOLUTIONS OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS OF IRELAND

At a meeting of the archbishops and bishops of Ireland, held at Maynooth, on June 20th, the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

I.

THE UNIVERSITY QUESTION

1. In view of the general elections which are believed to be imminent, we deem it our duty to express our earnest hope that Catholic electors will not support any candidate who will not expressly pledge himself in his election address to use his best exertions for the establishment of a University to which the Catholics of Ireland can repair without sacrifice of their religious convictions.

2. As certain English politicians and religious bodies are said to be already adopting means to oppose the granting of our legitimate demands in this matter of University education, we appeal to our fellow-countrymen, to our co-religionists, and to all fair-minded men in England to use their influence in counteracting this movement, made in opposition to the just claims of Irish Catholics.

3. Furthermore, seeing that Irish Catholics are practically excluded from higher Government appointments on the plea of their want of University education, we trust that the various public bodies in Ireland will do their part towards remedying this injustice, so long as it continues, by giving the appointments in their gift to properly qualified candidates from amongst those who suffer so great a wrong from their loyal adherence to their religious principles.

II.

THE IRISH LANGUAGE

1. We strongly recommend that in the Primary Schools in all Irish-speaking districts, the instruction should be bilingual, English being taught through the medium of Irish.

2 We also regard it as most desirable that in the Primary Schools in other districts, the Irish language should be taught to children of the third and higher classes, wherever the Manager of the school deems it advisable, and the parents make no objection.

III.

THE WORK OF THE AGRICULTURAL DEPARTMENT

We deem it our duty to repeat what we have affirmed in a Resolution of a former meeting, that the creation of a peasant proprietary, and the subdivision of the uncultivated grass lands, are amongst the most efficient means of aiding and improving agriculture in Ireland, and therefore seem to us to come within both the letter and the spirit of the Act recently passed for the express purpose of aiding and improving Irish agriculture.

Whilst we recognise that the new Department cannot be expected to adopt the policy of carrying out these measures at once on any large scale, we trust that when suitable opportunities arise, the Agricultural Board will not be excluded from the consideration and adoption of the means best calculated in their judgment to secure the realization of this wise and beneficent policy.

Signed on behalf of the Meeting,

✠ Michael Cardinal Logue, *Chairman.*

✠ John, Bishop of Clonfert.
✠ Richard Alphonsus, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. } *Secretaries.*

COMMUTATION OF VISITS TO THE BASILICAS

DECLARATIO S. POENITENTIARIAE CIRCA COMMUTATIONEM VISITATIONUM BASILICARUM

In Monitis, de quibus supra, num. XIX legitur: 'Qui semel illarum gratiarum particeps factus est prima vice qua Iubilaeum consecutus est, seu qua omnia praescripta opera implevit, iterum earum particeps fieri non poterit, si post primam Iubilaei acquisitionem iterum in censuras incurrerit, aut casus reservatos commiserit, vel novis votorum dispensationibus indigeat.'

Quaeritur: An inter gratias, quarum secunda vice particeps quis fieri non potest pro acquisitione Iubilaei, recenseri debeat etiam commutatio visitationum Basilicarum, ita ut qui prima vice iam fruitus est, secunda vice illius commutationis particeps fieri non possit?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, adprobante SSmo. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, respondet:

Affirmative.

Datum Romae in S. Poenit. die 20 Februarii 1900.

REPETITION OF THE VISITS ON THE SAME DAY

DECLARATIO S. POENITENTIARIA CIRCA ITERATIONEM VISITATIONEM IN EODEM DIE

In praedictis *Monitis*, num. xxiv legitur: 'Visitatio quatuor Basilicarum in uno die fieri debet, vel nimirum ab una ad alteram mediam noctem, vel a vesperis diei praecedentis usque ad subsequentis vespertina crepuscula.'

Quaeritur pro secura praxi fidelium: Utrum ille, qui ex gr. post horam diei civilis decimam quartam explevit visitationem quatuor Basilicarum, sive tenuerit computationem diei naturalis, sive ecclesiastici, possit denuo ingredi postremam Basilicam et ibi utiliter iterare statim novam visitationem cum animo perficiendi reliquas visitationes die sequenti?

Sacra Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, adprobante SSmo. D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII, respondet:

'Praecisione facta a definitione temporis, quo vesperae incipiunt, qua de re consulat probatos Auctores, quoad cetera, affirmative.'

Datum Romae in S. Poenit. die 20 Februarii 1900.

HOW OFTEN MAY THE JUBILEE BE GAINED?

UTRUM ET QUOTIES EADEM PERSONA PLURIES LUBILAEUM CONSEQUI POTERIT

Il sottoscritto Gaetano M. Sergio Barnabita supplica umilmente la S. Penitenzieria per le opportune dichiarazioni intorno ai seguenti quesiti:

I. Se la presente concessione di lucrare il S. Giubileo fino a due volte per chi ripeta le opere ingiunte, possa ritenersi estensibile ad un numero maggiore di volte, e anche *toties quoties*, posta la ripetizione delle medesime opere.

II. Se le persone notate nella Bolla, come le claustrali o simili, che non andando a Roma possono nondimeno in questo anno guadagnare l'Indulgenza del Giubileo, potranno fruirne anche nell'anno venturo quando sia esteso fuori di Roma.

III. Si domanda il medesimo per chi, recatosi a Roma quest'anno vi guadagni il Giubileo, se cioé potrá fruirne di nuovo quando sia estesa la grazia fuori di Roma, ripetendo le opere ingiunte.

Sacra Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, respondet:

Ad I. 'Extra Urbem illi, quibus ex Bulla *Aeterni Pastoris*

licet consequi Iubilaeum, bis tantum illud, iteratis operibus iniunctis, intra Anni Sancti decursum, consequi possunt. In Urbe vero, toties quoties.'

Ad II. et III. *Affirmative.*

Datum Romae in S. Pooenit. die 17 Martii 1900.

THE SACRAMENT OF CONFIRMATION CONFERRED BY INADVERTENCE WITH THE OIL OF CATECHUMENS

E S. ROM. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DE SACRAMENTO CONFIRMATIONIS EX INADVERTENTIA COLLATO CUM OLEO CATECHUMENORUM

BEATISSIME PATER,

Episcopus N. N. ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus sequentia exponit: quum Confirmationis sacramentum in publica ecclesia cuiusdam perampli pagi pluribus centenis puerorum conferret, postquam duas tertias illorum partes confirmasset, deficiente sacro chrismate quod ipse attulerat, adhiberi debuit chrisma quod penes parochum, una cum oleo catechumenorum asservabatur. Quamvis diligentissime inquisitum fuit ut adhiberetur vas in cuius fronte scriptum erat *sacrum chrisma*, tamen, functione exacta, compertum fuit quod in dicto vase, loco s. chrismatis, asservabatur oleum catechumenorum. Infrascriptus reverenter postulat, utrum et quomodo hunc involuntarium errorem reparare debeat.

Feria IV, die 22 *Novembris* 1899.

In Congregatione Gen.li ab E.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis dictis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem E.mi Cardinales respondendum mandarunt: *Sileat.*

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. O. a SS.mo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII impertita. SS.mus resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. MANCINI, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE ADMISSION OF NON-CATHOLIC GIRLS TO CATHOLIC EDUCATIONAL ESTABLISHMENTS

CIRCA ADMISSIONEM PUELLARUM ACATHOLICARUM INTER ALUMNAS CATHOLICAS EDUCANDAS

Beatissime Pater,

N. N. Superiorissa cuiusdam Instituti pro puellis educandis, ad S. V. pedes provoluta humiliter exponit quod, nuper quum requisita fuisset ut acciperet inter alumnas externas, id est inter semiconvictrices, duas puellas e familia protestanti, ipsa Ordinarium adiit, a quo data est licentia ut illae admitterentur, eo tamen pacto, ut deinde haec omnia S. Officio exponerentur.

Postea, iterum requisita ut inter semiconvictrices alteram puellam protestantem reciperet, illam, sicut duas priores, pariter admisit.

Pluries tandem, temporibus anteactis, oblatae sunt petitiones, ut puellae acatholicae, inter convictrices internas acciperentur. Quibus praemissis humiliter postulat Oratrix :

1. Utrum retinere possit inter alumnas externas seu semi convictrices, tres puellas, de quibus supra, monendo quod illarum parentes libenter amplissimas dederunt facultates ad hoc ut idem adhibeatur modus agendi cum suis puellis, qui adhibetur cum alumnis catholicis, relate ad discendum catechismum, ad ecclesiasticis caeremoniis interessendum, &c.

2. Quomodo in posterum sese gerere debeat, quoties acatholicae puellae postulabunt ut admittantur inter alumnas, sive externas sive internas.

Et Deus.

Feria IV, die 6 *Decembris* 1899.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab E.mis et R.mis DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, proposito antedicto supplici libello, praehabitoque RR. DD Consultorum voto, re mature perpensa, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

'Tres alumnas iam receptas tolerari posse, modo abs't quodvis perversionis periculum catholicarum alumnarum ; qua de re sedulo a Moderatricibus advigilandum. Quoad ceteras, pro internis, negative, Pro externis, recurrant in singulis casibus, semper exceptis apostatarum filiabus.'

Sequenti vero feria V, die 7 eiusdem mensis et anni, per

facultates E.mo ac R.mo D.no Cardinali S. Officii Secretarii tributas, SS.mus D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE MODE OF RECEIVING THE ABJURATION OF HERETICS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

CIRCA RECIPIENDI ABIURATIONEM HAERETICORUM QUI AD FIDEM CATHOLICAM CONVERTUNTUR

Per Responsum S. Congregationis datum Episcopo Bituntino die 2 Ianuarii 1669 (quod Decretum juxta responsum a S. Officio die 21 Dec. 1895 Episcopis Borussiae datum adhuc viget) declaratum est: posse Episcopos auctoritate *ordinaria* haereticos sponte comparentes in exteriore foro absolvere 'post *abiurationem iuridice* factam.'

Diversae ultimis annis erant in hisce regionibus opiniones de huiusce clausulae vigore. Nam alii opinabantur praedictam Episcoporum ordinariam facultatem tunc tantum executioni posse mandari, quando modo iudicnali Episcopus procedit; sic ex. gr. unus ex Germaniae Ordinariis, vir in iure canonico peritissimus, litteris ad hanc Curiam missis sententiam suam esse exposuit, quod Episcopus hac ordinaria facultate uti volens debeat haereticum inducere ad abiurationem *coram Notario et duobus testibus* pronuntiandam. Quae opinio habet aliquod fundamentum in citato S. Officii Decreto, quippe quod poscit praecedere absolutioni abiurationem *iuridice* factam.

Sed eiusmodi iudicialis aut iuridica abiuratio nusquam in Germania in usu est. In regionibus acatholicis, ubi conversiones ad fidem saepius fiunt, nulla est copia Notariorum catholicorum. Accedit quod valde consultum est ut haereticis conversis *modus* abiurandi *facilis* et commodus reddatur et ut conversiones nullum strepitum vel admirationem excitent, quod fieret, si iudiciales aut iuridicae formae adhiberentur.

Hinc ubique locorum usus est, ut abiuratio erroris et fidei catholicae professio perficiatur coram parocho et uno teste, vel, si necessitas ita expostulat, coram solo parocho sed semper ita, ut abiuratio in exteriori foro compareat et probari valeat. Idcirco abiuratio non tam actus iudicialis aut *iuridicus*, sed magis actus *pastoralis* officii censeri debet, sed semper validus etiam pro exteriori foro.

Quae cum ita sint, subscriptus Episcopus N. N., ut sensus citati Decreti non ansam praebeat dubiis, a Sacra Inquisitionis Congregatione humillime petit, ut declaretur, num possit Episcopus *ordinaria* sua facultate absolvendi haereticos etiam tunc uti, si non fiat abiuratio in stricto sensu *iuridicia*, sed coram solo sacerdote ab Episcopo delegato, aut coram tali sacerdote et teste.

Feria IV, die 28 *Martii*, 1900.

In Congregatione Genesali S. R. et U Inquisitionis, ab Emis ac Rmis DD. Caedinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite diligenterque perp ensis, iidem Emi ac Rmi Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Respondentur Episcopo ad mentem. Mens est quod abiuratio fieri potest coram quopiam ab Episcopo delegato ut notario et aliquibus personis uti testibus; et detur instructio 8 Aprilis 1786 ad Episcopum Limericen.'

Praefata instructio sic se habet: 'Non est necesse ut qui a catholica fide defecerunt, ad eamque postmodum reverti cupiunt, publicam abiurationem praemittant, sed satis est ut privatim coram paucis abiurent, dummodo tamen promissa servent, ac revera abstineant communicare cum haereticis in spiritualibus aut quidquam facere quod haeresis protestativum sit. Idem sentiendum de iis qui haeresim, in qua usque ab initio educati fuere, privatim abiurent.'

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 30 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia a SSmo D. N. Leone Div. Prov. Pp. XIII R. P D. Adsessori impertita, facta de his omnibus ralatione, SSmus D. nus responsionem EEmorum Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquis. Notarius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF ARMAGH. Comprising a considerable portion of the General History of Ireland. By James Stuart, A.B. Edited and continued by Rev. Ambrose Coleman, O.P. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd. 1900.

FATHER COLEMAN has rendered no small service to Irish historical studies by the re-publication of Stuart's *History of Armagh*. He has not only given to the public a valuable work which had gone out of print, but he has carefully revised it and brought it up to date. He presents it to us in much finer form and type than the first edition, which was published at Newry in 1819. The advance copy with which we have been favoured is unfurnished so far with preface, introduction, appendices, or index; but all these accessories are in the printers' hands, and the completed volume will be ready for the great 'National Cathedral Bazaar,' where it will be, we have no doubt, one of the most valuable and attractive of the prizes. Mr. Stuart, the original author of the volume, was, we believe, a Presbyterian, and although his work, considering all the circumstances, was singularly fair-minded and impartial where Catholic matters were concerned, yet, as might be expected, there were many things which an outsider did not understand. In this Catholic part of the work Father Coleman has made innumerable changes, and has set it right on a great number of points to which Stuart attached but little importance. With broad-minded liberality Mr. Garstin was asked to do for the Protestant part what Father Coleman himself has done for the Catholic. The result is a history of Armagh, both civil and ecclesiastical, Catholic and Protestant. In Stuart's volume, the list of Catholic Primates breaks off at Richard O'Reilly, who died in 1818. Father Coleman gives an interesting sketch of the succeeding Catholic Primates, Dr. Curtis, Dr. Kelly, Dr. Crolly, Dr. Cullen, Dr. M'Gettigan, and Cardinal Logue. Stuart breaks off in the Protestant list at his namesake, Primate William Stuart, who was transferred from St. David's, in Wales, in 1800. Mr. Garstin has given us sketches of Archbishops George Beresford, Marcus, Beresford, Robert Knox, Samuel Gregg, and William Alexander.

It may safely be said that this splendid volume reflects the highest credit on all concerned in its re-issue. It will be a most valuable memorial of the great bazaar with which its re-publication is associated. It deals with many of the most interesting, and many of the most stirring and touching episodes in Irish history, all of which have some relation to the primatial city. The late hour at which we received the volume, and the pressing duties of the end of the scholastic year, make it impossible for us to deal with the work as fully as it deserves. We could not delay, however, some notice of a work so valuable and so suited to the time.

J. F. H.

Outlines of New Testament History. By Rev. F. E. Gigot, S.S. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Brothers. $1·50.

A rapid sketch of the life of Christ, from His birth to His ascension, an account of the labours of St. Paul in spreading the Gospel, a brief glance at the preaching of SS. Peter, James, and John, and some traditional legends in connection with their intercourse with the faithful: such is a summary of contents of the volume before us. Its chief merit consists in presenting, with somewhat unusual clearness and strength, the most striking characteristics in the material condition of the times of Christ, and particularly the thoughts and temper of mind of the Jews generally, and those who were the immediate companions of the Messiah. Modern research is largely drawn on to portray the vanished civilization of those early days. But it is drawn on in no ponderous fashion. Every portion of the book is pleasant reading and light; there are no appendices, to leave on the non-scientific reader an impression of incompleteness in the text; the notes and references are judicious, and not too numerous. For these reasons it must be welcomed by those who have finished their Scriptural course, but still wish to realise and see the men and times of which they have read. Preachers will find it helpful in the same direction; teachers of Bible history in school or college can take from it some impressions that will add interest to their expositions. To others it may not be so useful. Difficulties are suggested, but not always answered; sometimes even the impression is left that no answer is forthcoming, save by

abandoning what is vaguely termed the strict idea of inspiration. The author often presumes on the reader's full acquaintance with Christ's history, and occasionally recalls, by a mere reference, events that bear upon his argument or illustration. Written, as it has been, for the above-mentioned classes, such drawbacks are limitations rather than defects, and tell how strictly the author framed and adhered to his original design.

The part of the volume dealing with St. Paul's history could scarcely be expected to surpass, even in vividness, the simple narration of the Acts. Here, however, as in the preceding divisions, the conclusions and discoveries of Biblical scholars add the air of life, which is so much sought for by our realistic age.

The remaining chapters on the three favourite Apostles are necessarily most meagre, but the author ekes them out well, with some pictures of the general condition of the Church in those days.

Two maps, specially prepared for the volume, contribute materially to its helpfulness.

P. T.

THE CATHOLIC CREED. By the Very Rev. J. Proctor, S.T.L. London: Art and Book Company.

WE congratulate the Very Rev. the Provincial of the English Dominicans on his new book, *The Catholic Creed*, and presume to assure him of the thanks of Catholics generally in these countries. Pretending to be no more than a 'simple and succinct answer' to the question, 'What do Catholics really believe?' the book would, at present, have an interest above its intrinsic worth.

The author, in his short Introduction, is modest enough to claim for his book the slender merit of being a brief statement of Catholic credenda. Judged by that standard, he must be allowed to have perfectly succeeded in his purpose. He has packed the contents into a small octavo of about three hundred and fifty pages; whilst, by the firmness of his intellectual grasp and the delicacy and accuracy of his expression, he has allowed neither clearness nor grace to suffer in the packing.

We should, however, be very loth to accept the author's claim as in any way expressing the full or even chief value of the work. Father Proctor's book is a clear, concise, and readable presentation of Catholic dogma; but it is a good deal more. He has not, indeed, often ventured on explicit proof; yet he has managed to indicate, in an unobtrusive way, many and the best of the well-known

theological demonstrations. Further, and especially by the logical arrangement of his chapters, and the careful and pointed development of each chapter's important headings, he has furnished the intelligent reader with, perhaps, dogma's best proof—its wonderful logical consistency. The articles of Christian faith are no mere tabulated list of propositions, individual and unconnected, that may be considered singly or in the gross, without change in their power of compelling assent. The result of a gradual development, specially guided down the ages by the Spirit of God, they have something of the mutual cohesiveness and co-operative character of the members of a living organism. Each, according to the order of its function, has a corporate as well as an individual power and value, and will not be torn from its position without violence, and consequent weakening both of itself and of the whole. No express proof of any isolated dogma, however elaborate as a demonstration it may be, will have the intellectual effect of the arguments indirectly drawn from what might be called the logical balance of the whole scheme, and the organic inter-relation of the constituent propositions. In the presentation of such a proof, we think, Father Proctor has done a distinct and valuable service to Catholicity, has made a very important addition to the theological literature of these countries.

His developments have necessarily been brief, yet he has not hesitated to expand and illustrate where such were necessary; and his illustrations have a happy appositeness that argues an intellectual assimilation of doctrine not over common. The constant and deft use he has made of Sacred Scripture, in his statements and amplifications, is a feature of the book which more of our Catholic writers would do well to emulate.

The book is brought out by the Art and Book Co., and in their best style of paper, printing, and binding. We wish it a wide circulation.

P. D.

Quomodo Fides Divina sit Lumen? Rev. P. Sexton, S.T.L. Dublin: Browne & Nolan, Ltd.

Everybody knows that one of the things to be done by the aspirant to the title of 'D.D.' is to write a paper on some theological subject. In compliance with this rule, the author, who was then a Licentiate, presented the above-named essay. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the theme selected, his

treatment of the subject was so masterly that he obtained his final degree partly in reward of this dissertation. It is now published in pamphlet form, and made accessible to a larger circle of readers. Those who had the pleasure of hearing him in the *Aula Maxima* of Maynooth College, on June 7th, 1899, when he successfully defended against skilful antagonists every one of the theses they picked out from the seventy-five he had pledged himself to maintain against all comers, know already what may be expected from Dr. Sexton. So it will suffice to say here, that his written essay will be found quite as clear and brilliant as was his oral defence.

The problem of the precise nature of faith, of the sphere of its operation, and of the way in which its peculiar activity is exercised, has for centuries given occasion to a great deal of speculation on the part of the ablest theologians. While modestly disclaiming all thought or pretence of solving the enigma, and taking St. Thomas as his guide, Dr. Sexton in the First Part of his dissertation shows how faith is really an illumination of the intellect, differing on the one hand from the natural light of the human mind, and on the other from the infused light of glory. Its object is neither God seen face to face in heaven, nor the truths of which we have either intuitive or inferential knowledge on earth. Perhaps the most interesting section of this First Part is its fifth chapter, in which Dr. Sexton treats of the formal object of faith. In the Second Part, which deals with the subordinate question regarding the influence exercised by the will on the mind while eliciting the act of faith, the learned author examines minutely the various answers given by Lugo, Ripalda, Suarez, and Mazzella. His strictures on the system of 'scientific faith' are especially worthy of note. We may remark that in many things he agrees with the doctrines laid down in the Grammar of Assent. In conclusion, he points out some corollaries of the theory of explanation that he himself prefers. 1. That the supernaturalism, the obscurity, and the certainty of faith are best provided for in this system. 2. That the assertion that active revelation by itself alone is the 'ratio formalis fidei,' must be regarded as an inadequate solution. 3. That the triple division maintained by certain writers, of 'historic faith,' 'faith of miracles,' and 'faith of promises,' is untenable. Dr. Sexton's lucid exposition of these points will commend itself to all readers, and inspire the hope that his *Alma Mater* will give many more such sons to the Catholic Church. R. W.

FIOR CHLAERSEACH NA H-EIREANN. A Collection of the most popular Folk-songs and short Poems, &c. Edited by T. O'Russell. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son. 1900.

WE have here one hundred and twenty pages of Irish text, excellently printed, and on good paper. There is no one who is interested, even slightly, in the present Gaelic *Renaissance*, who will fail to secure a copy; and no one will refuse a certain meed of praise to the zeal and ability of the Editor. The Irish revival has been so much of an up-hill work from the beginning, and its present position, though far advanced along the way of progress, is yet so much this side of complete success, that its originators and supporters must be prepared to welcome assistance, however slight. Besides, since Irish literary work has not yet become a trade that pays, whoso interests himself in its production or development, thereby must be absolved of any motives of an interested nature. We, therefore, welcome the present volume as an evidence of a genuine desire on the part of the Editor of doing what he may in the cause for the rehabilitation of our mother tongue. Our thanks are also due to him for giving us in a handy form, and at a moderate rate, many of our really most popular songs and poems.

We must, however, confess ourselves not a little disappointed in the collection. No one who has done anything at the study of modern Irish but has felt the acute need for some really reliable readers in the language. Books, of course, there are; but the sporadic result of individual enterprise variously handicapped, compiled on no consecutive plan—their contents often overlapping—arranged according to the tastes and ability of their Editor, and often dominated by his peculiar views on orthography, grammar, and composition, they cannot be considered standard in any true sense. From the title and opening preface of the volume under review we had hopes to have found what we had so long desiderated. Reading through the contents, we could not help feeling that it could not be called representative or trustworthy, any more than its predecessors, whilst it marked the introduction of a more discordant element of heterogeneity than any with which they might be charged.

The spelling not only varies considerably and in many places from what we had thought was fast coming to be of recognised currency, but is not even uniform with itself throughout the volume. This placid indifference to what in the writing of any

other language would be held an unpardonable blunder, must, indeed, be confessed as not wholly peculiar to the present Editor. One finds it more or less in most who write or print a word of modern Irish. The universality, however, of the practice can hardly justify its continuance. Grammatical forms, again, and modes of construction are introduced which, if licit, would argue as large a mobility in the Irish Syntax and Etymology as some think to find in the Irish musical scale. Moreover, some of the prose introductions and other pieces called poetry have had to us a very decided English flavour. We suspect that a literal translation would read as fair specimens of a correct English style. We cannot say too strongly how we deprecate any such usage. We would much prefer no Irish at all to an Irish that is only so in character or verbally. If there is any real vitality in the language—and otherwise its revival would be valueless as well as hopeless—we should think something more is possible than mere word-for-word translations.

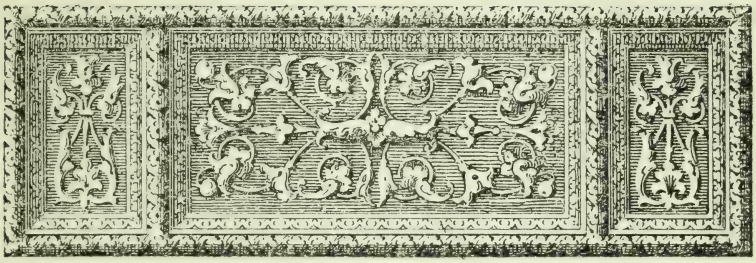
Of a piece with the foregoing, but much more evil in its consequences and more largely found in the book, is the poetical character of a section of the contents. For Irish poetry written according to English forms we have nothing but absolute condemnation. The principle is a temporising compromise with Anglicization where that would be most pernicious, and, if allowed, would result in a direct negation of the efforts and ideals of the Gaelic League. We willingly concede that the germinative principle of rhyme was transplanted into the Continental languages, and thence into English from Irish. But as well might one reply to Mr. O'Russell or to anyone who is convinced of the national value of our mother tongue, that after all, it does not matter much. English and Irish are just the same at bottom, since both came originally from the common Aryan speech. Everyone, however, is aware that the languages forming the Indo-European group, though sharing a common ancestry, have in the course of the centuries settled down into distinct speeches, each having a specifically distinct and incommunicable character of its own. Rhyme, similarly, may have in the beginning come from the Irish; but it has been appropriated by other languages, taken up into their constitutive essence, and moulded according to the character and lines of development of each. The rhyme-system of any of them at present can be no more called Irish than Irish itself may be styled Aryan. The attempt, therefore,

to write Irish poetry according to what must be acknowledged un-alien verse-form is, in our opinion, time and energy thrown away, if not worse. The product can never be poetry.

The Gaelic muse will not be forced into a foreign dress without a diminution of its vital power and grace. Above all, it never can be national poetry. Language has been said to mirror the national mind, to be the mould into which the liquid thought of the nation flows as spontaneously as the body drops into its accustomed gait. If that be true—and it is the philosophy behind all language revivals—of language generally, it is eminently true of poetry. It will be nothing if not racy of the soil, both in form and substance. The literary history of the nation has demonstrated this too obviously to allow of questioning. Poetry, then, like much of what we have here, cannot rise above being a hybrid, and is doomed to the sterility of such organisms.

We are sorry to have been compelled to express our dissatisfaction so strongly, but the largeness of the issues at stake demand plain speech. Mr. O'Russell has in many ways deserved well of the Gaelic movement as a speaker and a writer. Our criticism has on that account been all the more distasteful. Yet for the sake of the movement, whose interests we have at heart, we feel bound to think that, had nearly all that is new in the book been omitted, the Editor would have done a much larger service to the cause of the language.

P. D.



REQUIEM MASSES

FOR the first three centuries of the Church, Requiem Masses were not prohibited on any day, at least if the body was present. The lives of the Christians were in those ages so pure and so often crowned with martyrdom that the day of their death was generally one rather of joy than of sorrow. St. Cyprian, in the third century, speaking of their funerals, said: 'Exercitia sunt, non funera.'[1] And in the 20th Section this ancient father blames those who indulge in excessive grief for their dead, 'for we know,' he says, 'non eos amitti sed praemitti.' During these ages the word of the Apostle was fully realized, 'Death is swallowed up in victory.'[2] Such victories and celebrations for the dead were found in keeping with the greatest feasts of the Church. In the fourth century restrictions as to Requiem Masses on certain great feasts first occur, although not enforced by any decided, at least universal rule, and even in the tenth and eleventh centuries Requiem Masses are recorded to have been chanted in some places on high festivals, when the body was present. In the twelfth century they were very generally forbidden on such feasts, even if the body happened to be present.

Restrictive and general enactments were enforced by

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[1] *De Mortalitate*, 16 Ed. Pam.

[2] 1 Cor. xv. 54.

the Council of Trent, and were followed up by Paul IV. and Pius V., Clement VIII. and Urban VIII.; lately by Leo XIII. the rules for Requiem Masses were remodelled and brought up to date owing to the crowded state of the Calendar of Feasts, and particularly the ever-increasing number of doubles which lessened so considerably the liberty of saying Requiem Masses

Before inquiring how the present and the former restrictions differ on the question of Requiem Masses, let us bear in mind, (1) That by *dies obitus*, all liturgical writers agree, is meant not only the very day of the actual death, but any day up to and including the day of the burial. (2) And what is meant by public, semi-public, and private oratories? It is explained in the following decree of Leo XIII. :—

A Sacra R. C. saepe postulatum est, quaenam Oratoria ceu semipublica habenda sint. Constat porro Oratoria publica ea esse quae auctoritate Ordinarii ad publicum Dei cultum perpetuo dedicata, benedicta vel etiam solemniter consecrata, januam habent in via vel liberum a publica via Fidelibus universim pandunt ingressum. Privata e contra stricto sensu dicuntur Oratoria, quae in privatis aedibus in commodum alicujus personae vel familiae ex Indulto Sanctae Sedis erecta sunt. Quae medium inter haec duo locum tenent, ut nomen ipsum indicat, Oratoria semipublica sunt et vocantur. Ut autem quaelibet ambiguitas circa haec Oratoria amoveatur. Sanc. Dom. Nost. Leo Papa XIII. ex S. R. C. consulto statuit et declaravit :—

Oratoria semipublica ea esse quae etsi in loco quodammodo privato vel non absolute publico, auctoritate Ordinarii erecta sunt; commodo tamen non fidelium omnium nec privatae tantum personae aut familiae sed alicujus communitatis vel personarum coetus inserviunt. In his, sicut auctoritate Ordinarii sacrosanctum Missae sacrificium offerri potest, ita omnes qui eidem intersunt praecepto audiendi Sacrum satisfacere valent. Hujus generis Oratoria sunt quae pertinent ad Seminaria et Collegia ecclesiastica; ad pia Instituta et Societates votorum simplicium aliasque Communitates sub regula sive statutis saltem ab Ordinario approbatis; ad domus spiritualis exercitiis addictas; ad convictus et Hospitia juventuti litteris, scientiis, aut artibus instituendae destinata; ad Noscomia, Orphanotrophia, nec non ad Arces et Carceres; atque similia Oratoria in quibus ex instituto aliquis Christifidelium coetus convenire solet ad audiendam Missam. Quibus adjungi debent Capellae in Coemeterio rite erectae dummodo in Missae celebratione non iis tantum ad quos pertinent sed aliis etiam fidelibus aditus pateat. Voluit

autem Sanctitas sua sarta et tecta jura ac privilegia Oratoriorum quibus fruuntur Emi. S. R. E. Cardinales, Rmi. Sacrorum Antistes atque Ordines Congregationesque Regulares. Ac praterea confirmare dignata est decretum in una Nivernen. diei viii. Mart., 1879. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque. Die xxiii. Jan., 1899.

L. ✠ S. C. Card. Mazzella, *S. R. C. Praef.*
Diomedes Panici, *Secret.*

(3) What exact privileges are conceded by the decree *Aucto?* The decree runs thus:—

I. In quolibet Sacello sepulcreti rite erecto vel erigendo, Missas, quae inibi celebrari permittuntur, posse esse de Requie diebus non impeditis a Festo duplici 1ae vel 2ae classis, a Dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto servandis, necnon a Feriis, vigiliis octavisque privilegiatis;[1] item II. Quibuslibet Ecclesiis et Oratoriis quum publicis tum privatis et in Sacellis ad Seminaria Collegia et Religiosas vel pias utriusque sexus communitates spectantibus, Missas privatas de requiem, praesente, insepulto vel etiam sepulto non ultra biduum cadavere, fieri posse die vel pro die obitus aut depositionis; verum sub clausulis et conditionibus quibus juxta Rubricas et Decreta Missa solemnis de requiem iisdem in casibus decantatur, exceptis duplicibus primae classis et festis de praecepto. S. R. C., 19 May, 1896.

(4) Some decrees of later date bearing on the above:—

(*a*) Missae privatae de requiem quae expressis conditionibus celebrari possunt praesente cadavere, licitaene sunt in quibus libet Ecclesiis vel Oratoriis sive publicis sive privatis. S. R. C. Affirmative, dummodo cadaver sit physice vel moraliter praesens; sed si agatur de Ecclesiis et de Oratoriis publicis fieri debet etiam funus cum Missa exequiali. 12 Jan., 1897. (*b*) Hujusmodi Missae privatae de requiem celebrarine possunt sine applicatione pro defuncto cujus cadaver est vel censetur praesens, S. R. C. Negative, 12 Jan., 1897. (*c*) Eaedem pariter Missae possuntne celebrari diebus non duplicibus, qui tamen festa duplicia primae classis excludunt, ut feria IV. cinerum. S. R. C. Negative, 12 Jan., 1897.

Decretum Generale.—Ut omne tollatur dubium super Orationibus et Sequentia dicendis in Missis Defunctorum S. R. C. declarat:—

1st. Unam tantum esse dicendam Orationem in Missis omnibus quae celebrantur in Commemoratione Omnium Fidelium

[1] This permission is granted in favour only of private cemetery chapels. It is not applicable to the church of a cemetery or a mortuary chapel in a public church.

Defunctorum, die et pro die obitus seu depositionis, atque etiam in Missis cantatis vel lectis permittente ritu diebus III., VII., XXX., et die anniversaria, necnon quandocunque pro defunctis Missa *solemniter* celebratur, nempe sub ritu qui duplici respondeat uti in Officio quod recitatur post acceptum nuntium de alicujus obitu et in anniversariis late sumptis,

2nd. In Missis quotidianis quibuscunque sive lectis sive cum cantu, plures esse dicendas Orationes, quarum prima sit pro defuncto vel defunctis certo designatis, pro quibus Sacrificium offertur, ex iis quae inscribuntur in Missali, secunda ad libitum, ultima pro omnibus defunctis.

3rd. Si vero pro defunctis in genere Missa celebretur, Orationes esse dicendas quae pro Missis quotidianis in Missali prostant ; eodemque ordine quo sunt inscriptae.

4th. Quod si in iisdem quotidianis plures addere Orationes Celebranti placuerit uti Rubricae potestatem faciunt, id fieri posse tantum in Missis lectis, impari cum aliis praescriptis servato numero, et Orationi pro omnibus defunctis postremo loco assignato.

5th. Quod denique ad Sequentiam attinet semper illam esse dicendam in quibusvis cantatis Missis, uti etiam in lectis quae diebus ut supra privilegiatis fiunt : in reliquis vel recitari posse vel omitti ad libitum Celebrantis juxta Rubricas. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 30 Junii, 1896.

C. Card. A. Massella, *S. R. C. Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

Aloisius Tripepi, *S. R. C. Secret.*

Ad quandam controversiam tollendam circa interpretationem decretorum 3903 *Aucto* 8 Junii 1896 et 3944 *Romana* 12 Ianuarii 1897 quoad Missas lectas de Requie, hodiernus Caeremoniarum magister Basilicae Cathedralis Vicensis in Hispania, de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentia dubia enodanda humillime exposuit ; nimirum :

I. Utrum ex enunciatis decretis Missae lectae, quae a sacerdotibus celebrantur in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis civitatis pro defuncto, cadavere insepulto vel sepulto non ultra biduum a die obitus seu depositionis, celebrari valeant de *Requie*, dummodo in parochiali Ecclesia fiat funus cum Missa exequiali ; an hoc privilegium sit proprium tantummodo Ecclesiae, in qua funus peragitur cum sua Missa exequiali ?

II. Utrum quilibet Sacerdos possit unam tantum Missam de Requie celebrare, vel plures, diversis diebus, dummodo cadaver sit insepultum non ultra biduum ?

III. Utrum pro defuncto, qui morabatur in civitate et obierit extra civitatem, possint etiam in ipsa civitate praedictae Missae lectae de Requie celebrari ?

IV. Quomodo intelligenda sit praesentia physica vel moralis requisita in decretis suprarelatis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem, *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad II. Stetur Decretis.

Ad III. et IV. Provisum in praecedentibus ; et Missae privatae de Requie nonnisi in Ecclesia vel Oratorio publico permittuntur ubi fit funus cum Missa exequiali : in Oratoriis autem privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie, praesente cadavere in domo ; servatis ceteris clausulis et conditionibus.

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 3 Aprilis, 1900.

Cai. Card. Aloisi-Massella, *S. R. C. Pro-Praef.*

L ✠ S.

D. Panici, *S. R. C. Secret.*

(5) The alterations made in the general rubrics of the late editions of the Missal. The present text :—

Missae privatae pro defunctis ut in die obitus seu depositionis etiam in duplicibus celebrari possint praesente, sepulto vel insepulto, non ultra biduum cadavere ; exceptis duplicibus primae classis excludentibus et festis de praecepto.

(6) What is an Exequial Mass ? It is that which is celebrated in the presence, physical or moral, of the remains of the deceased. And what meaning is to be attached to the expression in decree (*a*), as above, ' funus cum Missa exequiali ' ? Some funeral pomps around the remains of a deceased, either physically or morally present, comprising the solemnities of a Requiem Mass *cum cantu,* with at least some portion of the Church's service for the dead, more or less according, it may be, to circumstances ; but these funeral rites are to be connected with a Requiem Mass, ' funus cum Missa exequiali,' supposed to be ' cum cantu.'

REMARKS

From the above, what follows in reference to the new permission to say private Requiem Masses on doubles, even doubles of the second class ?

[1] In this matter the ' *Missa Cantata* ' and the Solemn Requiem Mass are on a par, both being Masses *cum cantu.*

That they can be lawfully celebrated in any church or oratory, whether that oratory ranks as public, semi-public, or private, on certain conditions:—1st. That the body is present, physically or morally, which it is admitted to be for two days after the actual interment (*non ultra biduum*); 2nd. Provided that in that same church, or public or semi-public oratory, some funeral rites, with Exequial Mass, are celebrated; 3rd. On condition that these private Requiem Masses are offered for the deceased in question.[1]

It is to be observed that even on a double, when there is question of an approved domestic or private oratory, a private Requiem Mass, as allowed by the decree *Aucto*, can be said upon *one* condition, that the remains of the deceased are present physically or morally, funeral rites not being recognised as lawful in such an oratory.[2]

Again, it is to be noted that the private Requiem Masses, allowed by the decree, can be celebrated before, during, or after the '*funus cum Missa exequiali*, but in the same church, and on one and the same day; inasmuch as the *funus cum Missa exequiali* can take place in only one church, and on one day:[3] except in the case of a deceased bishop, when private Requiem Masses can be celebrated where he lies in state in his palace, although the *funus cum Missa exequiali* be celebrated in his cathedral on another day.[4]

It is to be observed that there are three prayers prescribed *in Missa Quotidiana*, whether these Masses be read or sung. The first prayer is for the certain fixed person or persons for whom the Mass is offered; the second is *ad libitum*; and the last prayer is *pro omnibus defunctis*. When the Mass is said for the dead in general, the three prayers given *in Missa Quotidiana* are to be said. Others, but in an uneven number, can be inserted before the

[1] When, on a suppressed holiday, the only Mass happening to be celebrated, besides the Exequial Mass, must be offered *pro populo*, it follows *it* cannot be offered for the dead; and so, too, on St. Mark's Day and the Rogation Days, if the procession or special function occurring would be interfered with.

[2] *Ephemer. Liturg.*

[3] *S. R. C.*, 23rd May, 1846.

[4] *S. R. C.*, 29th April, 1894.

Fidelium Deus, unless the Mass be sung. If the day of the death be a semi-double, the question arises: Can the *Missa Quotidiana* be taken for the deceased person in preference to the Mass as *in die obitus?* Up to this the point is not decided, and so each one is free.

When the Mass is applied for a number of deceased persons, the prayer, 'Deus cui proprium,' No. 11, or 'Animabus quaesumus,' No. 12, should be used; but, if for many priests, the first prayer *in Missa Quotidiana*.[1]

As to the *Dies Irae*, it is always to be said in all solemn or sung Masses. In private Requiem Masses it is only obligatory on the privileged days, when there is but one prayer.

SOLEMN REQUIEM MASS AND MISSA CANTATA

With regard to Requiem Masses, whether sung or solemn, the new decrees and rubrics show some difference between what was formerly permitted and what is now allowed. Formerly a Requiem Mass could only be sung when the body was really present in the church, but not, however, on the principal feasts of the first class, or on the three last days of Holy Week, or during the time of a public formal exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament. If the body was not present, but yet not buried, a solemn funeral Mass was allowed, except on Sundays and doubles of the first class. If the body was not buried for more than one day, a Requiem Mass could be sung, unless on a feast day of obligation or on a double of the first or second class. But the decree S. R. C., 13 February, 1892, extends the privilege of singing the Exequial Mass to two days after the burial, though the body is not present, or even though it has been for some good reason buried.

The decree *Aucto* defines the present discipline of the Church with regard to Exequial Mass as in *die obitus*. By this decree the Sacred Congregation grants faculties to celebrate on the occasion of the death or burial private Requiem Masses from the time of the person's death up to two days after the burial, the body being present or even

[1] *S. R. C.*, 1897.

buried, but not *ultra biduum*. The Sacred Congregation was asked if these Masses were allowed in any church or public or private oratory. On the 8th June, 1896, the reply was affirmative, on condition that there was question in the church or public oratory of a funeral with an Exequial Mass. Hence, it follows, that on those days on which private Requiem Masses, as in *die obitus*, are allowed, with much more reason is a solemn funeral Mass permitted, and without even the other restrictions attaching to Masses not sung, that of their not being allowed on doubles of the first class, and feasts of obligation. Now, all former distinctions being set aside, a solemn funeral Mass can be celebrated on the day of the death or burial, *i.e.*, from the day of the death to the second day after the burial, even on solemn feasts, except the greater feasts of the first class, the three last days of Lent, and the days of continued Solemn Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. But, as by the decree of the Sacred Congregation, 23 May, 1846, an Exequial Mass is allowed only once, and on one day for each deceased person, and as the private Masses are permitted only in conjunction with the Exequial Mass, it follows that neither Exequial Mass nor the *privileged* private ones in *question* can be celebrated more than once from the death to the second day after the burial.

As to the number of prayers in a Requiem Mass, the new rubric, n. 3, is explicit. It orders only one prayer to be said :—

> In Missis omnibus quae celebrantur in die commemorationis omnium Fidelium defunctorum, die et pro die obitus seu depositionis atque etiam in Missis cantatis vel lectis, permittente ritu, diebus tertio, septimo, trigesimo et die anniversario alicujus defuncti, nec non quandocunque pro defunctis solemniter celebratur.

The Sacred Congregation of Rites, 30 June, 1896, does not change the rule as to the privilege of one prayer attaching to Masses said or sung in ' die obitus seu depositionis, die tertia, septima, tricesima et anniversaria sive stricte sive late sumpta,' but does restrict somewhat that privilege, when there is question of the *Missa Quotidiana*, in these

words :—'In Missis quotidianis quibuscunque sive lectis sive cum cantu plures sunt dicendae Orationes.' Still to a solemn Requiem Mass even the *Missa Quotidiana*, if the occasion makes the rite correspond to that of a double (*permittente ritu*) according to the new rubric it, too, has the privilege of the one prayer, 'quandocunque pro defunctis *solemniter* celebratur.' For instance, the solemn Requiem Mass permitted to be said on doubles for one the news of whose death has been just received, and *that* celebrated *in anniversariis late sumptis.*

The following decree is in favour of the poor only. It allows, under certain conditions, a Low Exequial Mass instead of a Requiem Mass *cum cantu* :—

An pro paupere defuncto cujus familia impar est solvendi expensas Missae exequialis cum cantu haec Missa legi possit sub iisdem clausulis et conditionibus quibus praefata Missa cum cantu conceditur.[1] Affirmative seu permitti posse in casu Missam exequialem lectam, loco Missae cum cantu, dummodo in dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto non omittatur Missa officio diei currentis respondens.

Die 9 Maii, 1899.

Finally, it will be well to show at a glance when Exequial Masses are forbidden, and also when other Requiem Masses are not permitted.

I. Missae, sive privatae, sive solemnes, praesente, insepulto, vel etiam sepulto non ultra biduum, cadavere *quotidie celebrari possunt;* prohibentur tantum Dominicis Pasch. et Pent., Fest. Nativ., Epiph., Ascens., Corpor. Christi, Immac. Conc., Annunt. et Assumpt. B. M. V., Nativ. S. Joann. Bapt., S. Joseph, SS. Apost. Petri et Pauli, Omn. Sanctor., Dedicat. ac Titul. propr. Eccl. et Patron. principal. Loci: Fer. V. VI. et Sabb. Hebdom. major. ac diebus, quibus manet exposit. SS. Sacramentum pro publica causa. Insuper in Eccl. parochial. *in quibus una tant. Missa celebratur,* prohibentur etiam in Dominicis ac Festis de praecepto, cujuscumque ritus exstant. Missae vero privatae prohibentur etiam in dupl. 1. class, Dominicis ac Festis de praecepto. Item diebus non dupl. qui tamen fest. dupl. 1. cl. excludunt, uti, e. g. Fer. IV. Cinerum.[2]

[1] *S. R. C.*

[2] As, for instance, all the days within the Octaves of Easter and Pentecost which exclude feasts even of the first class.

II. Missae solemnes defunctorum in die tertia, septima, trigesima et anniversaria ab obitu vel depositione prohibentur. Duplicia 1 et 2 cl., diebus Dom. et Fest. de praecepto, Vigil. Nativ. D., Epiph. et Pentec., Fer. IV. Ciner., tota Hebd. Maj., et infra Octav. privileg., nempe: Nativ. D., Epiph., Pasch., Pentec. et Corp. Chr., ac diebus quibus manet expositum SS. Sacrament, pro publica causa . . . In Eccl. parochial. ubi *una tantum Missa habetur*, etiam in diebus festis suppressis, atque Rogationum, si fiat processio . . . Quum autem Missa in praefatis diebus impeditur, anticipari vel transferri debet in primam diem a recensitis diebus non impeditam, quamvis anniversarium non sit fundatum.

III. Missae defunctorum, cadavere nullo modo praesente, sive privatae, sive solemnes, prohibentur omnibus diebus duplicibus et omnibus diebus quae duplicia excludunt. Item in Eccles. parochial. ubi una tantum Missa habetur, etiam in diebus Rogationum, si processio fiat.

M. O'Callaghan, c.m.

THE ANGLICAN ARCHBISHOPS ON THE RESERVATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

If supernatural doctrine is to be maintained at all in a world which is robbing us, one by one, of what once seemed the objective proofs of it, whilst objective proofs of another order multiply, it can be maintained only by the witness of a supernatural and living Organism which, *in* this world, though not *of* it, conforms, in its organic growth, to the laws which this world exhibits, just as the Christian believes that the Body of Christ conforms to them; and which, furthermore, vitalized by the Divine Spirit, slowly absorbs into itself the meaning of all natural knowledge, and, converting it into its own substance, makes it supernatural knowledge, not by violating the processes of man's natural intellect, but by using them. [1]

NO one that has studied the trend of events in the Established Church here in England for the last two years can blind himself to the fact that a crisis of far-reaching importance is now imminent in that body. For years the Ritualistic or High Church party has been growing rapidly in numbers and influence. Catholic doctrines have been taught wholesale all over the country in the churches of the Establishment, not only in large, populous centres, where men are wont to read and think, but even in the parish churches of remote country villages. Catholic practices and Catholic devotions have been in evidence on all sides; and these innovations were received with enthusiasm by a certain class whose influence and standing could not be gainsaid.

In time the frequency and the elaborateness of these so-called Catholic services began to attract some share of public attention. People smiled on them at first, recalling, probably, the famous description of Lord Beaconsfield, who declared that Ritualism was nothing more than a species of man-millinery. But when reports appeared in the daily papers describing the performance of High Mass at St. Agnes's or St. Cuthbert's, with detailed accounts of the gorgeous vestments worn by the officiating clergy, the numerous

[1] *Doctrine and Doctrinal Disruption. Being an Examination of the Intellectual Position of the Church of England.* By W. H. Mallock. London: Adam and Charles Black.

lighted tapers, the sweet-smelling incense, the elevation of the wafer, and the marked devotion of the congregation, earnest Protestants of the good old-fashioned sort began to feel afraid, and to ask themselves how such things could be in churches of the Establishment. Originating in wonder and dismay, a movement of opposition soon displayed itself; and so persistent became its onslaughts, that the Archbishops of Canterbury and York were ultimately forced to institute an inquiry as to the legality of the use of lights and incense in Anglican churches. It will be in the memory of most of my readers the amount of learning displayed by the High Church defenders of the use of these Catholic symbols before the archbishops; how vehemently they insisted upon the universality of their employment in pre-Reformation days; and the beauty and spirituality of their significance. The archbishops, however, were not inquiring as to what precisely was the practice of the Catholic Church in England in the aforetime, but as to what the rubrics of the Post-Reformation Church enjoined upon its ministers when engaged in the celebration of the Lord's Supper. Every student of history who knew anything of the temper and views of the so-called Reformers, and of their determination to supplant the ancient Church with one of an essentially Protestant and Erastian character, felt that there could be but one outcome to the archbishops' inquiry, to wit, the absolute condemnation of the use of incense and processional lights in Anglican churches. When judgment was delivered on these lines, there was much bitterness of feeling aroused amongst the members of the High Church party. This, however, was only natural, taking into account all the circumstances of the case. But what must have struck the impartial observer as singularly strange, was the disposition manifested to flout and ridicule the authority of the archbishops. This, coming from a party which boasts unceasingly of its Catholic spirit and reverence for constituted authority, assumed the form of an ugly manifestation of human pride and imperfection.

As might be expected, protests without number were signed throughout the country against the archbishops'

decision. One of a very representative character will serve as an example. I take the "Lay Protest," the organizers of which, including such well-known names as those of the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Edward Spencer Churchill, and Mr. Burnie, waited upon the Archbishop of Canterbury at Lambeth Palace about the middle of January, 1900. The number of signatures to this protest was 13,794, and the protest itself was couched in the following terms:—

We, the undersigned, being communicants of the Church, desire, with all respect to your Grace's high office, to enter our solemn protest against the 'opinion' which your Grace and the Archbishop of York have recently put forward on the subject of incense and processional lights. And this we do on the following grounds:—First, that your Grace has attempted not merely to define by an individual and autocratic exercise of power the ceremonial practice of the Church in this land, but also to press such definition upon dioceses of which your Grace is not the ruler, and, however ready your Grace's suffragans may be to submit to this, we, as Catholic lay people, must strenuously protest, and will resist to the utmost, a precedent which may lead us into a position differing but little from that against which the Church rightly protested three hundred years ago. Secondly, we protest against your Grace's attempt to foist upon the Church, as her rule of ceremonial, a penal Act of Parliament passed in days of regal autocracy, and intended to meet circumstances entirely different from those of to-day. And we are the more aggrieved because we were led to suppose that your Grace had intended to investigate the question upon the principles of Catholic law and custom, and liturgical science, and not upon the construction of the alleged law of the State.

After reading this document, his Grace the Duke of Newcastle addressed the archbishop in these words, which I take from the *Times*' report:—

You are probably aware that the conclusion to which you came, and the action on the part of bishops which has followed that conclusion, have caused great and widespread anxiety among the laity, who see therein, if carried out, not so much the loss of a ceremonial accessory of Christian worship, which they greatly value, as a grave menace to the position of a communion which, on the hypothesis, declares itself to have abolished a practice sanctioned by the custom of the whole Church of Christ. [The Duke then read the protest, and proceeded:]—The first of the two grounds here alleged is the one upon which we desire

mainly, if not entirely, to base the respectful protest which we now lay before your Grace. We desire to lay no stress upon our right to a ceremonial adjunct which we value; for were the use of incense merely a thing to which we had a right, we should recognise it as a duty incumbent on us, as a matter of charity, to surrender such right for the sake of the peace of the Church in these provinces. Nor do we base our contention on the ground that the use of incense is of Divine command, for we recognise that such ceremonial use is a matter of ecclesiastical order, and can be varied or abolished by the same authority as instituted it. Our contention is based, then, on the ground that it is not in the power of a single prelate, by 'an individual and autocratic exercise of power,' to 'define the ceremonial practice of the Church,' and that still less is it in his power to impose such definition upon dioceses over which he has not the jurisdiction of a bishop. We maintain that the ceremonial use of incense is a custom imposed upon those responsible for the conduct of Divine Service by the common custom of the whole Church, which, as your Grace is well aware, has canonically the force of law. By nothing short of a General Council, therefore, or by a general disuse by common consent throughout the whole Church, can the ceremonial use of incense be abolished, though undoubtedly it may be regulated by the diocesan—not by an archbishop imposing his will upon other diocesans—so long as he acts from the motive of propagating and defending the Catholic religion, and of his own motion, and not under compulsion or pressure from the enemies of the Catholic faith. But, unfortunately, the matter is complicated in these provinces by the peculiar relationship which exists between the Church and the secular power.

The second part of our protest deals with this point; but, with your Grace's permission, I should like to say a word in explanation of a statement which, though it must be plain to your Grace's understanding, may perhaps be misconstrued by the unthinking. When we speak, and speak in language very strong, but not, I trust, disrespectful to your Grace, of an attempt to impose upon the Church an Act of Parliament, we recognise fully that, whatever be the obligations undertaken by the Church in respect of the protection her endowments receive at the hands of the law, these obligations must be fulfilled, or that protection must be frankly forfeited. But your Grace knows that within certain limits—and they are none too stringent—the law is very much what the interpreter of that law defines it to be. Now one of two things may ensue; and we express ourselves aggrieved that of these consequences neither was followed out. Your Grace and the Archbishop of York might, we are assured, with very good reason, have come to the conclusion that the Act of Parliament, on which reliance was placed, does not bear the

consequences sought to be based upon it. But that is as it may be. The laity would hardly have complained had your Grace come to a contrary conclusion, as, indeed, you did, if you had also come to the further conclusion, which it seems to us as Catholics would inevitably follow. And it is this. That, inasmuch as the secular power, on the hypothesis, forbids that which the Church enjoins, the Church must declare herself ready to forfeit such benefits as she gains from her alliance with the State rather than brook interference with matters that are her own prerogative, and that Spirit's by Whom she acts and whose Vicar on earth she is. We do not say that such a conflict is inevitable. But we do say that, your Grace's view of the law being what it is, we are aggrieved that you should have sought to impose that law upon the Church, even though the contrary view might involve a serious conflict with the secular power.

This is certainly plain speaking, direct and straightforward, and as such must have been welcomed by the prelate to whom it was addressed, himself a man of the most downright utterance. In reply, the archbishop laid it down that the question was not one of doctrine, but of ceremonial:—

I suppose I am justified in supposing that the Articles of the Church of England are part of the law of the Church of England—it is asserted that 'every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying.' And it seems to me that to deny the right of the Church of England to change old ceremonies, if it was thought expedient for the interest and for the working of the Church, would be practically to say that the Church of England is wrong. The idea of saying anything of that kind, or of implying it, or of judging this question on any principle of that kind, certainly never occurred to me. It appeared to me quite certain that what I had to do was to interpret what the Church of England had actually said, and accordingly I based my action in the matter entirely on the Book of Common Prayer, and I have taken for granted that these concluding words of the 34th Article, being distinctly part of the law of the Church of England, were to be my guide; and that I was, therefore, to inquire what the Church of England had really done in this particular respect.

The Opinion distinctly declares that there is no question at all about the possibility of using incense in public worship in itself, but it is the claim that 'I shall use it whether the authorities of the Church allow me or not; I shall use it because I think it to be in accordance with the law of the Church Catholic by which I

am bound.' This is obviously a claim which would upset, if it were to spread, the whole discipline of the Church of England, and set at naught all authority, whatever it might be. I cannot help hoping that those who signed this protest will find in a little while that the grounds upon which they have acted are not quite reconcilable with their own principles, because the principle of obedience is unquestionably a Catholic principle, and I do not think that this protest is quite consistent with that obedience which is due to the authorities set over them. Do you think—I know quite well that you do not intend any disrespect—but do you think this is very respectful language—'We protest against your Grace's attempt to foist upon the Church'? It does not seem to me that that would be considered generally a very respectful thing to say to an authority which is by the laws of the Church very distinctly set up. The declaration of a disregard not only for the authority of the archbishops, but for the authority of the bishops also, 'We will resist to the utmost the precedent which may lead us into a position differing but little from that against which the Church rightly protested three hundred years ago.'

Coming to the question of Disestablishment, his Grace expressed himself as follows :—

I am afraid that that remedy would be found very far indeed from a remedy of the kind that those who call themselves the Catholic party would like when they had got it. It is a very serious thing to say that it is necessary to break up the whole position of the Church of England in order that you may escape from the control of bishops who do not in your judgment quite adopt what you consider to be Catholic practices. The loss to the whole religious life of the Church which would necessarily follow from the disruption of the Church is greater, I think, than it is easy to measure, but it is the one anxiety which besets me in all these matters. I am quite ready to face Disestablishment, and its necessary concomitant, Disendowment, if it be God's will. I am quite prepared in that case still to go on and act as if we stood in the same position as that which we have held for the last three hundred years, but [here the archbishop spoke with deep emotion], I dread with all my soul, I dread what may come if the Church of England were to break in two.

If this feeling of dread were so dominant a factor in the archbishop's mind six months since, I fear it must be considerably intensified by the events of the last few weeks; or, in other words, since May 1st, 1900, the date of the delivery of his decision upon the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.

It is certain that the practice of reservation has been more or less extensively adopted in the Ritualistic churches of the Establishment for some years past. There has been, however, an element of surreptitiousness about the custom which certainly points to a feeling of uneasiness and anxiety on the part of those who favoured it. But apart from this it cannot be denied, that the more advanced Anglicans believe passionately in the doctrine of the Real Presence, and in the sacrificial character of the Christian priesthood. They may differ from us as to the *modus* of that Presence; but it is clear to the least observant, that if only the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation were properly apprehended of them, they could not logically reject it. As some of my readers may have only a vague idea as to what the interior of a High Anglican church is like, I may put before them the following extract from the *Church Times*, of January 12, 1900, in reference to the Brighton ritual case:—

Dr. Tristram, Q.C., Chancellor of the diocese of Chichester, held a Consistory Court at Lewes, yesterday week, to consider a petition, presented by Mr. George Davey, asking him to decree a faculty for the removal of certain ornaments in the Church of the Annunciation, Brighton, namely:—(1) Stations of the Cross; (2) image of the Good Shepherd on a pedestal, with candles on each side, and a lighted lamp in front; (3) image of the Virgin Mary on a pedestal, with candles on each side, and a lighted blue lamp before it, and with canopy, crown, and stars; (4) tabernacle over the communion table, with a red light burning before it; (5) crucifix over the communion table; (6) crucifix over the chancel screen; (7) tabernacle over the communion table in the side chapel, with a burning light before it; (8) crucifix in the side chapel, with canopy and crown over it; (9) images representing the Sacred Heart and St. Joseph near the communion table; (10) crucifix fastened on a pillar over the pulpit; (11) 'holy water' stoup near the door of the Church; (12) another 'holy water' stoup at the side entrance; confessional boxes with crucifixes over them; pictures of saints displayed in various parts of the church. The petitioner alleged that all these articles had been placed in the church since its consecration, and without any faculty for the same having been obtained, and that they were all illegal and liable to be subjected to superstitious usages.

The counsel engaged on both sides in this case was

probably the best obtainable. The arguments advanced were certainly of a most interesting character. When Mr. Dibdin came to reply on the whole case of the petitioner he strongly insisted that:—

The real question was whether the church fittings and furniture were legal or illegal; anything else was mere prejudice. He was very much surprised that his friend did not think it prudent to put the Vicar in the witness box, because his evidence would have been most material to the issue. The petitioner claimed a moral as well as a legal right to interfere. He agreed that the parish was a poor artisan parish, and that most of the dwellers in it were not in a position to come forward as a party in a faculty case. The question was whether a church of the Church of England was to be successfully turned, even under the cover of the law itself, into a church which was indistinguishable altogether from a Roman Catholic Church. That was a matter which concerned every Churchman, and in a sense every Englishman. It was not a mere parochial matter, but much more a national question, and one which, so long as the Church remained the national and the Established Church in this country concerned every citizen. If the fittings and furniture of the church were liable to abuse they were unlawful, and if they were unlawful a faculty for removal must follow as a matter of course. With regard to evidence of actual abuse, of course he had none, but as to liability to abuse there was the evidence of the use made of the Stations of the Cross. Then there was the image of the Virgin Mary in a similar position, and decorated in the same way as they would find it in a Roman Catholic church—with curtains behind, and the lights and flowers in front of it. In a Roman Catholic church they devoted offerings made by way of honour to the Virgin, and indicated that they were a part of the devotion paid to the Virgin. The reasonable inference was that it was liable to be used in the same way as a corresponding image would be used in a Roman Catholic church, and that would be for the devotion of the Virgin Mary, which they in the English Church considered superstitious. The same consideration applied to the other images in the church, and as to the tabernacles there was absolute evidence that one of them was used for reservation. There was also evidence that the holy water stoups were used in connection with the service itself. The confessional boxes were one of the gravest matters in the case, and represented a view of confession which the Church of England had repudiated for the last three hundred or four hundred years. Nothing would more serve the purposes of these extreme members of the Church who desired to see drastic steps taken by Parliament in these matters; nothing was more likely to excite the indignant remonstrance of the nation, than that the Court by faculty should confirm the

maintenance in a parish church of confessional boxes used, and intended to be used, deliberately and habitually, for hearing confessions.

To the majority of Englishmen sentiments such as these might recommend themselves at the present moment; but to another section of our people, and that a highly educated and refined section, they are read with a repugnance closely akin to loathing.

Viewed in comparison with the question of the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament that which concerns the use of incense and processional lights seems utterly insignificant. In the one case the mere adjuncts of religious worship are assailed; in the other, the great central dogma of the Christian and Catholic faith is called into question. The High Church clergy had for long insisted on the importance of reservation. This was naturally to be expected once we take into account their openly avowed belief in the Real Presence. They were accustomed to reserve the Sacrament under one kind only; and in favour of this custom they indicated the advantage it conferred in the case of the sick, and the avoidance of irreverence when administering the Sacrament in the homes of the very poor.

When it was announced that the archbishops had determined, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon them, to consider the legality of reservation in the Church of England, the Ritualists began to realise that they were face to face with a dilemma of no ordinary difficulty. Everything that could be said and urged in favour of the practice from their standpoint was pressed upon the attention of their Graces at their Session in last July; and during the Church Congress, held last October, we find the more advanced speakers constantly reverting to this subject. It would be difficult to conceive a more manly or outspoken declaration of faith than that contained in the paper read by Lord Halifax on 'The Principles of Ritual.' As he put it:—

> The worship of the Church is the worship of a Person. It is not a series of exercitations for the edification and spiritual improvement of the worshippers, or an exhibition of ceremonial, or a concert of sacred music to gratify their artistic or musical

tastes. It is worship addressed to a Person who vouchsafes His presence in our churches as He did of old in the upper room in Jerusalem. Christian worship is the divinely-appointed means by which Jesus Christ, through the instrumentality of human agencies, as the Head of mankind and our Eternal Priest, offers Himself as the Eternal Victim to the Father of all, in commemoration of His passion and death upon the Cross. It is the homage we offer to our present King, the means by which He communicates Himself to us. No ritual can be too much which gives expression to and is accompanied by that devotion of the heart which God expects from His people. No ritual can be adequate which ignores the condition that alone makes worship acceptable.

God, says Dr. Döllinger, in speaking of the Holy Sacrifice, will neither accept us without Christ, nor Christ at our hands without ourselves.

He next attacked the narrow insular view of religion taken by the ordinary English churchman in the following scathing terms :—

The Church of England has relations to the rest of Christendom, even in regard to the externals of religion, which she cannot afford to ignore. Catholic doctrine and ritual are not to be brought to the bar of what is supposed to be Anglican teaching and practice; but Anglican teaching and practice are to be judged by and harmonized with the doctrine and practice of the Catholic Church.

Is there any real doubt what that doctrine and practice are? Christianity is not the exclusive possession of the Anglo-Saxon race, nor are its requirements to be determined by the idiosyncracies of the English people. To say that the truths the Church has to preach in regard to doctrine and practice should be put in such a way as is most likely to recommend them to the acceptance of Englishmen, is a truism ; to say that what Englishmen choose to accept is to determine the doctrine, the ritual and practice of the Church, is inconsistent with any serious belief in the Catholic Church. No doubt we are Englishmen; we are not Frenchmen or Italians, Germans or Spaniards. It is this very diversity of national character which goes to make up the fulness and many-sidedness of the Catholic Church. It is like the various colours of the rainbow, which blend and combine so as to complete the whole cycle of colour. The Church exists to teach the whole cycle of truth to all nations, not to teach merely such fragments of it as may be acceptable to the prejudices of a particular age or a particular nation.

I will conclude these observations on the limits of ritual with

some words recently spoken by one of the most distinguished American bishops, Archbishop Ireland of St. Paul:—

'To sing lovely anthems in cathedral stalls, to wear copes of broidered gold, while no multitudes throng the nave or aisle, and while the world outside is dying of spiritual and moral starvation—this is not the religion we need to-day. We want to popularize religion so far as principle permits, to make the people chant in holy exultation canticles of praise and adoration, to draw them to God by all the chords of Adam, to bring them to repentance, to confession, to Communion.'

'When,' in the words of another American theologian, 'the spiritual rulers of the Church of England deem it of more importance to try in the Courts those who revile the Word of God, and deny the mystery of the Virgin Conception and Birth of the Divine Son, rather than the most orthodox, faithful, and successful clergymen of their dioceses on some charge of having burned incense before the Lord in a movable instead of a standing vessel, and with the intention of worshipping God rather than of making a good smell in the church building, we may hope to see the *Ecclesia Anglicana* once again what she was before the sixteenth century, the Church of the English people.'

The Rev. R. R. Dolling, so well known in connection with his great work in Southampton, was not less outspoken in his remarks at the meeting of the English Church Union, held in St. James's Hall, 9th October, 1899. He said:—

I understand one thing, and will say, without fear of contradiction, that whatever has been the message of the Church of England, up to fifty years ago it was a message without Sacraments; the Sacraments were lost to England. They may have been enshrined in the Book of Common Prayer, but they were lost as far as the majority of men and women in England were concerned; and this is evident whether you go down to East-end parishes like my own, or whether you go to country villages like one at which I was recently preaching. I will give you a test: Go and ask some chaplain at Aldershot how many of the lads, whether officers who come from every public school in England, or privates coming from every city or from every little village place, how many of them on Easter Sunday last received the Holy Communion? How many of those dear lads, who are starting out to die if necessary for England, are going out in the strength of the Sacraments? The full question to be driven home is that, as far as England is concerned, the Sacraments are lost; and I challenge any clergyman, or any layman, or any bishop in the whole of England, to say that he can in any sense

be satisfied with the methods with which the Sacraments are received in England to-day. And if I were asked 'Could you point out a parish where more people are brought to the Sacraments than in any other place?' it is ten to one it would be one of the very parishes that this present message of the archbishops is addressed to. Incense is in a large measure only the representative of that method of divine compassion with which the Church of God, by the Holy Ghost, has made it easy for men who are ignorant to understand something of the beauty of holiness. At Holborn and down in the London Docks, and in a hundred other places, men had been brave enough to face the rebukes of the bishops because there was no other way known to them than the old Catholic method by which the Sacraments could be upraised. And if that was true concerning incense, how much more true was it concerning reservation of the Blessed Sacrament? I say, with the sense of responsibility weighing upon me as, perhaps, it never has weighed upon me before, that it is utterly impossible to get the Sacrament to those who are sick and dying unless we are allowed the method of reservation; and, therefore, what you and I should demand, at whatever cost and whatever hazard, is that which belongs to every branch of the Church—namely, power to bring the Gospel of Jesus Christ down to the present times and the present needs; that as He Himself is for all time and over all persons, so the application of that cannot be bound by the methods of three hundred or five hundred years ago.

The *Church Times*, one of the leading organs of the High Church party, in its issue for the 20th October, 1899, writes as follows under the heading 'Ritual at the Church Congress':—

Two powers are arrayed against us—insular national pride, and the Englishman's respect for the law. Neither is to be despised. The one is well-founded, and if duly restrained is no bad thing; the other is wholly good. We may have to abate the national pride a little; to prove that English practice is not the measure of Christianity. We have no call to weaken respect for law—we leave that to those who wrest the law against us: but we have to show that the laws of England do not cover the whole field of Christian faith and practice. The Church was not created by those laws, and may not become their creature. The work of bishops and priests are not defined by those laws, nor limited by their provisions. The opinion that we have to batter down is expressed in a comment of the *Times*—we should look for it nowhere more confidently—upon Lord Halifax's paper. 'Bishops, as Lord Halifax very well knows, have no power to forbid atheism or infidelity; but they have the power, and they are

solemnly bound to enforce the law of the Church.' For the *Church* read the *Nation*—for even the *Times* can hardly suppose that the law of the Church, if such a thing there be, allows atheism and infidelity—and we have the controversy of the day in a nutshell. The laws of England do not forbid atheism and infidelity. Therefore, the bishops have no concern with such things; they are not to banish them, or drive them away; they have no power in regard to them, for bishops are appointed only to enforce the laws of England. It could not be put more crudely. We are grateful to the *Times*, as to Mr. Webb-Peploe, for a flash of self-revelation. A search-light is thrown on the enemy's position. We see it, and we mark it, and we mean to storm it.

At the date of the Reformation settlement, more than two-thirds of the population of England still clung to the ancient faith. The founders of the new Protestant religion were perfectly cognisant of this fact; hence when they came to formulate the articles of the new religion they were careful so to word them that whilst remaining thoroughly Protestant in their general tone and character, they contained an element of vagueness and self-contradiction which was evidently meant to puzzle the minds of the Catholics. This is nowhere more apparent than in the case of their eucharistic teaching. No one of an open mind can read the opinions of the so-called Reformers without being convinced that they shared the views of the Continental Protestants upon this vital article of Catholic faith. It cannot be gainsaid, that from the middle of the sixteenth century, the teaching of the new Protestant Church of England, as regards the Blessed Sacrament, was very little, if anything, different from the teaching of the various heretical bodies on the Continent. With the exception of a few individuals of a certain independence and originality of mind, the rank and file of the writers and preachers of the Established Church continued to propagate those views down to the date of the Oxford movement, or the so-called Catholic revival. Since then there has been, undoubtedly, a reaction in favour of the Catholic teaching of the English Church as she existed in England previous to the time of Henry VIII., and Elizabeth. Modern High Churchmen are evidently profound believers, if we are to trust their own spoken and written words, in the real and abiding

presence of our Lord in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. They have for long insisted on calling the celebration of the Lord's Supper by the old English title of 'the Mass.' They approach to receive the Holy Communion fasting; they have, as we know, in many instances reserved the Sacrament in a tabernacle in their churches. This, ostensibly in the interests of the sick, but also, it must be conceded, for the purpose of private worship and devotion.

How alien these practices are to the general teaching of the Church of England, as set forth in her articles and formularies, may be gathered from the evidence adduced before the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, last July, during their inquiry into the question of the legality of reservation. The discussion of the question was ample. All sides were heard; and the convictions of the Catholic party were urged with a show of learning and research which, if it failed to convince, never was unsuccessful in attracting our sympathy and admiration.

The archbishops realized that they were expected to pronounce upon a matter of extreme importance; upon something which was likely to affect in no small degree the future of the Church of England. This feeling on their part, united to their desire to consider the question as thoroughly as might be, led to the postponement of their judgment from mid-summer, 1899, till 1st May, 1900.

From the tone of the High Church journals during the month of April, 1900, it was evident that they had received a premonition that their Graces' decision would prove utterly adverse to their claims and convictions. May-day came, and found the Guard-room of Lambeth Palace crowded with a most representative audience to hear the 'opinions' of the two archbishops. In addition to their Graces, the Bishops of Oxford, Rochester, and St. Albans were present. Bishop Barry and the Bishop of Dover also put in an appearance.

In his opening statement, Dr. Temple was careful to distinguish three forms of reservation :—

(*a*) In the first place, it is sometimes the practice to treat sick persons who are not in the church, but are living close by,

as if they were part of the congregation, and at the time of administration to the communicants generally to take the elements out of the church to them, as well as to those who are actually present. It is claimed that this is not reservation at all, inasmuch as the administration goes on without interruption, and it cannot be said that what is sent in this way is part of what remains after the service is over.

(*b*) The second form of the practice is, instead of consuming all that remains of the consecrated elements, as the rubric directs, to keep a portion back, and to administer this portion to people known to be sick at some later period of the day. This is acknowledged by all to be reservation, and the reserved elements are kept in the church until the time when they are taken to the sick.

(*c*) Thirdly, the elements, after consecration, are sometimes reserved not only to be used for those who are known to be sick at the time, but to be used for any case of sudden emergency which may occasion a demand for the Sacrament in the course of the week.

He then indicated the solemn obligation incumbent on the clergyman of carrying out the promise or pledge made at the time of his ordination :—

Now, the canon requires that every clergyman shall promise that, in the administration of the Sacraments, he will use the form prescribed in the Prayer Book, and none other, except so far as shall be otherwise ordered by lawful authority. And, on examining the Prayer Book, we do not find any single mention of, or allusion to, the practice of reservation, except in the close of the 28th Article, where it is said the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped. It will obviously require overwhelming evidence to prove that reservation, in any sense whatever, is part of the form prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

His Grace next alluded to the practice of the early Church, and allowed that as far back as the time of Justin Martyr the practice of reservation was common, not merely in the case of the sick, but even for those who were absent, though in good health. Consequently, such a custom must have then been regarded as consistent with the Christian faith, and was nothing wrong in itself. The canon of the Council of Nicæa, ordaining that the sick should not be deprived of Communion before death, was also quoted.

But, these ancient and venerable customs notwithstanding, the Church of England, in her 34th Article, had asserted her right to abrogate any law or practice, however time-honoured, according as her founders considered fit. As his Grace expressed it :—

But if it be said that the Church of England has no right to give up so ancient and general a practice, the Church of England has replied, in the 34th Article, that every particular or national Church hath authority to ordain, change, and abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority, so that all things be done to edifying. In fact, it is impossible to maintain that a Church which made such great changes as were made at the Reformation could not change the mode of administering the Holy Communion to the sick.

The practice of reservation, as the archbishop pointed out, was equally excluded by Article 28 :—

The Book of Common Prayer contains no order and provides no opportunity for the practice of reservation. But this is not all. The language of the 28th Article cannot be taken otherwise than as condemning the practice altogether. To say that the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper was not by Christ's ordinance reserved, carried about, lifted up, or worshipped, is to say that those who do these things use for one purpose what our Lord ordained for another.

Nor could he even tolerate such an interpretation of the word 'reserved,' in this article, as would limit it to the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, without injury to the question of reservation in the interests of the sick and dying :—

It was urged by counsel on behalf of reservation that the word 'reserved' in this place must be interpreted by the words which immediately follow, and that reservation for purpose of worship must be intended, and not reservation for the sick. This interpretation is partly sound; but the inference drawn from it cannot be admitted. All the four prohibitions must be taken together, and all of them in connection with the doctrine of Transubstantiation, emphatically repudiated just before. By worshipping is meant any external act of devotion, and this is the chief object of prohibition. The authorities of the Church knew well that external gestures are the very stronghold of superstitious doctrines, and they forbade on this account all worshipping of, *i.e.*, all external acts of devotion to, the conse-

crated elements, because, if retained, they would retain with themselves the doctrine which it was necessary to root out of people's minds. And lifting up and carrying about are forbidden, as giving opportunities for worshipping; and for the same reason was reservation forbidden. And in the evidence put before us it was admitted that those who practised reservation used external acts of devotion also, thus proving that even now, so long after the doctrine of Transubstantiation has been condemned, the steps which once led to that doctrine follow at once upon a revival of the opportunities which the article prohibits. The reason for the prohibition is clear. These practices led to gross abuse, which the Church of England felt bound to stop. And even the administration direct from the church during the service is shown to come under the same head, for it gives an opening to the same abuse.

To say that the Church of England may not discontinue an ancient practice which has led to abuse, is to say that the Church must not profit by experience. The Church, led by experience, has made many changes, and possibly, in course of time, may have to make more; and the power to do so cannot be denied to her.

In conclusion, his Grace declared that:—

After weighing carefully all that has been put before us, I am obliged to decide that the Church of England does not, at present, allow reservation in any form, and that those who think it ought to be allowed, though perfectly justified in endeavouring to get the proper authorities to alter the law, are not justified in practising reservation until the law has been altered.

In this decision the Archbishop of York concurred. Both opinions were received in perfect silence, and at their conclusion the audience dispersed, as the *Church Times* put it, 'without giving vent to any ebullition of feeling.'

How the archbishops could possibly have arrived at any other conclusion than the one they announced, I, for one, cannot imagine. Still it is abundantly plain that they have set the seal of their authority upon the self-evident contention that the Church of England, as by law established, is in its essence a purely Protestant institution, called into being and governed by the same power which rules the War Office and the Board of Education. As the articles now stand, reservation is illegal. To legalize this practice, Parliament must, I take it, give its sanction and approval;

and the mere notion of submitting such a question for discussion in the House of Commons, as at present constituted, must needs fill every respectable churchman with horror and alarm. The Irish ex-Law Lord, Lord Morris, is generally accredited with saying to two of his immediate neighbours in the House of Lords, during the discussion of some Church question: 'You are a Jew, and you are a Presbyterian, and I am a Romanist. Could we demand more convincing proof of our inability to legislate upon this question?' This, however, is but a small moiety of creeds compared with the religious persuasions to be met with in the House of Commons.

The decision of the archbishops has brought down upon them unlimited abuse from many quarters. This, however, is anything but fair and just. They were practically compelled to institute their inquiry. It is a well-known fact, that more than one member of the bench of bishops threatened to secede from the Established Church unless something was done to demonstrate the unlawfulness of most of the practices of the High Church clergy. With such a contingency before their mental view, and one calculated to rend in twain the Church of England, we can easily understand that the work of their Graces partook much more of the character of an angariation rather than that of a labour of love.

On the other hand, the decision must be particularly galling to the Ritualists; for it demolished once and for all their continuity theory so far as the Established Church is concerned. Their Graces clearly showed the purely Protestant character of the Church of which the Ritualists are members, and proved that she tolerated none of the beliefs and practices to which they attach so much importance. Threats of rebellion, and contempt for the archbishops' authority will not prove of much avail to the High Churchmen, for it is only too probable that public opinion will force the various bishops all over the country to give effect to the judgment of their metropolitans. In other words, reservation, and most other Catholic practices, will be suppressed with a strong hand, and the Ritualists will again

be compelled to ask themselves whether they have any logical *locus standi* in the Church of England.

It is not uninteresting to read the comments of the various High Anglican papers on the archbishops' decision. Thus the *Church Review* of May 3rd, 1900, tells us that :—

Practically the archbishop ignores the arguments of Catholics. He had before him a most temperate pamphlet in the form of a letter addressed to his Grace by Mr. Lacey, pleading for at least toleration. There is no notice whatever taken of any one of the weighty arguments and pleas so put before him. But even when he does condescend to notice any argument urged at the hearing, he betrays the fact that he did not understand it; notably so in his reference to the argument urged on his consideration for the principles laid down in the case of Escott *v.* Mastin. But while the opinion is poor enough in anything that can be called argument, it simply bristles with contentious points and misapprehensions of the Catholic position.

Then comes the following piece of advice to the clergy who practice reservation:—

One word of counsel we will in all earnestness venture on to those clergy who practice reservation in any form. Sit still, go on quietly as you are. Make no protests, either public or private. Do not write to your bishop. If your bishop should issue a public pastoral, take no notice of it. Receive it in respectful silence. Wait until he writes to you as an individual and demands that you give up reservation. Then simply write and say, with all possible respect, that you are entirely unable to comply, that you are bound to obey the Church rather than an individual bishop. 'In quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.' Let us be very quiet, but very firm. Let nothing be said, not even from the pulpit; but let the priests act. Act by simply going on. By God's blessing we shall win. That is the only way to fight this matter. 'Not by power, nor by might, but by My Spirit, saith the Lord of Hosts.'

The *Church Times* of May 4th, 1900, did not hesitate to say that the decision of the archbishops hardly called for serious examination :—

Otherwise, we might defend the 28th Article against the archbishop. Its language, he says, 'cannot be taken otherwise than as condemning the practice altogether.' But good authorities have taken it in a sense entirely different from this, and have given their reasons. It is possible still to subscribe the

article, without condemning a practice of the Primitive Church, or one which is quite consistent with the Christian faith, We prefer to say nothing about the archbishop's remarks on adoration but this one word :—that if any 'Pope, prelate, or priest,' forbid Christian men to worship their Lord, Christian men are bound to worship Him the more conspicuously. So long as the Lord's Supper is celebrated, they will not lack opportunities for eucharistic adoration. In sum, there is only one answer to the archbishop which isneeded. It is that which we recently gave to the Bishop of London's charge. Both prelates alike seem to think that we are in some way bound by the opinions and objects of the men who, in the sixteenth century, wrought some good and some evil for the Church under the name of Reformation. We repudiate the idea. We are bound neither to their opinions nor to their acts. We accept the good without much gratitude ; we mean to undo the evil. The Reformation was merely an incident ; and the men of the Reformation are no more to us than men of any other period. By what became the actual law of the Church at that time, and so remains, we are bound : by this, and nothing more.

The manifesto of Viscount Halifax to his followers, is a curious admixture of piety and the spirit of rebellion. It is certainly an outspoken declaration of his unwavering belief in the mystery of the Real Presence. Writing on May 1st, evidently with the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury still ringing in his ears, he says :—

How often before, in moments of distress and difficulty, the service proper for the day brings comfort, help, and encouragement.

To-day, St. Philip and St. James's Day, has been chosen by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York for the condemnation of all reservation of the Blessed Sacrament for the sick and dying, and of the adoration due to our Lord Jesus Christ in the Sacrament of His Love. To-day the Epistle at Mass exhorts us to count it joy when trials come upon us, since 'the trial of our faith worketh patience.' In the Gospel, Jesus Himself speaks and says, 'Let not your heart be troubled ; ye believe in God, believe also in Me.' And in the First Lesson, for Matins, the promise comes 'That the old wastes shall be built, the former desolations raised up, the waste cities, the desolations of many generations repaired.'

Yes ! the desolations of former generations are by God's great mercy being repaired. Nothing can stay that work. Our Lord's tender compassion, as He wills to be brought to the bedside of the sick and dying, will not be hindered ; but again, as so often

before, apparent disaster and threatened loss will prove the occasion for the completer vindication of the teaching and practice of Christ's Holy Catholic Church.

The laity will not consent to run the risk of dying without the Sacraments. Reservation for the sick and dying cannot be given up.

That the Ritualists have grasped the true significance of the archbishops' decision as regards the real character of the Church of England as by law established, is to me quite evident. For instance, in the *Church Times* of May 11th, 1900, we find the report of an address read at a meeting of the York Branch of the English Church Union, by the Rev. A. O. Duncan, on behalf of the Rev. G. Napier Whittingham, its author, in the course of which we meet with the following passages :—

The Reserved Sacrament had ever from the earliest antiquity been used throughout the Catholic Church. Was it not the comfort of hundreds of sick people, the earnest expectation of thousands that they might not die without the *Viaticum ?* Yet it was declared 'illegal' merely because the Reformers, who made most of their alterations in a state of panic and confusion, made no allusion as to its continuance. It should be the earnest prayer of every Catholic that every priest should remain firm on this important matter, even if it meant disobeying his bishop.

If their doctrine and ritual were to date merely from the Reformation—and this was what alas ! they must infer to be the 'opinion' of the Primates—then they should at least be honest, and in giving the Roman Catholics all ritual and doctrine in vogue before the Reformation which was not expressly ordered by the Reformers, let them add to their present the beautiful Minster of York, and all abbeys, churches, and other buildings erected before the Reformation, and let prelates and clergy be further consistent and hand over their endowments and stipends as well, for they might be well assured that it was not the intention of the pious and loving faithful souls that erected and endowed our churches that they should pass into the hands of men who would abolish the dignity of Catholic ritual, and withhold from God's people the Bread of Life.

This, to my mind, represents a view of the situation at once logical and consistent. It is superfluous to add that no one expects the clergy of the Establishment to surrender their livings in favour of the agents of the 'Italian Mission.'

It will be interesting to watch the events of the next six

months in connection with this controversy. Will the Ritualists rest content within the pale of a Church which has now been proclaimed by its own chief pastors to be a purely human institution, Protestant and Erastian in its essence and character? or will they at length turn towards that 'Living Organism,' of which Mr. Mallock writes in his remarkable work, a passage from which appears at the head of this paper, which is *in* this world, though *not* of it, and which 'absorbs into itself the meaning of all natural knowledge, and, converting it into its own substance, makes it supernatural knowledge, not by violating the processes of man's natural intellect, but by using them.'

There is, it seems to me, one very hopeful sign of their liberation, and that is, their tender attachment to Jesus in the Sacrament of His love. Should their faith in this mystery prove to be well founded, their further continuance in a Church which has officially cast aside every shred of Catholic eucharistic teaching ought to prove not only difficult, but impossible.

RICHARD A. O'GORMAN.

FAITH AND MODERN MIRACLES

IN the pages of the *Humanitarian* there appeared recently two articles on modern saints and modern miracles—a subject that must ever be of the deepest interest to the Catholic reader. The matter under consideration has been discussed from diametrically opposite standpoints, the one writer being an able and devout Catholic, whilst the other is an infidel of the most pronounced type. At a time like the present, when the minds of men are occupied with thoughts on these subjects, it may be interesting to examine the different views on a question whose importance is so wide and far-reaching.

From the beginning of creation miraculous events have been always recognised as the chief means of leading inquirers into a knowledge of divine revelation. The existence of miracles was admitted by Jews and pagans, and they have at all times appealed to mankind as the evidence and pledge of a message from God, and the supreme manifestation of His attributes. Nor can it be denied, without an error in faith, that the gift of miracles is an abiding one, manifested from time to time in the Church. The Protestant view, that miracles ceased with the Apostles, is out of harmony with the depth and wisdom of the providence of God in dealing with fallen humanity. The Church on earth is a militant Church, engaged in constant warfare with sin and the dangerous, insidious foe of infidelity; and it is reasonable to suppose that the Great Father, who commissioned the Apostles to teach all nations, and promised to be with them all days, would continue to supply them with the effective weapon of signs and wonders. There is no other form of evidence so luminous, striking, and forcible, none so well adapted to carry conviction to the most varied classes of minds. And infidelity, in all its different forms and degrees, has to be encountered. There

are the active, aggressive infidels, who would fain dash to the ground the noble edifice of faith built up in the course of the centuries; there are those, again, who, from heredity, environment, or other influence, surrender themselves to a life of self-indulgence, and thus darken their intellects, and become incapable of grasping supernatural truth. Nor are there wanting persons who are painfully conscious of their need of further enlightenment, and in whose weary hearts the death-bed cry of Göethe, 'More light,' often finds a responsive echo. And, if we look to foreign climes, how many millions may be found whose want of faith is mainly due to their geographical position, through which they cannot have the truths of religion, with their motives of credibility, set properly before their minds? To convey the blessings of faith to these countless multitudes, missionaries and other zealous workers have often given up the ties of home and kindred, and cheerfully sacrificed their lives. All these varied classes are the objects of God's saving will, and miracle is His most powerful instrument to light up the lamp of faith, and dispel the darkness of infidelity.

It must be considered, too, that what has been said of those who are yet without faith applies also, in a certain sense, to Catholics. For the careful observer will readily admit that whatever lights up the flame of faith, in the first instance, is the most effective means of keeping that flame steadily burning. The same influences which are a suitable disposition for this divine virtue become its safeguard and nutriment when it is at length possessed. And faith, like every other virtue, requires careful cultivation and protection. The life of a man on earth is a warfare, and the powers of evil, ever virulent and active, will not be slow to assail this fundamental virtue. Even the greatest and holiest of the children of the Church have their seasons of gloom and spiritual desolation, when difficulties will arise, and the grim spectre of doubt may dare to obtrude itself upon their imaginations. St. Ignatius and Newman had their hours of solitude and depression; and Cardinal

Wiseman, with his accustomed candour and sincerity, tells us in words that touch the heart:—

> Many and many an hour have I passed alone in bitter tears fighting with bitter thoughts and venomous suggestions of a fiendlike infidelity when there was no one that could have sympathised with me. This made me study and think to conquer the plague—for I can hardly call it a danger—for myself and others.

And amongst the ordinary struggling faithful who have not time for study or scholarship the diffusion of pernicious literature may, now and again, give rise to thoughts which require an antidote to counteract them, and restore the brightness of spiritual vision. For though it is true, as Wiseman declares, that during the time of trial the simple submission of faith is the only remedy, and thoughts against it must be put away like temptations against any other virtue, we have it on the same high authority that, when the actual struggle is past, these thoughts may be safely analyzed and the difficulties they present can be conquered and overcome. The same idea is expressed by Tennyson in memorable words:—

> He fought his doubts and gathered strength,
> He would not make his judgment blind,
> He faced the spectres of the mind
> And laid them: thus he came at length
> To find a stronger faith his own.[1]

All this will become evident when we consider for a moment what is involved in an act of faith. Faith is an assent of the intellect to a truth revealed by God on account of the authority of God who reveals it. In faith, God Himself speaks to us, and we give our adherence because of His authority who is the Intallible Truth, and can neither deceive nor be deceived. It is true that the evidence can never be as strong as to compel the assent of the intellect as in a mathematical demonstration; otherwise faith would cease to be meritorious, whereas we know, on the contrary, that it is the fruit of grace and not the result of any

[1] *In Memoriam*, xcvi.

reasoning. But all men are bound to co-operate, and it is the province of human reason to determine, with the divine aid, whether or not God has spoken.

And it must be borne in mind, that miracles and prophecies—which are, in reality, a species of miracle—have always appealed to mankind as the chief notes of a divine message. For a miracle in its essence is a work which transcends all natural agency, and can only be produced by the immediate intervention of God. So that whether it is given to confirm those who deliver a message in God's name, or as a reward of individual piety, it is always a proof of the divine origin of the religious system in which it is found. Hence we find many converts to Catholicity confessing that the evidence for recent miracles was one of the most powerful causes that had brought them into the Church. There is no other mark of revelation, not even the excellence and sanctity of the doctrine, that exercises so wide an influence, and appeals with such force to the world at large. The most varied classes of mind are taken captive by the convincing proofs of miraculous events. To the learned and unlearned, the wise and the simple, they afford the most luminous and striking evidence of divine authority, they are the pledge and the guarantee of supernatural teaching. They make the foundations of our faith strong and enduring, and banish all difficulties from the mind like mists before the rising sun.

Thoughts like these suggest the propriety of calling attention to some miracles and prophecies of recent occurrence. It is true, that these have not yet been examined and approved by the infallible authority of the Church, and, as such, Catholics are free to withhold their belief in them. But they are attested by numerous witnesses, and accepted as genuine amongst others by a French writer of the highest literary eminence, Joris Karl Huysmans. He has for some years devoted all his zeal and ability to the elucidation of this important question which must be regarded as a most fascinating subject of study.

In the *Humanitarian* for February, 1899, the first place is given to an interview with this distinguished

littérateur. He asserts as certain that there are saints at the present day, the great difficulty being to distinguish between hysterical subjects and those filled with the divine spirit. After a brief reference to St. Lidwine, who died in the fifteenth century, and the saintly Belgian girl Louise Lateau, he draws special attention to the case of Marie Julie Jahenny of the hamlet of Fraudais near Blain in the department of the Loire Inferieure, France.

In the year 1873, Mgr. Fournier, the Bishop of Nantes, summoned Dr. Antoine Imbert-Gourbeyre to make a medical examination of Marie Julie, and after most carefully studying the case, the doctor came to the conclusion, that she was a genuine stigmatisée. Like Louise Lateau, St. Francis, and others, she exhibited all those mysterious marks which appear on the bodies of saintly personages, her sides, her feet, and the palms of her hands showing blood-red marks resembling the wounds which were inflicted on our Blessed Saviour. During a period of sixteen years the stigmata appeared on the body of Louise Lateau every Friday, and continued each time from fifty to sixty hours. In the case of Marie Julie the stigmata are still more distinctly marked, and present somewhat different features, the duration is generally shorter, the skin is somewhat reddened, and the blood exuding coagulates to form rings, or figures, or even letters.

But, in addition to the stigmata, the Breton girl is endowed with a most remarkable gift of prophecy. She foretold with unerring accuracy the terrible sufferings she herself was destined to undergo; her paralysis, her blindness. And, when in a state of ecstasy, she frequently announced her marks would disappear, or undergo changes at certain periods. Thus in April, 1880, she prophesied several times, that her marks would alter; and on June 29th, following, the changes took place exactly in the manner she had previously stated. Again, on September 29th, 1882, Dr. Imbert-Gourbeyre heard her state that her ring and crown would change. And on the morning of October the 15th, the mark on her finger disappeared, and another ring, bright red in colour, and of different design,

appeared in its place. On another occasion she foretold that she would receive a more brilliant crown than the one she wore, stating, as additional circumstances, that it would be ornamented with diamonds, and that the heavenly gift would be accompanied with sweet music. On May 24th, 1883, the prophecy was exactly fulfilled; and the other members of the family heard the celestial music on two different occasions.

In addition to this marvellous gift of prophecy there are other remarkable signs giving proof that Marie Julie is the object of divine inspiration. At one time a blood-red ring appeared on her finger, which was witnessed by fourteen people—a symbol of her mystic marriage with Jesus. She possesses, too, the miraculous power of distinguishing consecrated from unconsecrated bread; she can recite Latin verses totally unknown to her; and she is able to recognise relics at a distance. When relics were brought to Louise Lateau she recognised them by smiles; but Marie Julie does more: she can give you the names of the relics, and tell their origin with perfect accuracy.

The following are further examples of her marvellous endowments in M. Huysmans' own words:—

On November 20th, 1876, Marie Julie was visited by the Abbé David, one of the priests of La Fraudais, in whose possession at the time was a small box containing a relic of St. Vincent de Paul. Hardly had he entered her room when she turned towards him, and asked for the box and its contents. A still more surprising phenomenon occurred on February 20th, 1880, the anniversary of Marie Julie's mystic marriage. One of the village priests brought her a bunch of snowdrops, which had been placed overnight at the foot of the monstrance. The flowers were placed in her hands. Immediately she commenced kissing them, and uttered the following remarkable words:—'Oh! dear little flowers, which have remained the whole night at the foot of my love, how happy you are! Dear little flowers, my little sisters, how I envy your happiness! You possess simplicity; your whiteness resembles the whiteness of the wheat of the elect! The angels grew you for my anniversary. The first among all your sisters you bloomed immediately after the hoarfrost of winter. While you were at the feet of my dear Spouse, angels filled your petals with perfumes which perfume me.' Remarkable words for a poor ignorant Breton peasant girl to utter,

In the short sketch of this saintly personage many other marvels are recorded of such a character as to bear testimony to their supernatural origin. It must suffice to call attention to one of the most conclusive signs—'the mantle of living fire.' These are her own words, and refer to a strange and brilliant light proceeding from the wounds on her person. And in connection with this event she gave utterance to another remarkable prophecy. She stated that our Lord had told her of the occurrence, and a few weeks later, light suddenly sprang from the marks on the palms of her hands, continuing for ten minutes, and resembling, in its brilliancy, the flash from a diamond.

These are wondrous events, and it seems quite impossible for the impartial mind to resist the evidence they afford us of supernatural agency. Both the cases of Louise Lateau and Marie Julie belong to our own day, the latter being still alive. And the lives of both the one and the other present abundant features which cannot possibly be explained away on the hypothesis of freethinking philosophers.

At the foot of M. Huysmans' article the editors announce that a reply would appear, in the following month, from Professor Gilles de la Tourette, the eminent professor of medicine at the Salpetrière, Paris. Accordingly in the March number, 1899, there appears an article in reply to the views which M. Huysmans set forth, and established by plain statements of fact. This paper also takes the form of an interview, and both the interviewer and the scientist who is interviewed are evidently out of sympathy with the gifted author of *En Route*. As a man of science, Dr. Gilles de la Tourette is undoubtedly distinguished. He is a fellow of the Paris faculty of medicine, and the author of ten or twelve works of authority on hysterical subjects. From a writer of such eminence, for whom the readers of the magazine were specially prepared, one would naturally expect a forcible reply; and yet it will be seen, on the contrary, that the methods of his attack rather strengthen the position of M. Huysmans; and a brief examination of the reply shows us how applicable are the words of St. Gregory: 'Plus nobis Thomae infidelitas ad fidem quam fides credentium discipulorum profuit.'

He opens the controversy with a most starting proposition: 'There is nothing unexplainable, nothing supernatural.' And almost his last words on the subject are in the same strain: 'There is no such thing as the supernatural.' He appears to have no thought of giving proof of this extraordinary assertion. On the contrary, he assumes it as a first principle; and upon this foundation of sand he proceeds to build the whole structure of his argument. It is amazing that a man so gifted in the domain of science could expect such reasoning to carry conviction to his readers. The assumption of his first principles exactly recalls to mind the parallel case which is so brilliantly exposed by Cardinal Newman in one of his lectures on Catholicism in England:—

> The Protestant [he says] laughs at the very idea of miracles occurring at the present day. His first principle is rooted in him; he repels from him the idea of miracles; he laughs at the notion of evidence; one is just as likely as another; they are all false. Why? Because of his first principle—there are no miracles since the Apostles.[1]

In the course of Dr. Gilles de la Tourette's criticism many plain statements of fact are to be met with which cannot be lightly rejected or set aside. It would be unwise to ignore them, and a full consideration of their importance will often assist us materially in arriving at a just conclusion. Due weight must be given to the researches of Charcot and other men of this school. They state, for example, that extraordinary phenomena have been produced in hysterical subjects, especially whilst they were in a hypnotic state:—

> In one instance [says M. Huysmans' critic] M. Mabille hypnotised a male hysterical subject, and suggested to him that a quarter of an hour after awakening, a 'V,' which would bleed, would appear on a certain spot marked on his forearm. A quarter of an hour afterwards the man had an attack of hysterics . . . and when the seizure was over it was found that a 'V' covered with blood had really appeared on the place marked. When not hypnotised the contact of gold produced not only a very painful sensation, but also a burn which healed very slowly.

[1] Page 289.

This is by far the strongest of two or three hysterical cases which he describes. One may accept his testimony, when he bears witness to facts which he knew; but it is impossible to place reliance on his judgment, he has so much prejudice and so little patience. Upon the slightest basis of evidence he proceeds to erect a vast structure of argument, maintaining, as he does, that the stigmata are to be always regarded as trophic troubles arising from hysteria, and that St. Francis, Louise Lateau, and Marie Julie, are not saints but hysterical subjects. A wide conclusion, truly, and showing an utter disregard for the rudimentary principles of logic!

But the lengths to which he is prepared to go in support of his opinions will best be estimated from his method of dealing with the other remarkable facts to which M. Huysmans bears testimony. It will be remembered, that the clearest evidence was given of the gift of prophecy and other endowments of a supernatural character. The testimony in their favour was of the same nature as that advanced for the stigmata, and they afforded still stronger proof of miraculous origin. Some explanation, therefore, would naturally be expected from the learned professor. But he does not even make an attempt to account for these phenomena. Unable to offer anything like a plausible explanation he falls back on his first principle and denies the facts. And lest this might appear to misrepresent him, it seems only fair to quote his own words :—

> One more question, Doctor, Marie Julie Jahenny, the stigmatisée of La Fraudais, is said to have been able to recognise relics at a distance. Louise Lateau, too, is said to have recognised relics by smiles when they were brought to her. Do you think there is any truth in the statements?
>
> *Mais non!* [exclaimed Dr. Gilles de la Tourette] *Mais non!* [1] There is no such thing as the supernatural.

These words bring the interview to a close. It they were merely the idiosyncrasies of an individual they would be worthy of no consideration; but, as the writer of the

[1] These words are in italics in the original.

article confesses, they sum up the attitude of nearly all scientists towards stigmatization and kindred questions.

The prejudices of these men are so strong, and the dislike of Catholic teaching so rooted in them, that they are prepared to resist all evidence, even the direct testimony of the senses. Faith, in the language of theologians, resides *radicaliter* in the intellect, but *formaliter* in the will, and where the will to believe is wanting no miracle can compel assent. The sceptic will not be at a loss for an excuse: there was some inaccuracy in the report, some illusion of the senses, or the occurrence was due to some unknown law of nature. 'If I were to witness a resurrection,' says Rousseau, 'however astonished I might be, I cannot say what might happen. I should be more likely to go out of my mind than to believe.'

At the same time the investigations of these men, and the discoveries they have made, show us that Catholics should be careful in accepting as miraculous occurrences of an extraordinary character. Credulity is as damaging to religion as slowness of belief; and mistakes will sometimes occur amongst the children of the Church. Events due to natural causes may be here and there regarded as miraculous, through human infirmity, or the contingencies of evidence. And sometimes, too, through zeal and devotion Catholics may fall into error, and fancy there has been a miracle when there is none. And yet who can suppose that God will deal severely with those mistakes of His loving children arising from filial love and loyalty, when the evidence in favour of genuine miracles is so strong and overwhelming?

Many questions are involved in obscurity, but this is not a sufficient reason for denying truths that are clear and evident. Without a complete knowledge of all the effects which mechanical genius may produce, we know that the vital principle is beyond the power of mechanics, and that the life of a plant differs essentially from the movements of a clock. And so in the supernatural order a full acquaintance with the laws of nature is not necessary to determine with certainty that certain classes of events are wholly beyond the powers of natural causes. Thus it is difficult to

define exactly the border-line between the natural and the miraculous, but we can know as certain that there is no force in nature capable of recalling the dead to life. And, in like manner, unless we are to yield to the most hopeless scepticism, and the ordinary course of nature is to cease, we can know that no mere natural power can foretell future free events, give sight to the blind, or still the tempest by a word. We are not governed by a blind and unchanging necessity, but by the hand of a loving Father. There are two systems going on in the universe, one of nature and one of miracle, and God sways and directs the natural order to His own high purposes. The stability of the Church through the storms of ages, and her triumphant march through the centuries, is a great and perpetual miracle, the proof of all other miracles, and the visible evidence of God's direct governance and everlasting love.

THOMAS F. MACKEN.

THE SPECIAL CHARM OF IRISH MELODIES SUNG 'TRADITIONALLY'[1]

IT may look strange that I am going to address you on a subject on which I have no personal experience whatsoever. I am going to speak to you on the special charm Irish melodies possess when they are rendered 'traditionally,' that is to say, in the way that is handed down from mother to child, from one peasant singer to his younger companion, without any interference of theoretical knowledge, or of acquaintance with other kinds of music. Melodies thus performed I have never had an opportunity of hearing myself. You may easily perceive, therefore, that I am not going to give you any views of my own on the subject; I only wish to call your attention to this matter, to lay before you one theory put forward in explanation of the phenomenon, and to give you such general information, together with practical illustrations of the principles involved, as will enable you to understand the question at issue.

As to the real existence of such a special charm of Irish melodies sung traditionally, there seems to be no doubt. I have been assured of this by various authorities, who not only give testimony to their own personal experience, but also bear witness of the extraordinary effect Irish melodies thus performed have on Irish audiences generally. I quote, in particular, a writer who, in the *Waterford Star*, gave his impressions on a Feis held at Ardmore a few months ago. Speaking about the effect of the singing of a little girl who, according to him, sang her little Irish melody exactly as she had learned it from her mother, this writer, who, I understand, is one of the most prominent men in the Gaelic movement, says: 'The quick Irish audience was struck as by a lightning flash, they listened in a breathless spell until she finished, and then proclaimed by the roar of their applause that their instinct was ever sure for the right

[1] A lecture delivered before St. Mary's Literary Society, Maynooth College.

thing. Her superiority over the artificially-trained children was glaring.' These remarks of the Ardmore correspondent drew forth a reply from a professional musician, who, I believe, was in some way connected with the Ardmore Feis. This reply I have, unfortunately, not been able to procure. But the Ardmore correspondent gave a rejoinder, in which he sets forth, at some length, what he considers the difference between Irish and modern music, and the reason why Irish melodies, rendered in the style of modern music, fail to produce their proper impression. Since my attention was called to this theory, through the letter in the *Waterford Star*, I have learned that the same theory is laid down by Dr. Sullivan in his introduction to *O'Curry's Lectures*, published in 1873. Dr. Sullivan, in his turn, took his ideas from Helmholtz, whose book on the *Sensations of Tone* forms the foundation on which many a writer has built. But let us hear the Ardmore correspondent himself.

He asks: 'What constitutes the difference between Irish and modern music?' and then proceeds as follows:—

The answer to this question involves a discussion of some technical details that stand, however, well within the comprehension of everybody possessing even a rudimentary knowledge of music and acoustics. Shortly, then, the differentiating causes may be classified into—

I. Differences of scale;
II. Differences of phrasing and expression;
III. Differences of time.

Of those the first is all important, the second also has a definite value, while the third, as its force does not extend to all Irish music, may be neglected here. First, then, to the question of scale.

1. The stuff out of which all music is made is a simple series of notes rising from a lower to a higher tone according to a preconcerted rate and order of gradation. Measured by the number of vibrations required to produce the first and last notes of the series, we find they stand in the proportion of 1 : 2, *i.e.*, if lower *do* be produced by five hundred vibrations in a second, it will take one thousand vibrations in the same time to give high *do*. The space between those two limits has been filled in by various peoples at various times in various ways; in fact, the number of scales that may be constructed out of an octave interval is theoretically infinite. The modern so-called natural diatonic scale was agreed to after a world of empirical shifting, and finally received its

settled form for the simple reason that it most conveniently meets the exigencies of modern harmony.

Your correspondent, in stating that it 'has its origin in the nature of our organization,' no doubt gave us the benefit of what he thought about it. On behalf of my own personal organization, I venture to put up a plea of not guilty. Indeed, so much is it quite the contrary, that the tonic scheme on which, for instance, the great body of Irish music is built, not to mention others, arises from a totally different division of the octave interval. In fact, everybody who has seriously busied himself with Irish music, who picked up airs from our country people, and tried to reproduce them on his fiddle, knows that they will not play by the ordinary fingering—knows that they are not composed on the usual tone intervals. If, then, he prosecutes an analytical study of the tonality of these melodies, or avails himself of the result of modern scientific research in the matter, he will discover that Irish music is written on a gapped quinquegrade scale, composed of a chain of ascending fifths. Putting those two scales side by side, and representing the low *do* in each case by 1, and the remaining notes in both systems by their appropriate ratios, anybody with the least taste for vulgar fractions will discern at a glance the wide discrepancy between them.

ORDINARY DIATONIC SCALE

1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{5}{4}$	$\frac{4}{3}$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{5}{3}$	$\frac{15}{8}$	2
do	*re*	*mi*	*fa*	*sol*	*la*	*si*	*do*

IRISH SCALE

1	$\frac{9}{8}$	$\frac{81}{64}$	$(\frac{4}{3})$	$\frac{3}{2}$	$\frac{27}{16}$	$(\frac{243}{128})$	2

So far the Ardmore correspondent.

If you look at the upper line of figures which I have reproduced on the blackboard, you will find that they are familiar to you from your studies of acoustics in your Physic year. The lower line represents what is claimed to be the Irish scale. Before we examine these curious ratios, I must say a word about the term 'quinquegrade.' I have not been able to find this term in any dictionary. The Ardmore correspondent evidently took it from Sullivan, and I surmise that Sullivan invented it to render some German expression of Helmholtz'. The word does not appear to be identical with 'pentatonic,' five-toned; for Sullivan speaks of a 'five-toned quinquegrade scale.' The only other possible meaning, then, is 'arrived at by steps of a fifth,' though the Ardmore correspondent's phrase, 'a quinquegrade scale composed of

a chain of ascending fifths,' would then seem rather tautological.

This idea, however, takes us at once to the very root of the question. Over two thousand four hundred years ago Pythagoras, the great Greek philosopher, enunciated the theory that all musical effect was based on the consonance of two intervals, the octave and the fifth. These two were the only primary intervals; all others were derived from them. In accordance with his general philosophical system, he laid down the principle that all musical beauty was founded on numbers, and the primary numbers were 1, 2, 3, and 4. His reason for stopping at 4 is that 4 is a sacred number, because it is the first square, and because, when added to the sum of the preceding three numbers, it makes 10. These reasons seem rather funny to us now; but the relation between numbers and musical intervals has been upheld by musical theory down to our own time. Whether Pythagoras himself discovered this relation, or whether he learned it from the Egyptian sages, who may have known it thousands of years before Pythagoras, we cannot say; but Pythagoras is the first musical theorist about whom we have clear historical knowledge.

You may have heard the story that Pythagoras had his attention first called to the mathematical ratios of the scale by the musical sound of several smiths' hammers. This is probably a myth. It is more than likely that the division of a stretched string pointed out to him the basis of his theory. Let me here state at once distinctly that the intervals of octave and fifth, as well as the whole heptatonic scale, were known and used long before Pythagoras. He did not determine the exact intonation of octave and fifth by the division of his string. He knew the sound of these intervals empirically; what he really did was to find out, and establish as a fundamental principle, that dividing a stretched string into two or three parts produces the exact intervals of the octave or fifth.

If we divide the string into two equal parts, we get the octave of the tone produced by the whole string; hence we have for the interval of the octave the mathematical formula

1 : $\frac{1}{2}$. If we divide the string into three equal parts, we get the twelfth, or the fifth of the octave, and we have, therefore, for the interval of the twelfth the formula 1 : $\frac{1}{3}$. The twelfth, however, is rather far removed from the unison. It is an interval which taxes the whole range of the human voice. Hence it is more convenient to compare the twelfth, not with the unison, but with the octave, which gives the interval of the fifth with the formula $\frac{1}{2}$: $\frac{1}{3}$. To these Pythagoras added the interval of the fourth, with the formula $\frac{1}{3}$: $\frac{1}{4}$. This interval is nowadays not taken as one of the fundamental intervals, because, in reality, it is nothing but the difference between the fifth and the octave. You perceive that we made the length of the string the foundation of the interval measurements. In modern times it is more usual to take as foundation the number of vibrations, which, as you know, stands in inverse ratio to the length of the string. Hence we nowadays define the octave as 1 : 2, and the fifth as 2 : 3.

Having laid down these fundamental ratios, then, Pythagoras went a step farther, and derived from them the whole scale, which we may do after him somewhat in this way. Starting, say, from *d* and calling it 1, we first fix its octave as 2, and its fourth, *f*, and fifth, *s*, as $\frac{4}{3}$ and $\frac{3}{2}$ respectively. Next we consider *r*, and this we derive from *d* by going upwards two steps of a fifth, first from *d* to *s*, then from *s* to *r*. This *r*, the one beyond the octave *d*, has, then, for its ratio $\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{9}{4}$. To transpose it an octave lower, we must divide its number by 2, thus arriving at $\frac{9}{8}$, the figure given in the second line on the blackboard. From *r* we ascend a fifth to *l*, which accordingly we determine as $\frac{9}{8} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{27}{16}$. The fifth of *l* is *m*, with the ratio $\frac{27}{16} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{81}{32}$. This we have to divide by 2, to get it an octave lower, and thus we get $\frac{81}{64}$, the figure you see on the board. Finally we determine the fifth of *m*, *t*, as $\frac{81}{64} \times \frac{3}{2} = \frac{243}{128}$. You see the figures for *f* and *t* put in brackets, because the original Irish scale, being pentatonic, is supposed to have no *f* or *t*. This, then, is the scale as explained by Pythagoras, and as generally held by all musical theorists from the sixth century B.C. till the sixteenth century

after Christ, just about 2,100 years. In this scale, too, the Irish melodies are said to have been composed, and according to it, it is maintained, they are sung by real Irish singers even now.

Let us pause here for a moment to consider the reasonableness of this theory. First of all, let me state distinctly that it does not suppose music originally to have proceeded by octaves and fifths, and at a subsequent period of development the interval of a second to have been derived from them. I certainly believe that the second was the first melodic interval. But the meaning of the theory is that the psychological explanation of our appreciation of a second is to be found in referring this interval to those of the fifth and octave. You remember that when we sing one tone and then another above it, say *d r*, we make, in singing *r*, a selection out of an innumerable multitude of possible tones Why is it that we select this particular one? Why is it that we take the interval at about the ratio 8 : 9? Why not 7 : 8, or 9 : 10, or 10 : 11 ; or any other similar ratio? There can be only one answer to this question, I think, namely, that we perceive a natural affinity between *r* and *d*. The next question, then, is: What does this natural affinity consist in? There is no direct relation between them, the one cannot be referred to the other as its cause, or unit of measurement. Everybody agrees in calling them dissonant, that is, not blending together. What, then, is the bond of unity between them? Here our theory answers that *r* is the second fifth of *d*, and that this fact explains its relation to *d*, in other words, that *r* is related to *d* through *s*. This is only a theory, of course, but one well in accordance with facts and also with our psychological experience. It moreover commends itself by its antiquity, having now held its ground for over 2,400 years. There is a remarkable corroboration of this theory in the teaching of Aristoxenus, an eminent Greek music theorist of the fourth century, a pupil of Aristotle. Aristoxenus was the founder of the so-called harmonic school, as opposed to the canonic school of Pythagoras. He rejected the number theory of the Pythagoreans altogether, maintaining that the ear, not the

mathematical division of the string, had to judge on musical facts, and that our physiological and psychological perception of musical intervals had nothing at all to do with numbers. But he, too, derives the interval of a tone from the fundamental intervals of octave and fifth, on whose absolute consonance, he says, the ear can judge. I think, therefore, that this theory of explaining the relation of *d* and *r* as that of a double fifth, is pretty well-founded. It is a different question, though, whether the whole scale is to be derived that way, and on this we shall touch presently.

I said that the Pythagorean theory held the field all through antiquity and the middle ages. So long as music was only in one part, in unison, this theory created no difficulty. But things changed when modern harmony, the simultaneous sounding of different tones, made its appearance. You see from the table of ratios that the ratio of the third *d-m*, is very complicated, 64 : 81. Similarly the third *m-s* is very complicated, $\frac{81}{64} : \frac{3}{2} = 27 : 32$. Consequently these intervals were considered as dissonances. In accordance with this, when singing in two parts was first tried, by learned musicians, in the eighth and following centuries, thirds were avoided, and only fourths, fifths, and octaves were used. But in the course of centuries the ear of musicians found out that the third, although theoretically a dissonance, sounds very well. It appears that in the twelfth century or even earlier, in the north of England, country people used to accompany melodies in thirds, and from there the custom spread to the continent, and finally found its way even into art music, notwithstanding all theory-born prejudices. In the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, then, we find musical practice using thirds freely as consonances, but only in the sixteenth century, theory, limping behind, found the formula for expressing the new idea. An Italian theorist named Fogliani was the first to lay down the new principle, in 1529. But it was only when Zarlino, in his *Instituzione Harmoniche,* (1558), gave a complete and satisfactory explanation of the whole system of modern harmony, that the new theory received general acceptance.

The new principle introduced is this, that the third is recognised as a primary interval along with the octave and fifth, and as we laid down for the fifth the ratio 1 : 3, or with elimination of the octave, 2 : 3, so we lay down for the third the ratio 1 : 5, or with elimination of two octaves, 4 : 5. In explaining the whole scale, then, Zarlino looks upon it as made up of three chords, each chord consisting of a primary tone with its third and fifth. This can be done in two ways, either by taking *d m s* with *f l d* and *s t r*, or by taking *m d l* with *t s m* and *l f r*. There is a slight difference between the two ways, which we need not consider now. The ratios given usually for the 'natural' scale refer to the first way, the so-called 'major' mode. You see that the ratios for *r*, *f* and *s* are the same as in the Pythagorean scale, these notes being arrived at by steps of a fifth. But *m* is considered as third of *d* with the ratio $\frac{5}{4}$, *l* as third of *f* with the ratio $\frac{4}{3} \times \frac{5}{4} \times \frac{5}{3}$, and *t* as third of *s* with the ratio $\frac{3}{2} \times \frac{5}{4} = \frac{15}{8}$. The difference between the *m's* of the two scales, and similarly between the *l's* and *t's*, is $\frac{5}{4} : \frac{81}{64} = 80 : 81$, an interval known by the name of 'comma.'

Will you please observe here, again, what I called your attention to in the case of Pythagoras. Pythagoras, I said, did not fix the intonation of the octave and fifth, but he only found a law for an existing fact. Similarly, Zarlino did not invent a new intonation for the modern scale, but he simply found a mathematical formula for a thing that practical musicians had felt and practised for centuries before him. It is, therefore, somewhat misleading when the Ardmore correspondent says: 'The modern so-called natural scale was agreed to after a world of empirical shifting, and finally received its settled form for the simple reason that it most conveniently meets the exigencies of modern harmony.' From this it might appear that first modern harmony was invented, and then musicians went out to look for a scale to suit it. But, as a matter of fact, the practical recognition of the new principle, the consonance of the third, was previous to the invention of modern harmony, and a necessary preliminary for making its invention possible, while only the theoretical definition was subsequent.

Having given you so much of theory, now let me show you what musical effects correspond to these mathematical definitions.

[The lecturer here illustrated the various intervals on a harmonium tuned in 'just intonation.']

So far we have considered the modern scale only in the form laid down for it by theoretical considerations. We have now to go a step further and to consider another scale used in modern music. It would lead us too far at present to go into the question as to whether modern music is ever performed in absolute accordance with the so-called 'natural' scale. We shall confine ourselves now to a consideration of the fact that at least a great deal of modern music is performed in a scale altogether different. The necessity for this other scale arises from the combination of two circumstances. The first is that modern music requires a very large number of tones within the octave. Up to the present we have considered only seven tones within the octave, the heptatonic diatonic scale. But the need of far more than that I may bring home to you by calling your attention to two devices of modern music, called *modulation* and *transposition.*

By modulation we mean a shifting of the centre round which all the tones group themselves. You have seen that in constructing the 'natural' scale we took *d* as centre—as 'tonic,' as it is called technically. We had then *d m s* as tonic chord, *f l d* as subdominant, and *s t r* as dominant. Now, in the course of a modern piece of music, sometimes another tone is taken as tonic for a while, in order to produce variety, and this implies new tones. If, for instance, we take *s* a tonic, then we have *s t r* as tonic chord, and *d m s* as subdominant. These notes are provided already. But for a dominant we require *r fe l*, and this implies two new tones. For not only do we want *fe*, which is not in the seven-toned scale, but also *l* is a new tone, different from the one we have already, as will be apparent from the following consideration. This new *l* is the fifth of *r*, hence it has the ratio of the *l* in the Pythagorean scale, namely $\frac{27}{16}$, which is different from the *l* we

have already, by the interval 80 : 81. In a similar way we can modulate to any other tone of the diatonic scale, or to any of the new tones got from modulation. There is no absolute limit to this, and consequently the number of tones required is indefinite; but for actual modern compositions some forty or fifty tones within the octave would be necessary.

But not only can we modulate from one particular tone to those various other tones, but we may take any of these tones as the starting-point, consider any tone as *d* from the beginning. This is what is called transposition, or the key of a piece. Of these keys modern music employs thirteen or fourteen, so that thus the number of tones required is again considerably extended, and amounts to at least about a hundred within the octave. This is the one circumstance I mentioned.

The other is that modern music employs certain instruments that require a special sound-producing body for every tone. Thus the piano wants at least one string for every tone it is to produce; the harmonium, one reed; the organ, one pipe. It is obviously impossible to have a hundred strings for every octave of the piano, and even if such an instrument could be constructed, it would be unplayable. Hence arises the necessity of making one tone do duty for several theoretical ones. This is regularly done now-a-days by having twelve tones within the octave, none of which correspond exactly to any theoretical tones, but each strikes some mean between several approximate ones. This striking a mean is called *tempering*, and when the twelve intervals are so arranged that they all are exactly alike, we have what is called 'equal temperament.' On this tempered scale the Ardmore correspondent is particularly severe. In his first letter he said:—'The subtle Irish melody shrank from the blare of that vulgar strummer [he refers to the piano] as affrighted as the fairies are said to be at the shriek of a locomotive.' And in his second letter, after giving a short explanation of the tempered scale, he repeats his charge:—'To play Irish music,' he writes, 'on that thing, after the scale has had two washings, is

simply ludicrous, and, therefore, as an interpreter of Irish music, it is not only a vile, but a most utterly villainous strummer.'

'Let us for a moment see how the mathematical definitions of the three scales, the Irish, the modern 'natural,' and the twelve-toned tempered, bear out this charge. As the twelve intervals within the octave are supposed to be equal, each of them is equal to $(\sqrt[12]{2})$. A tone, consisting of two of these units is, therefore, $= (\sqrt[12]{2})^2$. Accordingly we get $r = (\sqrt[12]{2})^2$, $m = (\sqrt[12]{2})^4$, $f = (\sqrt[12]{2})^5$, &c. Now, it would be very difficult for us to compare these ratios with those we found before, by the ordinary methods of division and multiplication. I have, therefore, written out a table in which all these ratios are reduced to logarithms. This has the advantage that we can see at a glance whether one interval is larger than another, and we can find the amount of difference by simply subtracting the one logarithm from the other. These logarithms are formed on the base of 2, which is very convenient for musical purposes, in as far as octave tones have the same mantissa, only the characteristic changing.

LOGARITHMS OF SCALES

	Modern 'Natural.'	Pythagorean.	Tempered.
d'	1·00000	1·00000	1·00000
t	0·90689	0·92481	0·91666
l	0·73696	0·75488	0·75
s	0·58496	0·58496	0·58333
f	0·41503	0·41503	0·41666
m	0·32192	0·33984	0·33333
r	0·16992	0·16992	0.16666
d	0·00000	0·00000	0·00000

From this table we see that *s* of the tempered scale is about ·00163 lower than *s* in either of the other two scales. The log. of the comma being ·01792, we see that this difference between the two *s's* amounts to about $\frac{1}{11}$ of a comma, a very slight difference, indeed. *R* of the tempered scale is ·00326 lower than *r* in the other two scales, the difference being something less than a fifth of the comma. The tempered *m* we find ·01141 higher than the *m* of the

modern scale, and ·00651 lower than the *m* of the Irish scale. We observe, then, the remarkable fact that the *m* of the tempered scale is a much closer approximation to the Irish scale than to the modern scale. In fact, the difference between the tempered and the Irish *m* is only about half that between the tempered and the modern *m*. We find a still more striking condition of things, when we look at *l*. There the difference between the tempered and the Irish scale is ·00488, that between the tempered and the modern scale ·01304, nearly three times as much. *L* is said to be one of the most striking notes in Irish melodies, and the differences between the Irish and the tempered *l* being only about a fourth of a comma, the ears of an Irish country audience must be very sharp, indeed, if they detect such a difference.

[Here the lecturer again illustrated the various intervals mentioned on the harmonium.]

Having now carefully examined the ground on which we are to move, we may now turn our attention for a few minutes to the main question at issue. As I hinted before, we cannot solve the question here now. All we can do is to make clear to ourselves what the problem is, and to consider, in a preliminary fashion, some of its aspects. The first question to be solved is, of course, this : Are the Irish melodies, as living by oral tradition, really sung according to the Pythagorean scale? Then the second question would turn up : Is it in the fact that they are sung to this scale that the special charm of these melodies consists? And finally, we may ask ourselves : Is it worth while, and ought we to make efforts, to preserve this scale?

As to the first question, our Ardmore correspondent appears to have no doubt. 'Everybody,' he says, 'who has seriously busied himself with Irish music, who picked up airs from our country people, and tried to reproduce them on his fiddle, knows that they will not play by the ordinary fingering.' And then he lays down apodeictically what the Irish scale is. But our faith in his judgment must be considerably shaken by what we have seen about the twelve-toned tempered scale, which he so severely condemns.

Moreover, some eminent musical theorists doubt whether music was ever performed in strict accordance with the Pythagorean scale. They consider that the introduction of the heptatonic scale, in which the interval of the third is so prominent, presupposes, at least, some unconscious feeling that the third is a consonant interval, and that this feeling would influence the intonation in the face of all theoretical conceptions. The fact, too, that Aristoxenus refuses to have anything to do with the numbers of the Pythagoreans seems to point out that there may have been something wrong in them. Again, we find John Cotton,[1] writing about the year 1100 A.D., declaiming against those who have a different intonation from his, and proposing to prove by his monochord that his intonation is the right one. From this we see that practical musicians did not always agree with the prevailing theory. But, however this may be, the question of the Irish scale is exceedingly interesting, even from a general theoretical and historical point of view, and it is very desirable that some reliable information should be got on the actual state of things.

If we find, then, that the scale in which Irish singers sing is really different from either of the two modern ones, we still have to face the second question whether it is to this fact that we have to attribute the undoubtedly remarkable influence these traditional singers exert over Irish audiences. And here let me point out a few other ways in which possibly this fact might be accounted for. First of all, it might be that these particular melodies are familiar to the people, and hence would naturally influence a popular audience more than airs strange to them. Or it may be that the fact of these songs being sung in Irish, and in good Irish with proper pronunciation and declamation, has something to do with it. This, of course, would be of very great weight with an Irish-speaking audience. Or it may be that these traditional singers sing with a better voice and with more transporting emotion than others. For we must not overlook that only really good musicians would learn

[1] *Joannis musica*, cap. 7.

singing from mere oral transmission, while in schools even a lot of mediocre talent is trained up to the rendering of a song. It is only when we find these and similiar hypotheses wanting, that we should consider the scale theory as proved.

And even then we should have to ask still whether the scale is absolutely and essentially connected with those special effects, or only accidentally with regard to the particular condition of the audiences. For if these audiences were, from their childhood, accustomed to this scale, and no other, it is quite possible that, for that reason alone, they would be more affected by melodies sung according to it; while, if they once got familiar with another scale, that might produce the same effect on them as the Irish scale. This leads us over to our third question: Is the Irish scale worth preserving?

On this point, again, the Ardmore correspondent is very strong. He calls on every young girl and every young man to learn the national songs, and tells them that they have a national duty to perform. He even goes so far as to advocate that children should not be sent to school, lest by learning modern music they should be rendered unable to perform Irish music properly. If we look at the question from an abstract point of view, we must admit that it is a very serious matter for a nation to lose a precious national inheritance; and, *primâ facie*, we cannot deny the possibility of Irish music being such an inestimable treasure that to exchange it for all the achievements of modern music would be a very bad bargain. But, if we look at the actual state of affairs, and if we put the question this way: 'Is Ireland to remain stationary at the point which the rest of civilised humanity passed about five or six centuries ago?' I think very few, even of the most patriotic Irishmen, will, without any hesitation, decide in favour of the Irish scale. But is it necessary to keep away from modern music in order to appreciate the Irish scale? The Ardmore correspondent seems to think so, for he says: 'These tone variations are so delicate that a person must be trained from youth in one or other of the systems, as it is impossible to learn both.'

Later on, however, he claims for himself that he knows both Irish and modern music; and, consequently, means to speak with authority when he says: 'Irish music seems to me to speak the voice of the human soul with a clearer and truer note than modern music.' To me it seems that the task of learning both Irish and modern music is not so very difficult. Modern music itself has two different scales. For although, as I hinted already, it may be doubted whether any modern music is ever performed in strict accordance with the 'natural' scale, still a great deal of modern music is performed in a scale decidedly different from the tempered scale. A good fiddler will tell you that he plays quite differently when playing alone, or with other fiddlers, from the way he plays to the accompaniment of a piano. Hence, if a modern musician can learn these two scales, it should not be impossible for him to learn a third scale in addition, nor for the Irish musician to get accustomed to modern music without losing his susceptibility for the influence of the Irish scale.

By all means, then, let us make an effort to study and understand the peculiarity of the real Irish music; and if we find that it possesses advantages which modern music cannot come up to, we will preserve it, and, perhaps, fructify modern music by it. In any case, urgency must be pleaded; for, if the question is to be solved at all, it must be solved, to use once more the words of the Ardmore correspondent, 'before the day on which the coffin-lids, falling on certain very old women, shall have silenced them for ever.

H. Bewerunge.

A REMARKABLE CATHOLIC

CHARLES WATERTON, THE SQUIRE OF WALTON

THE Roman Catholic Church has numbered amongst its followers some of the noblest and most courageous men whose names are recorded in history. But I doubt if it ever has had a more devout, or a more remarkable, adherent than Charles Waterton, Squire of Walton, that pretty little village situated near 'Merrie' Wakefield, in Yorkshire. Waterton was born at Walton Hall in 1783, and early in life developed a passionate love for all kinds of wild birds and animals, the larger portion of his time being spent in studying their homes, habits, and plumage. The result was that, whilst but a youth, he became a recognised authority on all matters of interest to naturalists and taxidermists.

In order to improve his extensive knowledge of birds and beasts, geography and ethnology, he, when quite a young man, determined to explore the wilds of South America, and stayed there for several years without companions of any kind, save a few friendly black men he chanced to meet. In fact, his great courage and daring in thus visiting those uncivilized regions attracted almost universal admiration, and earned for him the title of the 'South American Wanderer.'

On one occasion, whilst encamped on the banks of the Amazon, Waterton resolved to capture a live alligator. So he baited a number of large hooks, and fastened them to one end of a strong rope attached to a pole driven into the ground. He had not long to wait ere a huge alligator came along and swallowed the bait. Then ensued a terrible struggle. Determined to capture it alive, Waterton told his black companions to pull it ashore. This they, after much hard work, successfully accomplished. The quadruped was much exhausted by its stubborn resistance, and as it lay on the bank, Waterton took advantage of its

temporary helplessness by boldly springing on to its back. Naturally, the powerful creature became infuriated with such unusual treatment, and began to lash about very vigorously with its tail. But the daring rider was seated near to its head, and so kept out of reach of its terrible strokes. When the natives realized the remarkable nature of the situation, they seized the rope, and shouting gleefully, proceeded to drag the alligator and its rider along the river's bank, until, after many desperate attempts to regain its liberty, the monster completely collapsed from exhaustion. The plucky Englishman then made sure of his prize by tying up its jaws, and firmly binding its forelegs.

On another occasion, being very anxious to obtain a large live snake for dissecting studies, he offered a reward to any negro who would inform him of the whereabouts of a suitable specimen. One day word was brought that one was sleeping in the wood near where he was encamped. So he seized a long, light lance, and accompanied by the two natives who had brought the information, he started off to where the snake lay. Upon nearing the spot, Waterton ordered his guides to stay behind while he made an examination of the serpent, which proved to be non-poisonous, but of sufficient size and strength to crush any person to death. On returning to his men he said his best plan would be to try and pin it through the neck to the ground with his lance, and thus secure it alive, as night would come on before he could dissect it, and that would interfere with the proper study of his subject.

When the natives heard this proposal they were much afraid, and begged to be allowed to return to the camp for a gun, as they were sure some of them would be killed. But their master would not hear of such a course, and making his way back to the snake, he spent half an hour quietly cutting away the vegetation in which the snake was coiled, until he could plainly see the position of its head. He then, with one quick blow, pierced the snake's neck, and securely pinned it to the ground.

In a moment, as previously arranged, the lance was gripped by one of the natives, and as the snake commenced

a fearful struggle. Waterton threw himself upon its body and tried to hold it down. But his weight and strength were altogether insufficient for the task, and the other native had to add his. Waterton then—for lack of anything better—undid his braces, and managed to tie up its mouth with them, when it immediately began to struggle harder than before, and finally coiled itself around the shaft of the lance, whereupon the three men picked it up and carried it into camp ; Waterton holding the head under his arm, one of his assistants supporting the belly, and the other the tail.

Upon arrival at their temporary house, the snake was placed into a specially constructed bag, and the following day Waterton, with the help of ten natives, cut its throat, and on measuring the snake, found it to be fourteen feet in length, whilst its mouth was so large he could easily place his head into it.

Waterton, after many more remarkable adventures and hairbreadth escapes, returned to England, and took up his abode at the old family home, Walton Hall, and quickly made the surrounding grounds into a veritable paradise for members of the furred and feathered tribes. In fact, his greatest pleasure was in encouraging and developing the domestication of every bird that choose to visit Walton Park. Although the grounds were plentifully wooded, and gave any amount of natural shelter and protection to the birds which took up their habitation within its domain, the generous, kind-hearted squire tried to improve upon nature by putting into use innumerable clever devices which were calculated to add to the comfort and protection of the birds, whilst they also afforded him splendid opportunities of studying their habits and plumage, and of generally adding to his really wonderful knowledge of bird and animal life.

For instance, he fixed numerous artificial nesting-boxes on the branches of the larger trees for the convenience of the brown and barn owls, and had the trunks of decayed trees covered at the top with stone flags, and pierced in several places, so as to give easy access for the birds that

desired to occupy them when nesting or hatching. He also made wooden imitations of pheasants, and perched them here and there on the trees, in order to mislead and delude the poachers, who used to make regular raids upon the park. He also erected a large stone tower, fitted with innumerable nesting-berths up the sides; a few, near the top, being made larger than the rest, and set apart for the use of jackdaws and white owls. After this had been completed he determined to encircle the grounds with a high stone wall, eight feet in height, and more than three miles in length. This wall cost more than £10,000; and, as he was a devout follower of the Catholic Church, Waterton would only have the wall built as he paid for it. And so he set a certain sum apart every year for that purpose, and, immediately that sum was exhausted, he stopped the workmen until such time as he obtained another supply sufficient to pay them. Of course, the wall, being such a height, and built in sections, took a very long time to complete—something over ten years.

It is almost impossible to exhaust the large amount of matter provided by this man's career, for, apart from his enviable reputation as a naturalist, taxidermist, and traveller, Waterton was in his own personality a really remarkable man—eccentric in conduct and dress, but a most scrupulous and thoroughly conscientious individual, adhering to the traditions of the Church with a tenacity and determination that overcame all obstacles, and helped him to cheerfully undergo all manner of harsh privations for the cause he loved so much.

He rose at five o'clock every morning all the year round, and prepared his own breakfast, although he had several servants, including butler and footman. His morning meal consisted of the meanest possible fare, usually dry toast and very weak tea. For more than thirty years he refused to enter a bed, but slept on the hard, bare boards of a cold, dingy attic, with a solid block of hard wood for a pillow, and no cover save that afforded by an old and much-worn blanket. Fortunately his constitution and frame were so strong and powerful that he could well withstand the claims made upon them by his self-imposed negations, though they,

coupled with other habits, undoubtedly left their mark upon his system, and helped to shorten the closing hours of his long and eventful life.

At the age of eighty years this extraordinary character could climb the highest tree in Walton Park, leap a five-foot fence, put his foot on the top of his head while standing upright, and, when suffering from an attack of the 'blues,' could, and regularly did, puncture a vein in either arm or leg, and draw from sixteen to twenty ounces of blood, without experiencing any bad effects! In fact, he often said that this recourse to venesection saved his life on several occasions when travelling in South America. Even after attaining the above great age he would often 'tap the claret,' as he jocularly termed it, and after binding up the vein would proceed to fell a tree, repair a damaged fence, or perform some other equally arduous task, as if nothing out of the ordinary course had taken place!

In the year 1861 he paid a visit to the Zoological Gardens, London, for the purpose of making a minute examination of the palms and the teeth of the orang-outang. There happened to be a splendid specimen of the animal in the Gardens, and Waterton begged the curator to permit him to enter the cage of the animal, which was at that time in a particularly violent state as a result of being teased by a party of juvenile visitors. Consequently the keeper entreated Waterton not to venture within the iron bars; but the daring naturalist knew no fear, and, though warned that he would be worried, he ultimately obtained a grudging permission, and courageously went in to the animal.

When the two met they embraced and kissed each other like two brothers, and when the squire took the paw of the orang-outang into his hand, it offered no resistance, and permitted him to examine it most carefully; whilst it also allowed him to put his fingers into its mouth, and examine its teeth, without any sign of displeasure or resentment. However, when he had finished his observations, the animal paid him back in his own coin by carefully and diligently inspecting Waterton's hands, teeth, and head. Once

again, this time in Leeds, the squire proved his exceptional skill in handling savage and venomous creatures. It seems that an American showman appeared in the above city with eight-and-twenty live rattle-snakes enclosed in a large flat case, divided into four separate compartments. Each compartment was fitted with a plate-glass lid so that they could be opened and closed independently of each other. Now Waterton had obtained a certain kind of poison from some Macaushi Indians, when passing through their country in 1812, and being anxious to test its efficacy by comparison with the poison enbodied in the bite of the rattle-snake, it was arranged for the Yankee to take his snakes to the home of one Doctor Hobson, one of the squire's dearest friends and there thoroughly test the two poisons on live rabbits and pigeons.

On the appointed day a goodly number of interested persons, including forty medical men, gathered together, and, theoretically, everything was in favour of a very successful and deeply interesting meeting. But when the time for action came, none of the company dared to hold rabbit nor pigeon within the case for a snake to bite. Of course it was absolutely necessary that the snakes should bite some living creature so that the effect of the poison could be seen, and it looked as if the meeting was, after all, going to prove a miserable failure. But Squire Waterton came gallantly to the rescue. He said: 'Gentlemen, if you who surround the case will be quite silent, and absolutely motionless, I have no doubt about easily accomplishing all that is required.' Immediately there was breathless silence, and the squire, without a tremor, fearlessly placed his naked hand into the case among the reptiles, and firmly grasping one of the larger ones behind the head, drew it carefully away from the others, which were hissing and springing their rattles all round his hand.

This brave action was repeated several times ere the meeting concluded. And once, when he had returned a snake to its compartment, it sprang partly out again ere he could close the lid. When the company saw the serpent swinging about and hissing in this awkward position, they

one and all made a dash for the exit. Not so the squire. He calmly seized the serpent as before and quickly placed it in its proper quarters.

Whilst these incidents serve to illustrate his perfect and unaffected indifference to danger, no matter from whence it emanated, they fail to give any idea of the kindlier and more generous part of his character. As a matter of fact he was a staunch friend and advocate of all genuine and really needy people, no matter what their creed or nationality. He could also fully appreciate a good joke, even if it was at his own expense, and the following anecdote is but typical of many more which could be told in order to illustrate his good nature.

One day he went for a stroll in a costume so shabby that it would not have done justice to an ordinary farm labourer. Loitering on the road near to the village, he was accosted by a working-man, who, mistaking him for a needy member of his own class, said :—

'Good morning, my man, can you direct me to the hall belonging to Squire Waterton? I want to try and buy some wood off him, but they tell me he is a queer old chap if he happens to be wrong-side out. Do you happen to know aught about him?'

'Yes,' answered the squire; 'I know him well. Indeed, no one in the neighbourhood knows him so well, or is so much in his company as I am. He is as queer as Dick's hat-band. You will have to get up early in the morning if you mean to get on the blind side of the old squire!'

'Well, this is a lucky hit,' said the innocent countryman; 'come into the "pub." here and I'll "stand" a pint of beer, and bread and cheese, too, if you'll make it worth my trouble.'

Waterton smilingly declined the proffered treat, as he had already breakfasted, and, in parting, recommended the rustic to have nothing to do with 'the old chap,' but to go to the woodman instead, who, said he, is a very decent fellow. A short time after they had parted, the squire accidentally met the countryman with his gardener, in the park. The two latter were returning towards the entrance, after the purchase of wood had been effected. The purchaser was so pleased with his bargain that he gave a wink at the

squire, and was about to thank him for recommending him to have nothing to do with 'the old chap,' when he suddenly discovered the personality of his morning adviser as he saw the gardener doff his hat and make a bow of obeisance to the squire. The poor fellow began to stammer an apology, but Waterton good-humouredly cut it short, and told the gardener to take the man to the hall and provide him with something good for the inner man.

No doubt the 'South American Wanderer's' long and eventful career would have been prolonged had it not been for a serious accident which befel him one day while he was walking through the grounds he so fondly loved. He had reached the extreme end of the park, more than half-a-mile from the hall, when his foot caught in an overhanging bramble, and he fell heavily with his side against a fallen tree. This caused a serious internal injury, and, although he managed to reach the hall, he was unable to climb up the stairs to his little room near the rafters. After much persuasion he reluctantly consented to lie on a couch—the first time he had lain on a couch, or bed, for more than thirty years—in the dining-room. This proved to be his death-bed, as he never rose again but passed away at half-past two on the morning of May 27th, 1865. His medical attendant, Doctor Moore, thus described the sad event :—

> The window was open. The sky was beginning to grow grey, a few rooks had cawed, the swallows were tittering, the landrail was craking from the ox-close ; and a favourite cock, which he used to call his morning gun, leaped out from some hollies and gave his accustomed crow. The ear of the master was deaf to its call. He had obeyed a sublimer summons and had woke up to the glories of the eternal world.

Before he met with his accident, it had been Waterton's desire to be buried in a corner of the park known as 'the Grotto,' beneath what he declared to be the first cross erected in England after the Reformation; and to have inscribed on his tombstone the words: 'Pray for the soul of Charles Waterton, the Wanderer, whose wearied bones are now buried beneath this cross.' However, when he realized that his accident was to have a fatal termination,

he asked that his remains might be interred on the spot where it took place. This last wish was obeyed, and his body was laid to rest between two gnarled and weather-beaten giants of the forest, which, then in the full beauty and strength of natural life, have watched and mourned over the grave of their dead lover so many years, that at last even their strength has been sapped away, they have become prematurely old and decrepit, and, one can almost imagine, have finally died from sheer sorrow at the sad death of their late owner.

And yet, even in death, they keep their lonely vigil, making the solitude of this awe-inspiring, sepulchral resting-place of the naturalist more desolate and unnatural to the sympathetic visitor.

CHAS. F. SHAW.

NOTES ON THE CANONICAL ASPECTS OF A PLENARY OR NATIONAL SYNOD

IN the June number of the I. E. Record,[1] I treated a few points in connection with the convocation of a Plenary Synod. The present paper will aim at giving a general notion of the procedure of the Synod. I do not intend to touch on purely liturgical questions; and for the rest, avoiding details, I shall confine my remarks to those things which appear to be of more or less general interest.

It would be a mistake to suppose that the practical work of the Plenary Synod begins when the members assemble at the time and place appointed by the Papal Delegate. A bill is not brought before Parliament until those who are interested in it have thought out the lines of the projected legislation and carefully drafted the terms in which it is to be proposed. Similarly, the Papal Delegate usually undertakes, with the assistance of his brother prelates, to prepare beforehand a draft of the Decrees to be considered by the Synod. Very frequently the Holy See takes a share in this preparatory work, by suggesting certain modifications of existing local law or custom, which the Fathers of the Synod are asked to consider or adopt. The draft Decrees thus prepared are, of course, in no way binding on the Synod; they may be amended or rejected; but they supply a basis for discussion and expedite the deliberations of the Council. In order that those who are to attend a Synod may come fully prepared to deal with the matters to be discussed, it is desirable that the draft should, as early as possible, be in the hands, not only of the Bishops, but of all those who are, in any capacity, to be called upon to pass judgment upon it.[2]

As I explained in my former paper, the procedure of the Plenary Synod is not very definitely prescribed. The order of the Provincial Synod is, indeed, always substantially observed at the Plenary Synod. But, in detail, there is

[1] I. E. Record, June, 1900, p. 536.

[2] *Praxis Synodalis*, p. 17.

room for, and there has been, much divergence of practice. In giving a rough outline of the various functions, therefore, I am to be understood to indicate an order which may be, and has been, followed, but is not, by any means, obligatory.

VARIOUS MEETINGS OF THE SYNOD

At a Plenary Synod there are :—

(1) Preliminary Meetings—*Congregationes Praeliminares* —to appoint the officials of the Synod and make other preparatory arrangements.

(2) Special Committee Meetings—*Deputationes*. The members of the Council are divided into a number of Committees. Each Committee usually consists of a number of Bishops and others, and to each is assigned the duty of discussing and reporting on a section of the matter to come before the Council.

(3) Private Meetings of the Bishops.

(4) General Meetings—*Congregationes Generales*—at which all the members assist. At these General Meetings the draft Decrees, with the reports of the Special Committees, are discussed, and the Decrees are passed, rejected, or amended by the vote of the majority of those entitled to a decisive vote.

(5) Three (or more) Solemn Sessions—*Sessiones Solemnes*. At the First Session, the Synod is solemnly opened. At the other sessions, the Decrees which have been already passed at the General Meetings are solemnly and formally approved and published ; at the last Session, the Decrees which have not been already published at previous sessions are read and approved, and then all the Decrees of the Synod are place upon the altar and signed by the Delegate and the other Fathers of the Synod. The Sessions begin with a Solemn Pontifical Mass, after which all retire except the members of the Synod, and the doors of the church are then closed during the consideration of the Decrees. Priests and other ecclesiastics, however, who were not members of the Synod, have sometimes, with the consent of the Synod, been admitted, with the usual promise of

secrecy, to the Solemn Sessions and to the General Meetings.[1] Besides the solemn Masses at the Sessions, one or more other solemn Masses are usually sung on days on which no Session is held.

For the sake of greater clearness we may take these meetings in the chronological order. And first, therefore, we take the Preliminary Meetings.

Preliminary Special Meeting of Bishops.—A day or two before the solemn opening of the Synod, the Delegate usually finds it convenient to summon a Special Meeting of the Bishops to arrange all the remaining preliminaries for the various Synodal meetings. At this meeting the Bishops will[2]—

(1) Finally arrange the matter to be discussed at the Synod.

(2) Make an accurate list, if it has not already been drawn up, of all those who are bound or privileged to attend the Synod, determining at the same time to whom a decisive vote is to be granted.

(3) Nominate the various officials of the Synod.

(4) Divide the members of the Council into various Committees, each having an Archbishop or a Bishop as Chairman, and a Notary, who is to keep the minutes of his Committee, and hand in a faithful record of its deliberations to the Synod.

(5) Distribute the work of the Synod among the various Committees just mentioned, requiring each Committee to discuss that portion of the draft statutes referred to it, and to report thereon to the Synod.

(6) Prescribe the order and method of conducting the discussions, at the various General and Special Meetings of the Synod.

(7) Arrange especially for the first General Meeting of the Synod, and for the publication of the Decrees which are usually read at that meeting. At this Preliminary Meeting also the Bishops will appoint certain members of their

[1] *Collect. Lacensis*, iv., p. 723, d, 293, b.

[2] *Praxis Synodalis*, p. 17 ; *Acta et Decreta, III. Concil. Baltimoren. XXV. Acta et Decreta, Maynooth Synod*, p. 25.

body to draw up the letters which are usually addressed by the Synod to the Holy See and to the faithful of the nation. Doubtful points of precedence among the members of the Council and the *horarium* for the Synod will also be conveniently considered at this meeting.

A word of explanation may be given here in reference to some of the points just mentioned.

OFFICIALS OF THE SYNOD

A number of officials are required to assist the Fathers of the Council in conducting their deliberations in the manner prescribed for the Provincial and Plenary Synods. Besides the Chanters and the Masters of Ceremonies, who are engaged in the religious functions of the Synods, the following Synodal Officials are usually appointed at a Plenary Synod.

1. *The Promoter.*—The Promoter occupies at the Solemn Sessions and General Meetings of the Synod a position somewhat similar to that of the Master of Ceremonies at the religious functions. It is his duty to see that all those, and only those, who have that right, assist at the Synod and vote; that all matters to be discussed or considered are taken in due order and that nothing is done or omitted which would invalidate the acts of the Synod or violate the requirements of Canon Law. Two Promoters (both Bishops) are usually appointed and they are free to divide the duties between them, according to their convenience.

2. *The Secretary.*—The Secretary will accurately record the acts of the Synod. At the General Meetings and at the Sessions he calls the names, when necessary, of those who are to attend; reads the various Decrees at the General Meetings and Sessions; takes the votes of the Fathers. With the assistance of the Chancellor and Notary he prepares the Acts and Decrees of the Synod for transmission to Rome for revision; and finally he signs the Decrees. It is also the Secretary's duty to attend, if necessary, the private meetings of the Bishops, and to keep the minutes of the proceedings. Two or more Secretaries may be appointed, or Assistant-Secretaries may be appointed to aid

the principal Secretary. Bishops or priests may be appointed to the office of Secretary.

3. *The Chancellor or Archdeacon.*—This official is specially charged to assist the Delegate. He is to keep in custody, and to produce when necessary, all the official documents of the Synod. With the Secretary he will attend the private meetings of the Bishops and see that a faithful record of the proceedings is kept, and finally, he will sign the decrees of the Synod, after the Bishops. More than one of these officials is sometimes appointed.

4. *The Notary.*—The duties of the Notary are closely connected with those of the Secretary, so closely that at many Synods the same official performs the work attached to both offices. If a Notary be appointed it is his duty to take the names of absentees from the Sessions or General Meetings; to assist the Secretary in taking the votes of the Fathers; to receive from the Notaries to the Special Committees, the report of their proceedings; to assist in preparing the authentic record of the proceedings of the Synod, and to sign the Decrees.

5. *Synodal Judges* (*Judices Querularum et Excusationum*).—Formerly, at Provincial Synods, these Judges were appointed to decide civil and criminal cases brought before the Synod. Now, however, their main duties are to examine the credentials of those who claim to attend the Synod as Procurators of Chapters or of absent Bishops, the sufficiency of excuses made by absentees, or by those who wish to leave before the conclusion of the Synod. In the last case they will take care to take back any copies of the draft statutes that may be in possession of the persons who obtain leave to withdraw. These Judges are charged with the duty of seeing that the promise of secrecy is kept, and of punishing offenders. Disputes regarding precedence, and other complaints or accusations that may arise during the progress of the Synod, are also referred to these Synodal Judges.

A few minor officials are sometimes appointed, but their duties are obvious, and need no special mention here.

Congregationes Privatae.—The distribution of the work of the Synod among a number of Special Committees is

made in order to expedite the work, and to secure the most careful and exhaustive discussion of the Decrees. Each Committee is presided over by a Bishop or an Archbishop, and a Notary is appointed to make an exact report of its proceedings. A number of Bishops and theologians are usually placed on each Committee, and it is to be observed that the distinction of decisive and advisory votes, to which reference was made in my former paper, does not apply to these Committees.

ORDER OF CONDUCTING THE DISCUSSIONS

It is competent for the Preliminary Meeting of the Bishops to define the method of conducting the discussions at the different meetings of the Synod. It may be useful to give here, however, the rules followed at the third Plenary Synod of Baltimore,[1] as they are found in the Acts of the Synod:—

1. A majority of those entitled to a decisive vote shall constitute a quorum. The Bishops, as is the custom, shall vote by rising in their places, except where a secret ballot is called for by a sufficient number of votes.

2. All questions shall be decided by a majority vote, except the following:—(*a*) The ayes and noes shall be taken on the demand of twelve; (*b*) A two-thirds vote shall be required to suspend the rules of order, or to introduce for discussion a matter referred to a Committee, and not reported on by them. All motions to suppress entirely a question, or limit debate, shall be considered as equivalent to motion for suspension of rules. (*c*) Anyone may call for a division on a question that admits of it.

3. Everyone entitled to vote shall vote on every question, unless specially excused.

4. The *Schema*[2] of the Council, together with the suggestions concerning it submitted by the Committees, shall constitute the order of the day. A motion 'to pass to the order of the day' shall take precedence of all other business, except a motion to adjourn or a question of privilege.

5. The Most Rev. President of the Council has the casting vote in case of a tie. Should he decline to use it, the question does not pass.

6. No motion is before the Council till it has been seconded, and stated by the President or Promoter. Before being stated it may be withdrawn or modified by the mover; but when once stated this can be done only by a regular vote.

[1] *Acta et Decreta, III. Concil. Plen. Balt.*, p. 36. [2] *I.e.*, the Draft Decrees.

7. No question can be debated till it is regularly before the Council.

8. Anyone desiring to speak shall rise in his place, address the President, and on being recognised by him speak briefly and to the question then before the Council.

9. As a rule, no one shall speak twice on the same subject until all who desire to speak on it have spoken. The proposer of a motion is usually allowed to speak first after the question has been stated to the Council, and, when he desires it, he is also permitted to close the debate.

10. Should the Council limit the time each speaker may occupy in discussing any subject, the Promoter shall rap when the time has expired; but by unanimous consent the speaker may be allowed to continue.

11. When one is speaking, no one can interrupt him, unless, if recognized by the President, for a point of order, to ask a question, or for a matter of privilege.

12. When a question is under debate, no motion shall be in order, except 'to adjourn,' 'to lay on the table,' 'for previous question,' 'to postpone to a certain day,' 'to commit,' or 'to amend;' which several motions shall have precedence in the order in which they are here arranged. The motion for adjournment shall always be in order, when offered by one entitled to the floor (except in cases where it was the next preceding motion). The motion 'to adjourn,' 'to lay on the table,' or 'to refer to a standing committee,' shall be decided without debate.

13. No proposition, once negatived by the Council, can be renewed, unless change of words or circumstances make it practically a different proposition. But a vote can be reconsidered, if a majority so desire; in this case, the one who moves the reconsideration must have voted with the majority.

14. Objection to the consideration of a subject can only be made when the question is first introduced *before debate*.

15. All amendments, like all original propositions, must be in writing and in Latin, and must state clearly the change proposed, and how the passage should read as amended.

16. When a principal question and subsidiary questions are before the Council at the same time, they are to be voted on as follows:—First, a substitute, if any; then an amendment to an amendment; then the amendment; and, finally, the main question as it then stands.

17. Debate on any question may be closed by a call for 'the previous question,' which must be voted on without debate. Upon such call the President shall ask, 'Shall the main question be now put?' If the majority so decide, the question before the Council must then be voted on without further debate.

18. A matter laid on the table may be called up for consideration by a majority vote at any subsequent meeting.

19. Special Committees shall be appointed by the President, unless it be otherwise requested by him, or directed by the Council in any particular case. The mover of a question is usually appointed Chairman of the Special Committee to consider it.

20. All Special Committees shall return a written report in Latin, signed by the members offering it. Such report is to be adopted, recommitted, or otherwise disposed of, like any other question.

21. If anyone, in speaking, or otherwise, transgress the above rules, the Most Rev. President, or the Promoter, shall, or any member of the Council may, call to order ; and the one so called to order shall sit down and not proceed without leave of the Council. If any doubt arise as to the violation of the rules, the question shall be finally decided by the President without debate.

Preliminary General Meeting.—So far I have spoken of the Preliminary Meeting of the Bishops. After this Special Meeting of the Bishops it is sometimes found convenient to hold a General Preliminary Meeting of all the members of the Synod.[1] At this General Meeting an opportunity would be given for formally announcing the decisions arrived at by the Bishops at their Special Meeting, the list of the officials, the distribution of matter among the different Committees, the order and proceedure to be followed at the various General and Special Meetings, and in conducting the discussions. If the draft statutes or *Schema* of the Council have not been already put into the hands of all the members, they may be distributed at this meeting. In this case, of course, before distributing the Decrees, the Decree *De Secreto Servando* (*et Schemate Decretorum Restituendo*) will be read, and each member will, with the prescribed form, pledge himself to observe it. In connection with this promise of secrecy it will be enough to say, that an obligation to secrecy is imposed on the members of all Plenary and Provincial Synods; that the obligation is a grave one; that it extends to all matters discussed at the Synod, the discussions and the votes given, and that it continues to bind until the Decrees have been returned by the Holy See and promulgated. The reasons for imposing on members of a Synod an obligation of silence are sufficiently obvious. The members of the Council may have very just reasons for

[1] *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Plen. Balt., III.*, p. 40.

unwillingness to publish their votes, and their part in the discussions at the Council. The divergence of opinion among the Fathers of the Council may expose them to misunderstanding and misrepresentation, and could not contribute to the more ready acceptance of the Decrees of the Synod. Moreover, the Decrees must, before promulgation, be revised by the Holy See; they may require amendment; it would, therefore, show a want of courtesy and respect for the Holy See if, pending a final decision, the necessarily delicate matters discussed at a Synod were to be made public property, and submitted, it may be, to unseemly discussion in the Press or elsewhere.

An example of the stringency with which this obligation of secrecy is enforced is found in the *Acta* of the first Provincial Synod of Westminster (1852), at which Cardinal Wiseman presided. The Bishop of Liverpool, being unable to attend in person, was represented by a Procurator. The Procurator was desirous of communicating with the Bishop during the progress of the Synod, and of having his views on the questions that might come up for discussion. He, therefore, asked whether the obligation of secrecy precluded a Procurator from communicating with the Bishop whom he represented. An answer in the affirmative was returned. The grounds of the reply are very fully given in the Acts of the Council:—

Patres attento quod ipse Episcopus mandatum generale dederit suo delegato et quod non possit hunc obligare ad suffragium deliberativum in sensum committentis dandum, sed in id tantum quod pro conscientia sua et arbitrio melius esse in Domino procurator ipse judicaverit et attento praesertim lege a S. C. de Prop. Fide praescripta, secreti servandi, et considerantes quod epistolae a procuratore transmissae in alienas manus incidere possint, responderunt, eumdem procuratorem, eadem secreti lege indicta nomine Synodi posse, peracta Synodo, et non prius, episcopum viva voce docere quaenam decreta lata sint.[1]

Order of Precedence at the Synod.—Without touching on intricate points of precedence, which may be left to the decision of the *Judices*, I may give the general order of precedence among those who would attend a Plenary Synod in Ireland.

(1) The Papal Delegate.

(2) The Archbishops in the order of (*a*) promotion, or (if

[1] *Coll. Lacensis III.*, p. 900.

date of promotion be the same) (*b*) of consecration, or (if dates of consecration as well as promotion be the same) of age.

(3) The Bishops, the order between them being determined as in the case of the Archbishops.

(4) Bishops-elect.

(5) Coadjutor and Assistant Bishops.

(6) Mitred Abbots.

(7) Procurators of absent Archbishops and Bishops. At some Synods these Procurators occupied the places of their principals, but this is unusual.[1] *Inter se*, these Procurators follow the order of precedence of their principals.

(8) Domestic Prelates.

(9) The Heads of Religious Orders and Congregations.

(10) Procurators of Chapters. *Inter se*, the Procurators of the Chapters follow in the order of precedence of their respective Bishops.

(11) The Theologians, who also follow the order of the respective Bishops by whom they have been nominated.[2]

The canonical order of precedence is followed at all processions and other religious functions as well as at the various meetings of the Synod. But, in order that the time of the Synod may not be taken up with disputes regarding precedence, and at the same time that no canonical rights may be prejudiced, a Decree *De Praejudicio non Afferendo* is read at the First Solemn Session of the Synod, or at the Preliminary Meeting. By this Decree it is provided that the right of precedence shall be in no way prejudiced, if for any reason one fail to secure or occupy his rightful place at the Synod.

SOLEMN SESSIONS

The First Solemn Session of the Synod.—The Synod is solemnly opened at what is called the First Session. All the members of the Synod attend the session. The order of the chief events is briefly as follows:—

(1) A procession to the church in which all the members of the Synod (with others) take part.

(2) Solemn Pontifical Mass.

[1] Bouix, *De Concil. Prov.*, chap. xxviii.

[2] *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Baltimoren, III.*, p. 44; *Acta et Decreta, Syn. Maynutianae*, p. 26.

(3) All, except members of the Synod, withdraw, and the doors of the church are closed and guarded by the Ostiarius.

(4) The Promoter demands that the Council be opened with the reading of the Decree *De Concilio Aperiendo.*

(5) The consent of the Fathers being given the Delegate declares the Synod open.

(6) Then, at the instance of the Promoter, the preliminary Decrees, *De Officialibus, De Praejudicio non Afferendo, De Methodo Vitae, De non Discedendo ante Synodum finitam, De Secreto Servando,* are read, or those of them which have not been already sufficiently promulgated at a Preliminary General Meeting of the members of the Synod.

(7) The Promoter then demands that all make a profession of faith. This having been made according to the prescribed form,

(8) The names of all the members are called, and the absentees are noted, their reasons for absence, and the instruments by which they nominate Procurators (if any) being referred to the *Judices Querularum.*

(9) The Promoter then requires the Notary to promise to make an exact record of the proceedings of the Session, and the time for the next Session being announced, the Session closes with the blessing of the Delegate.

After the First Session the real work of the assembled Fathers and other members begins. The various Committees (*Deputationes*) proceed to hold meetings from day to day to discuss the portion of matter assigned to them, and to draw up their reports thereon.

The Bishops also hold private meetings of their own body to consider such subjects as may require their attention. In due time a General Meeting of the Synod is held to take up the consideration of the *Schema* or draft statutes. As each section comes to be discussed at the General Meeting, the report of the Committee appointed to deal with that matter, is placed before the meeting. The question is then fully debated, and finally the votes of those who are entitled to a decisive vote are taken. Decrees passed by a majority are then ready to be taken up at a Solemn Session.

The Second Session.—At the Second Session there is a Solemn Pontifical Mass, after which the doors of the church

in which the members assembled are closed. The Promoter asks that the Decrees already approved at the General Meetings be read. These having been read, and the votes having been taken, the Session is brought to a close with the same formalities as the First Session.

The Committees afterwards resume their meetings to finish their reports on the subjects allotted to them; they report, as before, to General Meetings.

The Last Session.[1]—When the doors of the church are closed, as at the previous sessions, after the Pontifical Mass, the Promoter demands that the remaining Decrees be read. The votes are taken as before. Afterwards, the Promoter asks that all the Decrees, passed at the various Solemn Sessions be signed. The Decrees are then placed on the altar. The Delegate signs in the first place, and then the Archbishops and Bishops (and others to whom the privilege may have been granted) in the order of precedence. Sometimes, the Decrees are also signed by the Notary, the Secretary, and the Chancellor, as witnesses to the authenticity of the Acts.[2] The Synod is then closed by the Decree, *De Synodo Concludenda,* and the *Te Deum* having been sung, the members disperse with the blessing of the Delegate.

The Decrees are then to be forwarded to Rome for revision. They have been, as we have seen, most carefully considered. They were originally drafted by the Papal Delegate or by others with his sanction, in preparation for the Synod. At the Synod, they were submitted to Special Committees; in the light of the report of these Committees they were discussed and passed at a General Meeting of the Synod; and finally they were ratified at a Solemn Session. But, yet, pending the approval of the Holy See, they are not binding, and must not be promulgated. The nature of this approval, and various questions regarding the authority of the Decrees of a Plenary Synod, must be reserved for some future number.

D. MANNIX.

[1] Sometimes one or more Solemn Sessions are held between the second and the last.

[2] *Acta et Decreta, Concil. Baltimoren, III.*, p. 55.

CORRESPONDENCE

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Rev. Dear Sir,—From what some young professional men state, there has apparently been some neglect in watching over the religious duties of the Catholic students, during their terms in Dublin, for the higher studies at the universities. A medical doctor of three or four years standing told me lately, that, from the time he left his diocesan seminary until he took out his degrees at the Catholic University Medical College, no one, either lay or cleric, ever spoke about or advised him to go to confession, or to fulfil his Easter duties, or even to join a sodality. Similar has been the experience of young men studying for the other professions.

They seem to order things better than this, in recent years, at Oxford and Cambridge, where a Jesuit father gives regularly to the young Catholic undergraduates religious conferences. Would you state—or ask some one connected with University College to state—what steps a young man going up to Dublin to study for one of the higher professions should adopt, to safeguard the religious practice he was trained to in his diocesan seminary?

Canonicus.

We are not aware that any special arrangement has been deemed necessary in the case referred to by our correspondent. For Catholics attending the Protestant universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the bishops of England, acting in accordance with directions from the Holy See, have raised a special fund, by annual subscriptions from the Catholics of the country, to enable provision to be made for the special needs of Catholic students in those non-Catholic centres of education.

The case of Catholic students attending a Catholic college in Dublin is essentially different. We should say that the parish priest of the parish in which the young man

resides, or any priest, secular or regular, to whom he may go to confession, would be the person most competent to give him any special advice he may require as to the performance of his religious duties in a Catholic city where churches are numerous and opportunities for the performance of every religious duty abound.

DOCUMENTS

INDULGENCES GRANTED TO THE BISHOPS OF SOUTH AMERICA

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM POSTULATUM PATRUM CONCILII PLENARII AMERICAE LATINAE SANCTISSIMO DOMINO NOSTRO LEONI PAPAE XIII EXHIBITUM PER SACRORUM RITUUM CONGREGATIONEM PRO OBTINENDA INDULGENTIA, ETC.

Beatissime Pater,

'Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Americae Latinae in Concilio Plenario congregati instantissime postulant: Ut Sanctitas Vestra indulgentiam septem annorum concedere dignetur fidelibus Americae Latinae vel in America Latina commorantibus, qui sequentem orationem in honorem B. M. V. Immaculatae cum invocatione Sanctorum et Beatorum eiusdem Americae Latinae, a S. Rituum Congregatione adprobandam, recitaverint.'

GRATIARUM ACTIO ET PETITIO PRO FIDELIBUS ET POPULIS AMERICAE LATINAE

Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto, in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Te Deum Patrem Ingenitum, Te Filium Unigenitum, Te Spiritum Sanctum Paraclitum, sanctam et individuam Trinitatem, toto corde confitemur, laudamus atque benedicimus: Tibi gloria in saecula: Tibi gratias in aeternum: confirma hoc, Deus, quod operatus es in nobis: salva nos et populos nostros.

Sit laus divino Cordi, per quod nobis parta salus: Ipsi gloria et honor in saecula.

Cor Iesu sacratissimum, o Cor, voluptas coelitum, Cor, fida spes mortalium, Tui sumus, Tui esse volumus, salva nos et populos nostros: reconde nos in dulcissimo habitaculo caritatis tuae. Suavis enim es, Domine, et in aeternum misericordia tua.

Parce igitur, o Cor Iesu suavissimum, parce civitatibus nostris, quae in fide Ecclesiae tuae enutritae, verae fidei thesaurum, Te auctore, mirabiliter servarunt et contra omnis generis insidias custodierunt.

Suscipe ergo, o Cor Iesu sacratissimum, gratiarum actiones cleri et populi civitatum Americae Latinae, quae in abundantia beneficiorum tuorum salvae factae sunt.

O Beatissima Virgo Maria, ab originali labe praeservata, peramantissima Americae nostrae Latinae Patrona potentissima, sit Tibi etiam laus perennis, veneratio sempiterna, gratiarum actio in Christo Iesu.

O immaculata Mater nostra, o benignissima Mater nostra, o dulcissima et augustissima Regina nostra, misericordias tuas grato animo decantamus Sub tuum praesidium confugimus. O Domina, quae rapis corda hominum dulcore, Tu rapuisti cor nostrum. Tu rapuisti corda populorum nostrorum, Tu primitias fidei nostrae benignissima praesentia tua, suavissima protectione tua in Guadalupano [1] aliisque pietatis tuae monumentis per universas regiones nostras obfirmasti, amplificasti et confirmasti. O Domina nostra, o Mater nostra, quae serpentis caput virgineo pede contrivisti, libera populos nostros a venenatis impiorum et haereticorum iaculis ; Tuque, quae Nutrix fuisti atque Educatrix populorum nostrorum in fide dilectissimi Filii tui, Tutrix etiam, Vindex et Propugnaculum esto. Tui sumus, Tui esse volumus, monstra Te esse matrem et patronam nostram, custodi nos, salva nos potentissimis precibus tuis.

Ioseph sanctissime, Deiparae Sponse castissime, qui Americae Latinae Protector semper extitisti dilectissimus, Tibi laus et veneratio in Christo Iesu.

Virginum Custos, quem laeta celebrant agmina coelitum, quem cuncti resonant christiadum chori, intercede pro nobis, suscipe corda nostra, dulcissimo Cordi Sponsae tuae Immaculatae perpetua donatione dicanda, donanda, tradenda.

Vos etiam invocamus, o Sancti et Beati, qui regiones nostras sanctissimis operationibus illustrastis. Memento nostri, tu praesertim Thuribi beatissime, Antistitum et Synodalium Americae Latinae exemplar et ornamentum splendidissimum. Respice super nos, o Protomartyr noster Sancte Philippe a Iesu, qui in cruce exaltatus et glorificatus praeconum Crucis Christi magister et excitator factus es.

Intercedite pro nobis, o Quadraginta Martyres invictissimi, qui duce B. Ignatio de Acevedo Brasilianam gentem proprio sanguine Deo dicastis et consecrastis.

[1] Hic addi potest nomen sanctuarii mariani in natione vel dioecesi celebrioris.

Orate pro nobis, inclyti Martyres Christi, Beati Bartholomaee Gutierrez, Bartholomaee Laurel, Petre Zuñiga et Ludovice Florez, qui coronam pretiosissimam sanctitatis Ecclesiarum Americae Latinae purpuratis margaritis illustrastis.

Patrocinium vestrum similiter invocamus, o Sancti Francisce Solane, Petre Claver et Ludovice Beltran, Americae nostrae Apostoli et Protectores, necnon Beati Sebastiane de Aparicio, Martine de Porres et Ioannes Massias, qui apostolicis virtutibus populum nostrum mirabiliter ad Christum traxistis.

Respicite super nos et orate pro nobis, vos etiam Virgines Christi, Sancta Rosa Limana, Americae nostrae Patrona, et Beata Maria Anna a Iesu, lilia candidissima et fulgentissima, quae mirabili virtutum fragrantia totam Americam Latinam delectastis et sanctificastis.

O cor Iesu sacratissimum, salvas fac Respublicas nostras, earumque Supremos Magistratus, gentesque nostras universas. Fac etiam, Domine, ut sint unum in unitate fidei, in amore propriae patriae, in zelo decoris et incolumitatis communis stirpis, totius scilicet Americae nostrae Latinae. O Maria Immaculata, Patrona et Tutamen nostrum, protege nos, salva nos, coniunge gentes nostras in amore propriae incolumitatis, unitatis et communis integritatis, in solemni professione catholicae fidei. Amen.

Cum vero eadem Sacra Rituum Congregatio, die 23 Martii, 1900, rescripserit: 'Quoad Sanctos nihil obstat, quoad Beatos vero attentis peculiaribus rei adiunctis de speciali gratia concedi potest;' Sanctitas Sua benigne annuit per sequens Breve:

LEO PP. XIII

'Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.' Inter subsidia religionis, quae Venerabiles Fratres Americae Latinae Antistites in plenario eorum consilio in hac alma Urbe Nostra superiore anno habito peropportune excogitarunt ut Catholica Fides in ea nobilissima regione magis magisque augeretur in dies, principem sane obtinent locum preces ad Deum, ad Deiparam Immaculatam et ad beatos Coelites, eos praesertim, qui sanctitate sua Americam illustrarunt effundendae, quibus divinum auxilium pro iis fidelibus populisque ardenter imploratur. Piae huiusmodi preces a Sacra Nostra Congregatione ritibus tuendis approbatae, et quarum exemplar in Tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservatur, titulum habent 'Gratiarum actio et petitio pro fidelibus et populis Americae Latinae,' verbis incipiunt 'Gloria Patri, gloria Filio, gloria Spiritui Sancto in saecula saeculorum—Amen.' Ac

desinunt 'in solemni professione catholicae fidei—Amen.' Quo igitur earumdem precum recitatio longe lateque evulgetur, atque in uberius animarum bonum cedat, Venerabilium praedictorum Fratrum votis obsecundantes, preces ipsas coelestibus Ecclesiae thesauris libenti quidem animo ditamus. Quare de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum eius auctoritate confisi, omnibus ac singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus Americae Latinae vel in America Latina commorantibus, qui corde saltem contrito easdem, quas supra memoravimus, preces devote recitaverint, quo die id egerint, septem annos de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus, quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus Christifidelium, quae Deo in caritate coniunctae ab hac luce migrarunt, per modum suffragii applicarii posse indulgemus. In contrarium facientibus non obstantibus quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris; servato vero tenore nuperrimae Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione indulgentiarum hoc anno Iubilaei. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub Annulo Piscatoris die III Aprilis MDCCCC, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo tertio.

Pro Dño Card. MACCHI.

NICOLAUS MARINI, *Substitutus.*

INDULGENCES GRANTED FOR PRAYERS FOR THE CONVERSION OF JEWS AND TURKS

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

I.

CONCEDITUR INDULG. 100 DIERUM SEMEL IN DIE RECITANTIBUS CERTAM PRECEM PRO CONVERSIONE HEBRAEORUM ET TURCARUM

LEO PP. XIII

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Quum, sicuti Nobis relatum est, a quodam Sacerdote Congregationis Clericorum Discalceatorum SS. Crucis et Passionis Iesu Christi pia oratio Sacratissimis Iesu et Mariae Cordibus pro conversione Hebraeorum et Turcarum scripta sit, et admotae cum sint preces Nobis ut eandem orationem cuius exemplar in tabulario Secretariae Nostrae Brevium asservari iussimus et cuius prima vocabula 'O amantissimo ed amabilissimo Cuore di Gesu' postrema vero sunt 'ne secoli de secoli' indulgentiis ditare velimus: Nos, ut populus christianus

salutem proximorum suorum a Deo exoret, omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, qui corde saltem contriti supradictam precem quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, recitaverint, quolibet die centum tantum dies de iniunctis eis seu alias quomodolibet debitis poenitentiis in forma Ecclesiae consueta relaxamus. Quas poenitentiarum relaxationes etiam animabus fidelium in purgatorio detentis per modum suffragii applicari posse indulgemus. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris, servato tamen tenore nuperrimae Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione Indulgentiarum proximo anno Iubilaei. Praecipimus autem ut praesentes nullae sint, nisi earum exemplar exhibeatur Congregationi Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae: atque praesentium litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae praemunitis eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub anulo Piscatoris die 18 Decembris 1899, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo secundo.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Pro Dno Card. Macchi.
Nicolaus Marini, *Subst.*

Praesens exemplar exhibitum fuit S. Congni Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 11 Ianuarii 1900.

Loc. ✠ Sigil.

Iosephus M. Can. Coselli, *Substitutus.*

PREGHIERA

AI SACRI CUORI DI GESU E DI MARIA, PER LA CONVERSIONE DEGLI EBREI E DE' TURCHI

O amantissimo e amabilissimo Cuore di Gesù, prostrati inanzi a Voi, ardentemente vi supplichiamo di spandere nella Chiesa e nel mondo quei fiumi di acqua viva che da Voi scaturiscono come da fonte inesausta per salire alla vita eterna. O Gesu, Figlio di David e Figlio di Dio vivo, abbiate compassione di noi figli del vostro Cuore trafitto! Deh! non ci togliete, come pure meriteremmo per le nostre colpe e ingratudini, il dono della Vostra Santissimi Fede; non vi nascondete ai nostri occhi Voi, che siete la vera nostra luce e l'unica nostra speranza, ma rimanete con noi, o

Signore, mentre più si addensano le tenebre degli errori, e riempiteci di quel fuoco di carità che siete venuto a portar sulla terra e volete che si accenda nel cuore di tutti gli uomini.

O Gesù, sacrificato per noi sull'altare della Croce, tirateci a Voi, e con noi tirate pure gli Ebrei ed i Turchi, per i quali ancora versaste già il vostro sangue sino all'ultima stilla.

Deh! questo sangue invocato un di in maledizione dagli uni, scenda in benedizione sopra il loro capo, e li salvi! Questo sangue disprezzato e profanato dagli altri, mandi per essi un grido di misericordia e li purifichi! Sovvenite, o Signore, ve ne scongiuriamo, sovvenite ai poveri figli d'Isacco de l'Ismaele, per i quali ancora voleste sostenere la vostra dolorosissima Passione e Morte. Vi parlino in loro favore quelle piaghe santissime che nelle Mani, nei Piedi, e nel Costato tenete ancora vive ed aperte come prezzo del comune riscatto. Alle loro voci potenti si uniscano pur quelle che escono dal Cuore della Vostra dolcissima Madre. Questo Cuore trafitto dalla spada del dolore, immerso in un mare di pene, martirizzato col Vostro appiè della Croce, noi Vi offriamo, o Gesù, per la salvezza di tanti infelici.

O dolce Cuore di Maria, dite a Gesù quel che non sappiamo nè possiamo dir noi, ed Esso vi esaudirà. Che se per vincere le resistenze di quelli per cui vi preghiamo è necessario un miracolo, questo, o Vergine Immacolata, noi vi chiediamo per l'amore immenso che Voi portate a Gesù. Ah! si, degnatevi di apparire agli Ebrei ed ai Turchi come già appariste a Ratisbonne, e ad un cenno della vostra destra essi subito come lui saran convertiti.

Oh! venga, venga presto un tal giorno, in cui la Triade sacrosanta regni per Voi in tutti i cuori, e tutti conoscano, amino e adorino in ispirito e verità il Frutto benedetto del vostro seno, Gesù, che col Padre e con lo Spirito Santo vive e regna nei secoli de' secoli. Cosi sia.

INDULGENCED EJACULATIONS

CONCEDITUR INDULG. RECITANTIBUS QUAMDAM IACULATORIAM

LEO PP. XIII

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Supplicatum est Nobis a dilecto filio Ioanne Baptista a Chemery Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci Capulatorum Provinciae

Parisiensis concionatore, ut fidelibus mane et sero nonnullas iaculatorias, preces a pluribus Sanctis et potissimum a Sancto Alphonso de Liguorio commendatas rite recitantibus, de Ecclesiae thesauro partiales quasdam indulgentias largiri de benignitate Nostra velimus. Nos autem votis hisce annuentes auctoritate Nostra Apostolica per praesentes omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christifidelibus ubique terrarum degentibus, qui corde saltem contrito, quocumque idiomate, dummodo versio sit fidelis, hanc iaculatoriam precem dixerint: 'Mater mea, libera me hodie a peccato mortali,' terque Salutationem Angelicam mane et vespere recitent, quo die id agant, de poenalium numero ducentos dies iis in forma Ecclesiae consueta expungimus, et largimur iisdem fidelibus liceat, si malint, partiali hac indulgentia labes poenasque vita functorum expiare. Praesentibus perpetuo valituris, servato tamen tenore Constitutionis Nostrae de suspensione indulgentiarum anno Iubilaei. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum authenticum exemplar transmittatur ad Secretariam S. Congnis Indulgentiis SS. Reliquis praepositae, quod nisi fieret nullas praesentes esse decernimus. Demum volumus ut harum litterarum transumptis seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis et sigillo praemunitis personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae, eadem prorsus adhibeatur fides quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die 8 Februarii MCM, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimo secundo.

L. ✠ S.

Pro Dno. Card. Macchi.
Nicolaus Marini, *Subst.*

Praesentes Litterae Aplicae exhibitae fuerunt huic S. Congni Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praepositae. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria eiusdem S. C. die 10 Februarii 1900.

Loc. ✠ Sig.

Pro R. P. D. Ant. Archiep. Antinoen, *Secrio.*
Josephus M. Can. Coselli, *Subst.*

DOUBTS REGARDING THE VALIDITY OF ORDINATION

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

I.

ITERETUR SUB CONDITIONE ORDINATIO PRESBYTERALIS IN QUA CALIX TRADITUS FUERAT ABSQUE VINO

Beatissime Pater,

Sacerdos N. N., ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter exponit quod, cum die 22 Decembris 1894 ordinatus fuerit simul cum alio, ab Episcopo N., iam vita functo, in ipsa ordinatione defuisse hostiam super patenam vidit absque ullo dubio. Responsum vero datum a Supremo Sacrae Inquisitionis Tribunali die 11 Ianuarii 1899,[1] ob defectum vini in calice, lectum in Ephemeride *Il Monitore Ecclesiastico* mense Maio, intulit ei dubium de validitate suae ordinationis. Quapropter orator humiliter quaerit quid agendum in praxi:

I. Quoad ordinationem;

II. Quoad Missas celebratas et beneficium coadiutorale cum animarum cura ab ipso exercitum;

III. Quoad matrimonia coram ipso celebrata.

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 17 *Ianuarii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali coram Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis dictis precibus, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

'Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto quocumque die et a quocumque catholico Episcopo sub conditione, facto verbo cum SSmo. ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis a Sacerdotibus celebratis ut in casu.'

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adsessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit ac gratiam benigne concessit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

[1] Cfr. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vii., p. 145.

II.

DUBIUM CIRCA S. ORDINATIONEM

Beatissime Pater,

Titius Sacerdos, durante S. Ordinatione presbyterali antequam Episcopus inciperet formulam praescriptam pro tactu instrumentorum, quum animadvertisset se non tangere hostiam, conatus est illam attingere; sed ob talem conatum, seiunxit manum a calice, dum integra formula proferebatur, nec tamen hostiam attingere potuit. Insuper, propter supra expositum manus conatum, *seiunxit etiam patenam a calice*, tali modo quod *prohabiliter* coactus fuit etiam Episcopus ordinans ad sublevandam eandem patenam, ita ut non amplius haberetur unicum compositum morale inter patenam et calicem, qui totaliter fuerant separati.

Itaque, ad S. V. pedes provolutus, humiliter quaerit quid sit agendum.

(*Versio Directionis.*)

Ex quo responso patet tactum mediatum esse validum, validamque coniunctionem moralem inter materiam et formam.

Feria IV, die 17 *Ianuarii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis, ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

Aquiescat.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia a SSmi. D. N. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adsessore S. Officii habita SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE VALIDITY OF MATRIMONY IN THE CASE OF A CONVERTED JEW WHO WAS ASKED NO QUESTIONS REGARDING HIS FIRST WIFE

DE MATRIMONIO CONTRACTO AB INFIDELI CONVERSO, OMISSA INTERPELLATIONE QUOAD PRIOREM UXOREM

Beatissime Pater,

Curatus quidam Dioecesis N., ad S. V. pedes provolutus, sequentem casum exponit:

Titius, iudaeus, in infidelitate matrimonium, contraxit cum muliere pariter infideli, a qua, dato libello repudii, in forma legali divortii sententia liberatus est. Quo facto, cum catholica Berta amores fovit, cum qua, postquam eadem ad hoc se coram magistratu civili *absque confessione* declaravit, civile consortium iniit anno 1887, quale matrimonium iuxta leges civiles validum reputatur.

Conscientiae morsibus ob defectionem suam a fide pressa, Berta in id intendit ut pseudo-virum suum ad fidem amplectendam permoveret, cum ex occasione cuncta facile componi posse Curatus ipsi exposuisset. Revera anno 1892 Titius baptizatus est, eodemque die matrimonium inter ipsum Titium et Bertam, quae item Ecclesiae reconciliata est, in facie Ecclesiae celebratur, coram eodem Curato, qui tunc prioris matrimonii Titii in infidelitate contracti vinculum ex oblivione plane neglexit. Nunc autem ex simili casu, in quo ipsi interpellatio coniugis infidelis demandata fuerit, dictus Curatus erroris sui memor factus, defectum reparare studuit. Inquisitione enim facta, rescivit, priorem coniugem iudaeam adhuc vivere in loco N.; ast nec fidem amplecti velle, nec cuicumque interpellationi responsum dare, cum matrimonium suum ex lege civili legitime solutum et alterum a Titio cum Berta coram magistratu civili initum pro valido reputet.

Proinde dictus Curatus humillime petit, ut ex Apostolicae Sedis venia ab interpellatione coniugis infidelis in casu dispensetur, matrimoniumque inter Titium et Bertam, ut supra in facie Ecclesiae post Baptismum viri initum, in radice sanetur.

Et Deus etc.

Feria IV, die 17 *Ianuarii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab EE. ac RR. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositis antedictis precibus, praehabitoque

RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite accurateque perpensis, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

' Dummodo constet ex processu saltem summario, mulierem nullum responsum dare voluisse, matrimonium contrahi posse, et ad mentem. Mens est, in hoc casu non dari locum dispensationi in radice : nam adhuc viget prius matrimonium in infidelitate contractum ; quod non dissolvitur, nisi quando post conversionem et interpellationem inutiliter factam, novum ac validum contractum fuerit matrimonium.[1]

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 eiusdem mensis Ianuarii, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adsessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

[1] Ex hac responsione, firmantur sequentia principia relate ad Privilegium Paulinum, Scilicet: 1. Ut adhiberi possit, necessario fieri debet interpellatio quoad partem quae in infidelitate remanet. 2. Quoties haec interpellatio impossibilis est aut inutilis, requiritur dispensatio S. Sedis. 3. Haec autem dispensatio non conceditur nisi quando impossibilitas aut inutilitas interpellationis demonstratur ex processu saltem summario. 4. Matrimonium inter infideles contractum, non solvitur vigore huius privilegii, nisi quando pars conversa novum de facto contraxit matrimonium. 5. Quando igitur non obtenta fuit dispensatio super interpellatione, nequit concedi sanatio in radice, sed matrimonium debet iterum celebrari.

(*Versio Not. Monit. Eccl.*)

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Ecclesiastical Dictionary. Containing in concise form information on Ecclesiastical, Biblical, Archæological and Historical subjects. By Rev. John Thein, Priest of the Diocese of Cleveland. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers. 1900. Price 20*s.* nett.

It is an undoubted fact that in English Catholic literature a dictionary of ecclesiastical information is one of the needs most sorely felt, not only by missionary priests but by all sorts of teachers and professors. Such a work, in order to be serviceable, must be fairly complete and exhaustive, and when it does not give the minutest details it should at least give references to the works in which such details are to be found. It goes without saying that Weltzer and Welte have done the best work that has yet been done anywhere in this department, and have conferred a boon on the German clergy that cannot be over-estimated. Under the superintendence of the venerated Dr. Kaulen of Bonn, the whole work has been recently revised by a staff of the most learned theologians and ecclesiastical writers in Germany, and the new edition published by Herder of Freiburg is a regular storehouse of sure and accurate knowledge. The first edition was translated into French by the Abbé Goschler and was rapidly bought up by every library of importance in France. The French edition has also found its way into a good many Irish libraries and for the sake of the references alone is well worthy of a place in any library. The nearest approach that we have had so far to anything of the kind in English is the *Catholic Dictionary*; but although this work has been revised and re-edited, for various reasons it has never inspired confidence. It does not profess to have dealt with more than one in a hundred of the subjects that are of interest to the clergy, and of the subjects with which it deals some are treated much more fully than others.

Father Thein's 'Dictionary' is, in almost every respect, an improvement on the *Catholic Dictionary*, and until a number of learned Catholic priests in English-speaking countries band them selves together under a competent editor for the production of a full and satisfactory Church Lexicon, it will do good service.

For our own part we have no hesitation in recommending it. For its size and intended purpose it contains a vast amount of information, and although the information is often taken at second and even third hand, there is nothing of any importance to be found fault with on that account.

J. F. H.

What is Liberalism? Englished and Adapted from the Spanish of Dr. Don Felix Sarda y Salvany. By Condé B. Pallen, Ph.D., LL.D. Herder, Freiburg in Breisgau; St. Louis, Mo., &c. 1899.

Dr. Sarda y Salvany is a Spanish priest of the diocese of Barcelona, and editor of a journal entitled *La Revista Popolar*. In 1886 he published a little work entitled *El Liberalismo es Pecado*. Under the auspices of a Spanish bishop of a liberal turn a reply was written by another Spanish priest, D. de Pazos, to the work of Dr. Sarda. It was entitled *El Proceso del Integrismo*. Both books were referred to the Index, with the result that Dr. Sarda's work was highly praised, and the work of his opponent severely condemned. It is the volume commended by the Sacred Congregation that Dr. Pallen has 'englished,' and adapted for use in America, and other English-speaking countries. Notwithstanding the strictures of several English Catholic newspapers and reviews, we cordially welcome Dr. Pallen's volume, and sincerely hope that it will have a wide circulation. Its publication in America at the present time is a healthy sign, and a welcome indication that Catholic publicists of the school of Brownson are not going to let the liberalizing theorists have everything their own way. It is to be regretted, no doubt, that care was not taken to render the Spanish into somewhat more idiomatic English; but the main object of Dr. Pallen is accomplished, and it is, in our opinion, a highly laudable object which deserves every encouragement, and which is a link in the chain of the very best traditions of the Catholic Church in America.

J. F. H.

Pancho and Panchita. By Mary E. Mannix; Fred's Little Daughter. By Sarah T. Smith, &c. New York and Cincinnati: Benziger Bros. 1*s.* 9*d.* each.

We can recommend these little volumes to all who wish to procure for the young attractive and edifying stories. They are

not goody-goody—that strange type of history which the philosophic juvenile of the nineteenth century so detests. The edification is found in the plain narration of lives in which religion has an influence elevating and truly joyful; the attraction in the winning words and ways of the youthful heroes and heroines, and the fidelity and tenderness of those who watch over them as they play their little part in the tragedy or comedy of the tale.

P. S.

SERMONS FOR EVERY SUNDAY IN THE YEAR. By Rev. B. J. Raycroft, A.M. New York and Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet and Co. 7*s*.

THIS volume, containing the author's first venture into print, deserves kind treatment at a critic's hand. It is regretable, however, that the proportion of doctrinal exposition in the discourses is not much greater. Sound advice, and plenty of it, is given, but we think that, considering present-day circumstances, the effect would be more lasting, and even immediately deeper, if the dogmatic foundations of such true Christian counsel were sufficiently explained.

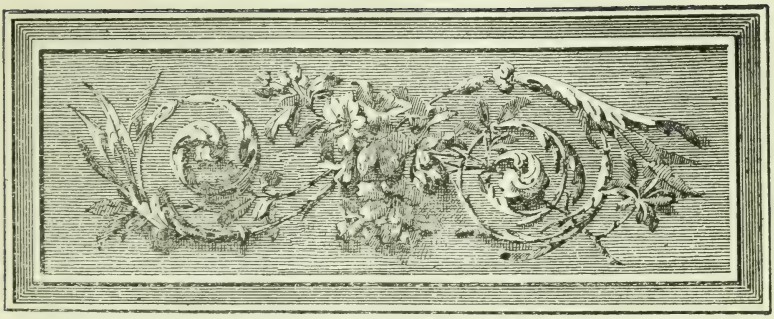
P. S.

FIRST BENEDICTION SERVICE. By R. W. Oberhoffer. Copyright by R. W. Oberhoffer, 20, Grosvenor-terrace, York.

THIS Benediction service, the first of an intended series, is evidently an attempt to provide choirs accustomed to the prevailing style of Benediction music with something which would be on a fairly high level, both as regards artistic excellence and liturgical decency, without being liable to be regarded as too severe. The three pieces are for four mixed voices. There is no organ accompaniment indicated, but the organ is probably meant to double the voice parts. In the *O Salutaris* a pretty melody is imitated by various voices in similar and in contrary motion, while the declamation of the words proceeds, and contrapuntal devices only to a very slight extent interfere, with the simultaneous pronunciation of the syllables. The first note of the bass part in the fourth bar should, of course, be *f*♯, not *d*. The Litany is much in the usual style, and it will require a careful rendering if the common jiggish effect is to be avoided. In the *Tantum Ergo* the

soprano melody is first imitated by the alto, and then repeated, in contrary motion, by the soprano. Rhythmically there is an alternation of $^{6}/_{2}$ and $^{4}/_{2}$ measures, carried out with good effect. It appears to have escaped the author himself that the last bar is in ternary time again, not in binary time, as noted. There is no danger of wrong accentuation, however, as it would take rather a violent effort to bring out the $^{4}/_{2}$ time. We have no doubt that a collection of Benediction services like the present one would do a great deal of good by gradually educating choirs and congregations.

H B.



ATTRITION

YEARS ago, whilst attending one of the diocesan colleges, it was my good fortune to be present at a lecture delivered by a venerable and learned priest on the 'Catholic doctrine of Sorrow for Sin.' With a clearness and simplicity to which none but the most skilful teacher could attain, he briefly passed in review the different motives by which contrition may be excited, till at last he mentioned 'the pains of hell.' As he did so a troubled look came into his face; he hesitated, muttered unintelligibly for a few moments, and then, as if summoning up courage, he threw his eyes round the assembled group of students, and slowly gave utterance to the following sentence, which, do what I would, I could never banish from my memory since :—

> My children [said he] it will never suffice to be sorry for your sins merely on account of the fire of hell; there is too much of self about that. God it is to whom your sins have been an insult, and to God you must return if you wish to make an ample apology.

The apparent mental struggle that preceded, the solemn and measured tones in which he spoke, combined with the nervous earnestness of his whole manner, were sufficient to indicate to even the most careless listener that something had been said worthy of serious attention.

Years have passed since then, and more than once has the opinion of this saintly ecclesiastic flashed across my mind when I saw and heard propounded other and apparently contradictory propositions; but the authority of their defenders, together with the 'common opinion of theologians,' as adduced by them in favour of their doctrines, were enough to allay, if not to banish completely, any doubts that arose. Never before has an opportunity presented itself for a full investigation of the whole question of attrition; and this examination has, at least, served to convince me that difficulties must be met, whichever view is adopted, and that one can hardly afford to be very dogmatic once one has crossed the limits defined by the infallible authority of the Church.

Before introducing the difficult question of attrition, to prevent misunderstanding, it is necessary to briefly set forth the opinions commonly held on the nature of sin itself, because a clear conception of the malice of the offence cannot fail to assist us in determining the form of apology which should be deemed necessary and sufficient. Sin is, indeed, a many-sided evil. Under whichever aspect you regard it, you perceive new and hitherto unsuspected iniquity. It is a deordination against rational nature, tending to lower it and deprave it; it is a disturbance of right order and public good; an act of ungrateful rebellion against the kindest of masters; an infringement of the solemn compact made by God in the New Dispensation as in the Old; a real spiritual suicide. But the question to be determined here is: Wherein consists its essential and ultimate malice? To this question the fathers and theologians of the Church are almost unanimous in replying that it consists in the fact that the sinner turns away from the infinite good and source of all true happiness for the sake of a creature, which is, at best, only a faint imitation of the perfection of its Creator. Such an act expresses the most supreme contempt for God; it depreciates His worth as far as man can depreciate it; it is like putting Him into the scales with His own poor creatures, and declaring that they are more worthy of our affections. A friend who has

manfully stood by us in our darkest hours feels slighted if we only seem to pay less attention to him than to some casual acquaintance. Imagine how great would be his indignation were we to publicly disregard him for the sake of something which he hated, and against which he had frequently warned us. It is thus the sinner acts with God. He knows that He is the infinite good, to whom nothing could be so displeasing as sin, and yet, 'boiling over in his desires,' he freely chooses to cling to the creature, to the abandonment of the Creator. This is the view of the essence of sin—if we could well speak of the essence of a negation—put forward by St. Thomas in his works, both directly and in response to objections. It is upon it that most of our Catholic theologians base their strongest argument for the eternity of the pains of hell; and even St. Augustine, who is sometimes quoted for a different opinion, could not more succinctly express his adhesion to it that when in his work, *De Caritate*, he says: 'Sin consists in neglecting the eternal to follow the temporal, in enjoying as our end what was given to be used as the means.'

But by such desertion all is not lost. God wills not the death of the sinner, but that he should be converted from his evils ways and live. 'Turn to Me,' He says, 'with your whole hearts and I will pardon your offences.' 'If the wicked do penance for the crimes which he has committed and keep My commandments, living he shall live and shall not die; I will not remember the iniquities which he has wrought.' After the fall must come the repentance if the sinner would win forgiveness; it is now our duty to examine closely the nature of this repentance.

Contrition is defined by the fathers of Trent to be 'a sorrow and detestation of past sin with a firm purpose of never again offending God.' It is not a mere resolve to do better things in the future, as the Reformers were wont to maintain, though, of course, such a resolve must follow upon every act of real contrition; it is an effect, but not the essential constituent. Sorrow for sin—as well as for every other misfortune—must be an act of the will, and since

every exercise of the will is either love or hatred, it evidently follows that contrition is nothing more than a hatred for sin, an aversion from it as from an evil that is pressing heavily upon us, an evil that is our own, an evil which we could and should have avoided. When men hate anything, the will, as it were, shrinks from the loathed object; and yet, this act of aversion is in reality a laying hold of, and clinging to the opposite good. Strange as it may seem, every act of hatred is also an act of love, and the more intense the love, the more intense must be the hatred. No doubt, as a rule, both acts are not formally present, but, nevertheless, they are always there; nay more, it is absolutely impossible to elicit an act of hatred without presupposing an attachment to the opposite good. It would be as though a man were to attempt to cross the Atlantic for America without at the same time abandoning the Irish coast. If we doubt this statement let us turn our thoughts for a few moments upon our own soul, and endeavour to analyse the motives which prompt our acts of hatred, and we shall find they spring from the very intensity of love. Does not, for example, our aversion from bodily or mental pain arise from the love of self, so natural to man; our sorrow for the misfortunes of a friend from a sincere attachment to that friend; our dislike for injustice, intemperance, and the other vices from our appreciation of, and zeal for, the opposite virtues? It is so everywhere we turn; hatred supposes love of the opposite good, and cannot be there except through such love. If, then, we really hate sin, we must cling to some good to which sin is opposed.

This good may be manifold. It might be the infinite goodness of God looked at as it is in itself without any direct relation to our own happiness. This is not the place to discuss the nature of goodness, and yet, when we hear it nowadays commonly put down as equivalent to appetibility —always denoting a relation of utility to the person loving— there is grave danger of its being urged that a love of the infinite good, such as we have described it, is an absolute impossibility. Indeed, this argument has actually been put forward by some Italian theologians, and even Bossuet

himself is not free from the suspicion of having been overcome by it. We should, however, remember goodness is used in two very different senses—as a quality in the object itself, an agreement of itself with itself, of the parts with the whole, a perfect suitability for attaining its end; or it may denote a relation to some other object, and a capacity for perfecting it. The former, which does not directly connote the utility of the individual loving, is real fundamental goodness; and no one, who admits the existence of a God, will deny that it is present in Him. He is perfection itself; the whole is infinitely good; every attribute is infinitely good and worthy of our love; when we love Him as such we have an act of charity. No doubt this love does not exclude the knowledge that God is the ultimate source of our happiness, it even presupposes such a knowledge and relationship, but it is not on account of this that the act is elicited; the motive is the infinite goodness of God Himself. If we so tend towards God, we shall clearly perceive that our sins are a great wrong and insult to one who is so amiable—a great desertion of the Creator to whom we should have clung with all the affections of our soul; we shall shrink from them and detest them with a hatred greater than which man is not capable of conceiving, and this hatred of ours is what theologians call perfect contrition.

This Infinite Being is also our last end, and source of true happiness. He is not alone perfect in Himself, but He is capable of perfecting us and of satisfying all the desires of the human heart. Reason and faith are unanimous in unfolding His attractions; but they are also unanimous in declaring that He cannot be won without a difficult struggle, and that, if we would make Him ours, we must be up and doing. They tell us that the difficulties to be overcome are, indeed, enormous, but they also tell us the means that are at our command are fully proportioned to the difficulties. He has promised to aid us if only we endeavour to co-operate, and is He not truthful, omnipotent, faithful to His promises? Thus, God is presented to our will as an infinite and future good, as difficult to be attained, and yet certainly possible of attainment if we only rouse

ourselves to make an effort; and His infinite goodness thus coloured, if I may so speak, with its infinite suitability, its infinite difficulty, in the sense that the whole object is coloured with the same note, its infinite possibilty is, we contend, the formal object of the virtue of hope. Now, while thus loving God, if we perceive our sins as opposed to our obtaining the object of all our desires, as coming in between and tearing us away from our last end, we shall hate them with a hatred proportioned to our love of the infinite good, and this hatred or sorrow will be contrition elicited from the motive of hope.

Again, we might be drawn by the love of virtue. Our intellect clearly indicates that some acts are agreeable and praiseworthy, that they tend to elevate and ennoble human nature, to raise a man from the level of the brute creation and make him fit companion for the pure spirits who minister round the throne of God. Thus, we clearly perceive—unless our whole ideas have been corrupted by self-indulgence—that temperance is a virtue which it is consonant with our nature to practise, and that the contrary vice is at once revolting and degrading. The same holds good for justice and truth and chastity and humility and all the other moral virtues. We see how one and all tend to perfect our nature; our hearts naturally go out to embrace such goodness, a feeling of aversion for the opposite excesses is generated—for intemperance, injustice, falsehood and the like; and this aversion is, we assume, the contrition elicited on account of the turpitude of sin, about which the Council of Trent speaks. No doubt this phrase is interpreted differently by different authors, but the several meanings which they assign may be resolved into sorrow from the motive of hope or charity. It is only when understood, as we have understood it, that one can hope to defend it as a distinct motive of contrition.

Again, the object to which we are attached might be ourselves. Man naturally loves himself, and though it is by no means true to say that all human actions are dictated by selfish motives, yet there is, if we examine carefully, a great intermixture of self, even in our most disinterested deeds.

No doubt, men are prepared to sacrifice all that is dear to them, even life, if necessary, for the sake of a cause to which they are attached; the world looks on in raptures and loudly applauds their generous ardour; and still, when they look down deep into their own hearts, and see the motives which spurred them on, they are forced to smile at how easily outsiders may be led to mistake selfishness for sincere devotion to principle. If, then, we regard sin as something injurious to ourselves, we can well detest it; and surely sin is ruinous to us in numberless ways. There are many classes of crimes, which, of their very nature, destroy our reputation, take away our place in society, leave us friendless where we once had tender friends. Others undermine the physical constitution, slowly, yet with a dogged certainty that is appalling, or it may be the calamity comes swift as the lightning bolt almost before the fatal apple has been eaten; others ruin and blacken prospects that were once bright and promising, money and property are squandered in the mad race for pleasure, family ties are unavailing to prevent the downward course, and, at last, the poor unfortunate awakes one day to find that his sin has not alone ruined himself, but it has brought endless sorrows on those whom he once cherished as the apple of his eye; and worse still, it may be that his crimes are handed down to them in the sense that his children are certain to go as their sire went, for does not the Holy Scripture say that the sins of the father will go down even unto the fourth generation?

This is the picture only from a natural standpoint; but, when we consider the evils inflicted immediately by God in punishment of our transgressions, we have a still stronger motive for hating sin. We believe there exists a hell away from the face of God, as St. Paul says, where those who die in mortal sin are tormented by all the penalties that a just and angry Master can inflict. There, in that place of woe, the damned shall suffer not alone from the eternal separation from the Infinite Good, but also from the fearful pains of sense which they shall be forced to endure. God is the infinite good for which the human soul yearns even in this life, though on earth that infinite good is not unmixed; it is

always represented as difficult or uncertain of attainment, but when the fatal separation of soul and body takes place, when the intellect freed from the prejudices of the flesh can see things as they really are, it shall then be realised how dreadful a thing it is to be separated from God through one's own fault, and forever. But though this is the chief, it is by no means the only sorrow of the damned ; the Scriptures clearly indicate, and the Church has always taught, that they are also tormented by fire and other sensible pains. Sin it is which brings all these misfortunes upon us—misfortunes in this life, doubly great misfortunes in the next ; and if there is a vestige of self-love left within us we cannot help detesting it. This brief analysis of the possible motives by which sorrow for sin may be aroused cannot fail to assist us in determining the nature of the attrition that is required.

We shall here assume as proved the conditions laid down by all theologians as necessary for contrition generally, and shall only add a word in explanation of its universality and sovereignty. It should be universal in this sense, at least, that it extend to all mortal sins that are then burthening the conscience : it will not suffice, for example, to grieve for a sin of injustice without, at the same time, retracting in the slightest degree the excesses of intemperance ; in fact, such a state of feeling proves clearly that the conversion is not sincere, else, how could one turn to God, and yet remain attached to that which is equally displeasing to Him. On the other hand, the sorrow need not necessarily extend to venial transgressions ; they do not separate us from God in the same way as mortal sins, and might be compared to the numberless differences and disputes amongst human friends, which, though they cause pain and annoyance on both sides, leave intact the bond of friendship. It is obvious, then, that we may thoroughly detest mortal sins which place a naturally insurmountable barrier to our possession of the infinite good without including in our sorrow minor offences not capable of producing a like effect. We shall reserve for another place the discussion of the question about the universality of the contrition for venial sins themselves.

Besides, the contrition must be sovereign; that is, the sorrow for sin should exceed the sorrow that can be aroused by any other misfortune. It may do so in two ways—in intensity, or in appreciation. The intensity of sorrow must necessarily correspond to the force with which the will embraces the opposite good, and in itself, as applied to acts of the appetitive faculty, it is nothing more or less than the rapidity of motion by which the will clings to some good, or recoils from some evil, and depends entirely on the vividness with which the object is presented by the intellect. Since the human soul, while it remains attached to the body, is dependent for its actions to such a large extent on the sensitive organism, it is clear that the good or evil which falls under the province of the senses will be more vividly presented, and more earnestly sought for or disliked than if the will were depending on pure intellectual cognition. This relation to the sensitive organism will serve to explain why our sorrow may be at times very intense, even though the object about which we grieve is considered as, by no means, a serious evil. Thus, if we stand by and see the remains of one whom we loved consigned to their last earthly resting-place, our hearts are pierced with grief, and we can feel as if something of ourselves had been torn from us and buried in the grave of our dead friend; and all this, though we are perfectly convinced that death was a blessing for him and for us, that its dread shadow fell upon him just when he was prepared to face his Creator, and that a longer span of life must have meant complete destruction for him, and endless suffering for ourselves. We consider death as by no means a heavy blow, yet our intellectual view of the situation cannot save us from being racked with the pains of an excessive grief. This will illustrate the origin and nature of intensity of sorrow.

If, however, we regard the object as it is in itself, independently of the vividness with which it is presented by the intellect, the act of love or hatred must necessarily be proportioned to the amount of good or evil which we perceive in it. If the good presented to the will be infinite good, the act of the will embracing it must be an act of

sovereign love; if the object be infinitely evil in the only sense in which it could be so, namely, in its direct opposition to the Infinite Good, the will must recoil from it with sovereign hatred. If hatred spring from a love of the opposite good, and is proportioned to this love, as we have proved in the beginning, it logically follows that an act of sovereign hatred can only arise from the love of the Infinite Good. Is this the sense which theologians attach to the term when they state that contrition must be sovereign, or do they only mean that our hatred for sin must be greater than for any evil which could urge us to commit sin—a kind of 'working sovereignty,' as they say? This is the question with which we must really grapple if we wish to determine the sufficiency of some of the motives for attrition.

So far we have merely set down in order the possible motives by which contrition may be excited, together with the conditions necessary for its availing unto justification; it now remains to test the motives in the light of the conditions. Little need be said about the first, namely, sorrow for sin on account of its opposition to God, who is infinitely good in Himself. It will suffice to state that according to Catholic doctrine it is always sufficient for justification, even outside the Sacrament of Penance, as soon as it is elicited, and without dependence on any particular grade of intensity. Why it does so is to be sought in the divine ordination rather than in any intrinsic capability of producing such an effect.

Next in order comes contrition from the love of hope, and about its sufficiency with the Sacrament of Penance there cannot be any reasonable doubt. There are, however, a few who would contend that it is not sovereign in the truest sense of the word, since it is only from the motive of charity a sovereign sorrow could be elicited; and, besides, they say, it really springs from a love of ourselves and of our own convenience, and, therefore, in no possible way turns us to God. This difficulty is based on a complete misconception of the formal object of hope as set forth in the previous pages; that object is not even in part ourselves or our own convenience, for nothing finite can be allowed to enter into

the formal object of true theological hope; it can only be the infinite good looked at as it is in itself infinitely suitable for us. This is the true motive of hope, boundless as is the motive of charity, for does not charity, too, regard the infinite good under a certain aspect; and, if our opponents freely admit, as they must admit, that its object is not limited by being so regarded, why should they urge this objection against hope? The motive is the infinite good; therefore the love must be sovereign, though doubtless the aspect under which that good is viewed in charity is calculated to draw to itself more completely our whole affections; or, at least, it does not suppose the concomitant act of self-love which desire always entails. The attrition from the motive of hope is, then, we contend, amply sufficient for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. It may be true, supernatural, universal, sovereign.

We now come to consider the turpitude of sin, such as we have described it above—a sorrow arising from our love of the opposite virtue. Thus, for example, the virtue of gratitude is dear to the human heart; even the unlettered savage would consider it a stain and a disgrace to injure the companion from whom he had received nothing but kindness and assistance; our sins are directly opposed to this virtue, they are injuries and offences against Him who has given us all we possess. If, then, we grieve for them under this aspect, will our grief be sufficient for justification with the Sacrament of Penance? No doubt, as a rule, with such considerations the love of hope or charity is almost certain to be present, and, thus, indirectly, at least, such a sorrow will be sovereign, and will suffice; but, if we confine our attention to the sorrow arising solely from the love of the opposite virtue, the same opinion must be held as with regard to the sufficiency of attrition from the fear of the pains of hell, which we shall presently discuss. The same principle seems to be involved in both cases.

With regard to sorrow for sin, because it injures our prospects in life, undermines our health, rends asunder the bonds of friendship, and scatters for ever the happy family circle, no one would contend that it is sufficient to justify

even with the Sacrament of Penance. If we seriously inquire why this is so, we shall find the answer is, that such a sorrow in no way turns us to God. Just as in the act of sinning we considered only ourselves and our own good, so, in the act of conversion from sin we are urged only by love of self; we do not rise higher than the creature; we make no reparation to the infinite majesty of God, whom we have so grievously insulted by our crimes, and God will not deign to notice our protestations of repentance since He was not considered in our acts. This is the unanimous teaching of theologians, and we have no difficulty in accepting it as the true doctrine; yet, if it be true in one place we must be prepared to accept it throughout this difficult question of attrition.

Now, we are at last face to face with attrition elicited from the fear of the pains of hell, and it might be well in the beginning to briefly recall the defined Catholic doctrine on this point. When the Reformation broke out in Germany in the early portion of the sixteenth century many novel doctrines, completely opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church, were then propounded, and amongst the others was a strange error about this matter of attrition. Luther and his principal followers strenuously contended that sorrow from the motive of fear was worthless, that it served only to make a man a hypocrite, and a greater sinner. Such a sorrow, they said, was not sufficient to banish from the heart all attachment to sin; the love of the evil deed remained within the soul, and was prevented from breaking forth merely through the fear of punishment; in other words, they held, that such a fear tied the hand but could not restrain the heart. This was the error which confronted the fathers of Trent, and against it they soon levelled their decrees. Thus, in the twenty-fourth session, whilst treating of the Sacrament of Penance, 'the Council declares that contrition, which is called attrition because it is commonly conceived from the turpitude of sin or from the fear of hell and its pains, if it exclude the will of sinning and be joined with the hope of pardon, not alone does not make a man a hypocrite and a greater sinner, but it is a true gift of God

and an impulse of the Holy Ghost, and though of itself, without the Sacrament of Penance, it is not sufficient to justify, yet it disposes a man to impetrate grace in the Sacrament of Penance.' Again, in the sixth session, in describing the process of justification, the fathers speak of the necessity of the sinner ' being encouraged to hope after he has feared the divine justice, trusting that God might be propitious to him on account of Christ ; ' and later on, they level an anathema against ' anyone who shall say that the fear of hell through which we fly to God by grieving for our sins and abstaining from sin, is in itself a sin or makes us worse sinners.' Years afterwards, when the Jansenist errors were disturbing the Church in France, we find the Holy See proscribing the following proposition of Quesnelli :—' The attrition which is conceived from a fear of hell and its pains without a love of God as He is good in Himself, is not a good or supernatural motion.'

In these decrees it is expressly defined that sorrow elicited from the fear of the pains of hell is good and salutary and disposes a man for justification, and nobody who understands the fear about which the fathers of the Council speak will have any difficulty in accepting that doctrine. They spoke not of the fear which merely restrains the hand while it leaves the affections of the heart to wander unbridled, but, of a fear, which is capable of removing not alone the sinful act but also every attachment to things unlawful ; the one merits punishment as infallibly as the other, and if the fear is able to banish the one—and even Luther would grant that it is—why could it not also banish the other? It is clear, then, that such fear is good and salutary, and not hypocrisy, as it was described by the apostles of the Reformation. So far all are agreed.

It is, however, another question whether the attrition so elicited would suffice for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. Again, it might be useful to distinguish. The pains of hell could refer either to the pain of loss—eternal separation from the infinite good—or to the pains of sense as embracing all the positive sufferings to which the soul is subjected. Attrition elicited from the fear of loss should be

sufficient for justification with the Sacrament of Penance, because such a sorrow really springs from the motive of hope. We love God as He is infinitely good for us; sin is the ugly spectre stalking in between us and the possession of that good, and from the very constitution of our nature, our wills must shrink from such a monster and with a hatred proportioned to the love with which it clings to the opposite good. Lest we should seem to be relying too much on ourselves it might be useful to quote on this point no less an authority than Suarez. In his 'Treatise on Penance' speaking of the nature of attrition,[1] he says :—

> Sorrow from sin from the motive of the fear of hell belongs to the virtue of hope, because love and hatred are from the one principle, and since we hate these sins because they are opposed to eternal life, and since love of eternal life belongs to the virtue of hope, to the same virtue must be reduced this fear of hell.

Thus, the eminent theologian in the conclusion of his treatment of this question replies to an objection that might be urged against him, and in this reply we are enabled to see that he was prepared to defend the sufficiency of sorrow elicited from the fear of hell only in so far as it necessarily involved the love of hope. Whatever may be said about the past, it would seem to be the unanimous teaching of all schools that attrition from the fear of loss is sufficient to justify in the Sacrament of Penance, and with this doctrine we see no great reason for quarrelling.

And now the field of discussion has become limited; it only remains to inquire about the sufficiency of attrition elicited from the fear of the finite pains of hell. It might be well to begin the investigation by a brief review of the authorities cited on both sides, because the argument from authority can never be lost sight of by any Catholic theologian. It may not be universally known that until comparatively recent times there were few, if any, who contended that sorrow elicited from the motive of fear was sufficient for justification, even with the Sacrament of Penance. Amongst those who denied its sufficiency may be cited such men as

[1] Disp. 5, Sec. iii., n. 10.

St. Bonaventure, Peter Lombard, St. Raymund of Pennafort, Medina, Gabriel, St. Thomas, Tournelly, Morinus; even Viva confessed that all the fathers were against him, and Soto, the most strenuous supporter of the sufficiency of such contrition, was forced to admit that he could derive no argument from the early writers in support of his view. But, it may be said that at least since the Council of Trent, one cannot safely deny that such sorrow will suffice. We strongly deny that the fathers of the Council have made any definite pronouncement on the question now under discussion; because, in the first place, their decrees have reference only to the sorrow that is elicited from the fear of hell as it includes both the pain of loss and the pains of sense. This was the fear against which Luther directed his opposition, as may be seen by his Theses (No. 6), published in opposition to the Bull of Leo X., and it is but fair to assume that the same fear is spoken of in the decrees which were levelled against his errors by the fathers of the Council. In the second place, that this contrition will justify even with the Sacrament; indeed, the contrary is hinted at when it is stated that such sorrow *disposes* a man to impetrate grace in the Sacrament of Penance, especially when we remember that according to Pallavicini, the learned historian of the Council, the word *sufficere* inserted in the schema submitted to the fathers was replaced after due consideration by the more elastic term *disponere*.

Even taking up those who admit the sufficiency of attrition from the fear of hell, we shall find that they speak in general terms without any distinction or limitation, but their real opinion may be gathered from the fact that Suarez, who is very frequently quoted for other views, when pressed hard in the objections, fell back on the fact that it was elicited from the love of hope. It is only in his reply to difficulties that we clearly see the doctrine which an author wishes to propound. Thus, we see the argument from authority is by no means conclusive, and we are at liberty to adopt whichever view is supported by the more convincing intrinsic arguments.

According to all theologians, attrition, to be sufficient for

justification, even with the Sacrament of Penance, must be sovereign. In what sense do they use this term? Is it as indicating a hatred and aversion from sin as from an infinite evil, in the sense that it tears us away from our last end to which we should cleave with supreme love; or do they merely mean that we must hate sin more than any evil which can be inflicted to urge us to offend God? There is evidently a very great difference between these two views. According to the former, the sorrow should be sovereign in the very same way as acts of faith, hope, and charity are said to be sovereign; that is, because these acts are centred in the infinite. In faith there is supreme certainty, because the formal object is the infinite truth; in hope and in charity there is supreme love because the object is the infinite good; so with sorrow, it should be supreme because the object is something that tears one away from the infinite good. If hatred and love are from the one principle and proportioned to one another, as Suarez lays down in the passage which we have quoted, it obviously follows that as sovereign love can exist only when we cling to the infinite good, so, sovereign hate can only be conceived for something which completely separates us from that good.

According to the second opinion, our sorrow should be sovereign; not, indeed, in the sense that it is the greatest possible sorrow, but as indicating that our hatred of sin should be greater than of any evil which could urge us to commit sin. No doubt, we may detest other evils with as great a detestation—and it cannot be denied that the hatred of the pains of hell which urges us to fear sin is, to put it mildly, not less than the hatred of sin; but since the sin is more odious than any temporal calamity which could induce its commission, such an attrition will suffice to banish all affection for sin, to keep men from giving a free rein to their passions, and is decidedly, as the defenders of this opinion say, 'a working sovereignty.' These two are the only possible meanings of the term, and, for my part, I can see no sufficient reason for departing from the sense which we commonly assign to it when speaking of faith, hope, and charity. If we find a term of this kind used in theology to

express a quality of certain acts, if we find theologians writing pages to explain clearly its meaning, and to point out how it differs from the highest grade of intensity, and if we find them here in contrition again carefully distinguishing between the intensity and sovereignty of appreciation, we cannot believe they used the word in a sense different from that in which they had previously explained it. Certain it is, such a thing would never be admitted in a scientific treatise on electricity or chemistry, or any of the other profane sciences. Is the science of theology less accurate, or are theologians less scientific? Yet, without a word of explanation, we find it stated in every text-book of Catholic theology from the penny catechism to the bulky tomes of the most voluminous theological writer, that one of the necessary conditions for attrition is that it should be sovereign. Indeed, the catechism of the Council of Trent clearly indicates that this is the signification of the term, because in dealing with the sorrow for sin, as embracing perfect contrition and attrition, it lays down that such sorrow must be sovereign, 'for since God is to be loved above all things, that which alienates us from Him is to be detested above all things.' Unless, then, some grave reason can be put forward why we should understand the expression differently here, we should be wrong in doing so.

The only possible reason that could be assigned is that the end of contrition is to turn men away from their sins, and to restrain them in the future; that if sin be regarded as greater than any evil which could be inflicted to procure its commission, and is hated with a hatred thus relatively sovereign, there is, at least, a sufficient sorrow, though it may have attained only the minimum of sufficiency; and as practical men, when we have got what will serve our purpose, we may leave the question of possibility to those who take a malicious pleasure in creating fanciful difficulties.

This sounds well, but the argument is slightly misleading. The very foundation of this contention is that attrition from any motive which will draw men away from sin, and deter them for the future, is sufficient for justification. Putting

aside for the present the question whether sorrow from the fear of the finite pains of hell has such an efficacy, we cannot admit the truth of the premise laid down by our opponents. If it be true, it would seem to follow that attrition, from a purely human motive, should suffice; for when a man considers for a moment the temporal misfortunes which, in many cases, his sins have brought upon him, he should have a motive capable of making him sincerely bewail his crimes, and resolve to do better things in the future. No doubt, it may be answered, that all affection for sin is not excluded, and, therefore, the contrition is not universal; but, let us suppose for the sake of argument, that such considerations were powerful enough to remove all attachment to things unlawful, would anyone admit that the sorrow so elicited would suffice for justification in the Sacrament of Penance? Certainly not; our opponents would be the very first to deny it, because, they say, that the malice of sin consists rather in turning away from God than in turning to the creature, that a sorrow of this kind might, indeed, turn a man from the creature, but will not effect any conversion to God. It arises from pure self-love, God is in nowise introduced into the question; no reparation is made to Him for our contemptuous depreciation and desertion of His infinite goodness; and as we would not consider it sufficient apology to the friend whom we had struck, to bewail the blow on account of the injury which our hand received in striking, so neither can our sorrow be deemed acceptable to God if we merely bewail the temporal evils which our crimes involved.

This reply is, no doubt, crushing; but, at the same time, it furnishes the very best proof of the position defended by us. If it serves to prove the insufficiency of attrition from temporal motives, may it not be urged with equal force against those who say that sorrow from the pains of sense will suffice? When we grieve for our sins on account of the positive pains of hell, we merely regard the injury done to ourselves; our hatred of sin arises not from love of the infinite good, but from the pure love of self. It may, indeed, force us to turn away from the creature; but where

is the turning to God in all this? Is it not, again, a case of grieving for the indignity offered to a friend because our own hand was injured in the act of offering the indignity? And will the friend accept such an apology? In such sorrow there does not seem to be present that conversion to God which the Holy Scriptures repeatedly command when speaking of the repentance of the sinner.

Various replies are given by our opponents. Some would concede that in such attrition there is not involved conversion to God, but that this conversion is effected in some mysterious way by the Sacrament of Penance. Such a response, however, serves only to increase the difficulty, because, in the first place, it is not easy to see how there could exist even the shadow of sufficient repentance, if sin is considered without any relation to God; and, then, how the sacrament could produce such an effect is equally unintelligible. If, indeed, the sinner had in any way turned to God, one could understand how the sacrament would perfect such a conversion by the bestowal of sanctifying grace, which would raise a man from being a repentant slave to the dignity of a participator of the divine nature, and an adopted son of God. But, if there is not such a conversion, we fail to see how even the Sacrament of Penance can produce that which is required as a condition to its own efficacy.

Others prefer to say that the sinner considers the pains of hell as inflicted by God on account of his sins, and that, by bewailing them on account of these penalties, there is necessarily a sufficient conversion. But, suppose the Queen of England were to declare that anyone caught in the act of rebellion should be punished by death, that his family should be declared outlaws, and his property sequestrated, and suppose that the poor unfortunate seized in arms grieves for his misdeeds on account of the misfortunes they have brought upon him, it is by no means likely that the idea of infliction by the Queen ever enters into the motive of his sorrow; and if it does enter, in the sense that he bewails his crimes because they injure and offend her Majesty, and thus merit punishment, there is no longer sorrow from the mere motive

of fear, but sorrow from the motive of love and reverence for the ruler who has been dishonoured. Applying this to attrition, we say that in theology, and less still in the minds of the people, is this aspect of the pains of hell, as inflicted by God, kept very much in view, except to meet the difficulty that has been proposed; and even granted that the penitent does consider the pains of hell as chastisements coming from the hands of an angry God, either his act remains unchanged or the contrition is elicited from a motive of hope, or even of charity. This superadded consideration, if it have any meaning, can only indicate that the sinner grieves for his crimes because they offend God, and bring down upon the doer His speedy vengeance. If he bewails them because they offend God, it can only be because he loves God with a love of hope or charity, and thus he has passed from the motive of fear of the pains of hell. This is exactly our contention—that such a sorrow is good and salutary, and leads the way to attrition, which will suffice.

Again, Catholic theologians are unanimous in teaching that in all true attrition there must be included a firm resolution against all possible mortal sins in the future; and, if we seek the reason which they commonly urge in proof of this doctrine, we shall find that it is because otherwise our conversion to God would not be sincere. If it were so, it should necessarily exclude everything that is equally displeasing to Him, as would be any possible mortal sin. Now, it might well be asked: Where is the conversion to God, which this reply presupposes, in the attrition which is elicited from the fear of the finite pains of hell? But, putting aside this point, with which we have previously dealt, we may well be permitted to doubt if the sorrow elicited from the fear of the pains of hell, or from any other finite motive, can really exclude all attachment to sin. If the motive be infinite—such as the love of hope—we can easily see how the will may be so attached to its object as to perfectly exclude everything which would involve separation from that object; but if the motive be something finite—for example, the love of virtue or the fear of punishment—how does such an act necessarily exclude all affection for

sin? From the very fact that the motive is finite, the sorrow can only be universal in the hypothesis that some stronger and opposing motive is not at work to induce the will to sin?

It may, indeed, be said, in reply, that since every mortal sin merits this eternal punishment, if fear of these penalties can make the sinner sincerely detest one sin, it should suffice to cause sincere detestation of all. This argument, however, is not absolutely convincing, for, though the fear may draw him away from one, or two, or three sins, it is because the inducement to commit these sins has less attraction for the will than the good of avoiding everlasting pains. But if, in any particular case, the evil arising from the non-commission of sin be presented by the intellect as greater than the evil of being thus punished for ever, the fear of hell cannot remove the attachment to this sin, and the resolution of amendment would have, at most, only a conditional universality. If it be said that the case contemplated could never occur, since even the finite pains of hell, on account of their intensity and eternal duration, far exceed any temporal evil which could follow from the non-commission of sin, we may reply, in the first place, that De Lugo, himself an advocate for the sufficiency of attrition from the motive of fear, mentions a case where it would seem as if the fear of hell were powerless to prevent the crime. The case is that of a man, in the state of mortal sin, who believes he cannot obtain forgiveness except in the Sacrament of Penance, and who, before an opportunity of doing so has been afforded, is urged to commit some grievous sin, under threat of instant death. In his case would it not seem as if the fear of hell would rather encourage than prevent the offence? Besides, even if it be admitted that the positive pains of hell, in themselves and objectively, exceed any temporal misfortune (that could be detested from the principle of self-love), yet when looked at in the concrete, as they are future and uncertain (in the sense that they may be avoided by repentance), it does not seem clear that they must always be presented to the will as a greater evil than the evil arising from not embracing the sinful act.

This could never be true where the motive is infinite, but where it is finite it would seem to be by no means impossible.

It is, however, objected that if our theory be true the common teaching of theologians on contrition for venial sins is utterly indefensible. If to obtain pardon in the Sacrament of Penance the contrition should be elicited from a universal motive it would seem to follow when a person really has the necessary sorrow for his venial sins he must hate and detest all without any exceptions; and yet it is commonly laid down that it will suffice to be sorry for one class of venial sins even though one retain a wilful affection for others far more grievous, or to detest the graver sins of any particular species without detesting those which are less grievous, or to repent of the frequency of the falls without bewailing the malice inherent in the act itself.

We may as well begin by frankly admitting that these opinions are frequently propounded though they certainly were not the common opinion in the past. The older theologians would have held up their hands in astonishment at such doctrine, and would have denounced it as the extremes of laxity, the very degeneracy of the last days against which St. Paul warns Timothy. We may, therefore, safely inquire is it possible to have sovereign sorrow for venial sin—and all must admit that it should be in some sense sovereign for pardon in the Sacrament of Penance—and yet have no resolution of avoiding all venial sin in the future, or worse still retain a deliberate affection for others more grievously offensive to God than the ones which we bewail? Such an act would seem to imply a divided heart, and it is not clear how any theologian could defend the sufficiency of such contrition. Even those who admit that sorrow elicited from a particular motive, for example from the love of the opposite virtue, suffices, will find it difficult to explain scientifically how a man could have real attrition whilst retaining an attachment for other and far more grievous offences—that is, if they hold such a sorrow has any relation to God. But looking at the matter calmly, and laying aside for the moment all theological disputes, we are firmly convinced that the

vast majority of the faithful would completely reject this teaching, and from our point of view we have little difficulty in denying that such a sorrow would suffice for pardon. If the motive must be universal, it is evidently impossible that sincere contrition can exist concomitantly with an affection for graver or equally grave offences. One has only to glance at the pages in which De Lugo strenuously labours to prove the possibility of such a state of mind to realize its impossibility.

But, might it not be possible to be sorry for the more grievous venial sins without having any firm resolution against others which are regarded as less serious from the fact that the graver falls remove us further from the infinite good. There would seem to be little difficulty with regard to charity; from pure love of God as He is good in Himself one might easily detest one grade of venial sin without regarding another of lesser malice, and might not the same be true of the love of hope? The graver the offence, the greater is its opposition to the infinite good, and the more it separates us from that good; why, then, could we not detest one degree of opposition and separation without including others which are less serious? Such a state of mind seems to be possible and would well explain how attrition may be sufficient though there be not conceived a firm resolve against less grievous faults. Even De Lugo admits this solution of the difficulty. It may, however, be further contended that if the kind of attrition which we have described be necessary, then, no venial sins could be remitted for the first time in the Sacrament of Penance, since such a sorrow, when once elicited in the course of preparation for confession, would of itself and at once justify, provided the soul is not stained with the guilt of mortal sin. The obvious reply to this difficulty—if it be a difficulty—is that it is not peculiar to our theory; it is one with which all theologians must grapple, since they teach that attrition suffices to blot out venial sin independently of the sacrament. For ourselves we see no great difficulty in accepting the conclusion, as it would in no way militate against the efficacy of the absolution pronounced by the minister of

God; but if anyone prefer the explanation of De Lugo that the graver the sin the greater the *fervour* of the contrition which God requires, he can do so; it will equally serve to uphold our view.

Now, we come to the last and, perhaps, the strongest argument in favour of the opinion which we have adopted. It is admitted by all theologians as a doctrine that is to be accepted by the faithful, that in case of the adult sinner an act of hope is necessary for justification (*necessitate medii*). The Council of Trent in describing the process of justification always places hope as one of the necessary dispositions, and all writers on the Sacrament of Penance strongly insist on the absolute necessity of eliciting an act of hope before the sentence of pardon is pronounced by the priest. These are the facts about which no Catholic can dispute; what conclusion are we to draw from them?

First, it is clear that the hope spoken of by the Council, and by all authorities on this subject, is true theological hope—a love of the infinite good as it is infinitely suitable for us. Hope is, according to all, an act of desire or concupiscence—and as such, its object must be a future good suitable to the person loving; it is also a theological virtue and as such its object must be the infinite. No doubt there are some few who would contend that the formal object of hope is not the infinite goodness of God to us, but rather His omnipotence, fidelity and truth. Their contention is that hope is more an act of trust than an act of desire; or better still, an act of trustful desire deriving its theological and specific nature from the fact that it leans upon the fidelity and omnipotence of the Creator as its foundation.

It is strange that those who profess such a sincere respect for the authority of theologians on all particulars connected with this subject, should give signs of unwarranted feelings of distrust at this particular point, for it cannot be denied that all theologians admit the goodness of God as, at least, a partial motive, and nearly all strongly defend it as the only one. They do, indeed, turn for support to some disconnected paragraphs in the *Summa* of St. Thomas; but the strength of the argument from this source can be

appreciated when we remember that St. Thomas is always quoted as being the most strenuous upholder of the common opinion. But, looking at the question in itself, and independently of authority, their theory seems indefensible. Hope is, according to all Catholics, a species of concupiscence, an act of the will tending towards some distant good; and, if we are to admit the common terminology, the formal object of such an act must be something in that good on account of which the will is moved to embrace it. The formal object is not something entirely different from the material object, as if it, being itself embraced by one act, led on to the pursuit of the material object, and, thus, two acts were always involved; but it is that in the object itself which really moves the will, and towards which the act principally tends. If the theory put forward by our opponents be accepted, all these notions must be given up as antiquated; for they contend that the will is drawn to the infinite good by reason of the omnipotence and fidelity of God which render this infinite good possible of attainment; and thus we have, as it appears to me, the strange spectacle of the end being loved on account of the love of the means, because the only possible reason why the will could be attracted by the omnipotence and fidelity of God looked at formally as such—is the fact that they lead to the possession of the infinite good. One might, with equal reason, contend that when a child loves money, he does so on account of the wealth and liberality of his parents, as if the wealth and liberality were the sole reason for his desiring money. Is it not rather that the good of money first attracts his will, and he loves the wealth and liberality of his parents in so far as they are means to the possession of that good? In the same way it seems quite natural to say that the goodness of God is the real motive of the act of hope, and all other things are included only in so far as they lead up to it. No doubt, a certain confidence in the act of the intellect proposing the object to the will is necessary to give hope its specific colouring; but we cannot see how the motives thus influencing the intellectual act enter into the desire. If, indeed, it were once admitted

that hope is partly an act of the intellect and partly an act of the will, we could well perceive how such a theory might be defended; but if it be desire or concupiscence—and there are few who would assert that it is not—it is difficult to see how the omnipotence and fidelity of God can be assigned as even the partial formal object.

We, therefore, contend that hope is a love of God as He is good for us, and that such a love is required by the Council of Trent, and by all theologians, for justification in the Sacrament of Penance. The reason for this contention will be obvious if we remember that in all works on this subject we find the writers labouring anxiously to explain, as we have explained, the virtue of hope, and the very first proposition confronting us in their treatises on the subject is, that 'hope is necessary for justification' (*necessitate medii*). Would it not be highly derogatory to their common sense, not to speak of their scientific method, to assume that here they use the word in a sense differing completely from that in which they had previously explained it? In a scientific treatise on electricity, for example, an author who wishes to be understood will first explain his terms, proving and illustrating their meaning, if necessary; and this done, he will lay down the fundamental truths of the science. We should be slow to assert that the theologian is not equally scientific.

It may, however, be asserted that the Council of Trent speaks of 'the hope of pardon,' and that phrase means nothing more than a certain confidence that God will forgive our transgressions, if only we repent. But against this explanation there still remains the stubborn fact that it is laid down as of Catholic faith that 'hope is necessary for justification' (*necessitate medii*), and hope in the strictest sense of the word. If anyone care to reject this doctrine, it is his own business. But, taking the words of the Council as they stand, do they not rather prove our contention that true theological hope is necessary; because the fathers of the Council, again and again, refer to the virtues of faith, hope, and charity, where they certainly use hope in its strictest meaning; and, therefore, when they speak here of 'the hope of pardon,' it is but right to assume that they merely wish to indicate one of the material objects of that

virtue—pardon of our sins. Doubtless it must be admitted that we can have true hope of pardon if we desire pardon, through our love of the infinite good towards the possession of which this pardon is a necessary means. Hence, it follows that an explicit act of love of the infinite good is necessary in case of the adult sinner who seeks pardon of his offences in the Sacrament of Penance.

Now, why is this act of hope required? We can easily understand why faith is necessary, why a confidence and certainty of pardon should be present; but unless our theory about the sovereignty of contrition be admitted, it will be difficult to explain the necessity of hope. It seems impossible to advance a reason why the sinner should be obliged to elicit an express and formal act of hope, except that it is only from a love of the infinite good there can be conceived a supreme hatred and detestation for sin, which tears us partially or completely from the possession of that good. This is a pretty evident reason for its necessity; it is in harmony with the scientific explanation of love and hatred, and of their mutual dependence; and would give to the technical term *appretiative summa*, as used in this matter, the meaning which it certainly has all through theology. But if this explanation is rejected, if it be asserted that sorrow for sin from the motive of fear of the pains of hell is sufficient to turn a man completely from his sins, and to effect an adequate conversion to God, why should he be required, besides, to love the Creator with a supreme love? Nor will the quibbling about the necessity of the co-existence of hope, even though the attrition be not elicited from that motive, serve to evade the force of the argument. If one has conceived a love for the infinite good — as he must do by a formal act according to all theologians—from the very nature of the case he must necessarily detest that which removes this good from his very grasp, and with a hatred not relatively but absolutely sovereign. Where, then, is the necessity of seeking some other motive for the necessary attrition, and if the necessary attrition can be had without it, where is the utility of hope?

It may, however, be said that in every act of sorrow from the fear of hell such a love of hope is necessarily involved,

and, therefore, the difficulty is only imaginary, but this is not so, and could not be, if our notions of hope and fear are correct. Hope is a love of God as He is infinitely good for us; and putting aside the pain of loss of which there is no question here, how is such a love of God involved in the detestation of sin on account of the positive sufferings of hell? Hatred, as we have shown, arises only from love of the opposite good, and in sorrow from the motive of fear what is the opposite good which we love, and to which we cling? Is it not ourselves? Man loves himself, and because of self-love he hates the pains of hell which are so opposed to human nature, and because of the pains of hell he hates sin. Is not this the genesis of such attrition? Is not its very source and fountain self-love, and where can we detect throughout the series any shadow of the love of God? This, of course, does not prove that the act is bad, for against the followers of Baius and Quesnelli we should contend that all concupiscence is not sinful; but it proves our contention that in such attrition there is not contained the love of hope, and, that, therefore, of itself, it can never suffice for justification, even in the Sacrament of Penance.

If our theory be true, namely, that true and sufficient attrition can be elicited only from a love of the infinite good, it would seem to follow that every mortal sin is a real aversion from God—else why should we insist so much on returning to Him by love? And if a real aversion from God, it is necessarily opposed to the formal object of hope, and destructive of that virtue. This, however, cannot be admitted by any Catholic theologian, and so, the theory from which any such conclusion is deducible should be avoided as dangerous. So argue many of our opponents.

One may well admit that this is a grave objection, which must be met by all who maintain the permanency of the Virtue of Hope when sanctifying grace has been lost, but it is not clear how it has any special force against the theory propounded in these pages. We did not first determine the nature of the contrition that is required, and then proceed to argue about the nature of sin; but we began by accepting the common doctrine on the essence of sin, and from this we deduced our conclusions on the kind of sorrow that will be

deemed sufficient. Now, we strongly contend, as we have explained in the opening paragraphs of this essay, that according to the common opinion of theologians the ultimate malice of sin is to be found in the fact that the sinner despises and depreciates the infinite goodness of God by turning away from Him to the enjoyment of the creature. Thus, St. Thomas, in his work *Contra Gentiles*,[1] whilst engaged in proving the eternity of hell, says :—

> Whoever turns away from his last end which is to be possessed forever on account of a temporal good, has, thereby, preferred the temporary enjoyment of that temporal good to the eternal enjoyment of his last end; therefore, eternal punishment is due to him who has abandoned his last end.

Mazzella cites approvingly this same argument,[2] and many other theologians, amongst whom may be mentioned Lessius, assert the same thing when treating of the necessity of a God-Man coming to satisfy for sin. Therefore, it is clear, according to our theologians, sin is an infinite evil because it involves a turning away from God, and a depreciation of His goodness; and it was because we freely accepted this doctrine that we were forced to defend the opinion which we have endeavoured to uphold. But, though the objection does not specially militate against our view, yet, since it creates a grave difficulty against the common teaching with regard to the permanency of the virtue of hope in the sinner, it is right that some reply should be given. In the first place, Catholic theologians seem to be almost unanimous in asserting that the virtue of hope remains, even when sanctifying grace has been lost by mortal sin, and to this opinion, difficult though it may be to defend, we firmly adhere. The virtues are nothing more than the new and supernatural powers which are given to the soul when it has been elevated to be a participator even of the divine nature, and of themselves should cease with the loss of sanctifying grace, as they were called into existence by its presence. If, however, it were revealed that after the soul had been deprived of its grace, some of the virtues remained, one should freely admit that such a thing is possible for God, though human reason

[1] Lib. III., chap. cxliv. [2] *De Deo Creante*, art. 5. n1268.

could not perceive how it could be done. Theologians seem to assert that a revelation of this kind has been made with regard to the Virtues of Faith and Hope, and that they remain in the sinner unless destroyed by something which is opposed to their formal object, as, for example, heresy in the case of Faith, or despair in the case of Hope. Now, since every mortal sin is a turning away from God as He is infinitely good for us, to seek our pleasure in some created good—it would appear that every mortal sin destroys hope. This is the difficulty which must be met.

We admit—and it seems to be Catholic teaching—that in every sin there is a conversion from God to the creature, but we deny that this conversion is so completely and directly against the formal object of hope as to demand the destruction of that virtue. Hope is a peculiar species of love—it is desire; its object is a future good, and it does not seem to be impossible to combine a desire for some future good with a present attachment to something which is opposed to that good. Thus, for example, a man might desire very much to succeed in some undertaking which requires his ceaseless exertions, and yet nobody would contend that his love of a short relaxation from toil would be so directly opposed to his desire as to prevent its existence, even at the very moment when his heart revels in the enjoyment of a present and opposite good. No doubt, this seems to prove only that the present attachment to sin is compatible with a resolve to return to God when the temporal pleasure has vanished, but if it be borne in mind that hope is a desire for a *future good*, and that sin does not exclude the possibility of obtaining this good—since the evil may be remedied by repentance—it will appear to be, at least, possible that the Virtue of Hope may remain intact, even after the admission of mortal sin. This is the best reply we can give to a very serious difficulty, and with it we shall close a long, and, to the reader, we fear, a very wearisome inquiry.

James McCaffrey.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

I

INTRODUCTORY

IN the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the iniquities of English rule in Ireland seemed to have reached their climax. This, perhaps, arose to some degree from the fact, that the country had hitherto been only partially subjected to British control, and that the sovereigns of that particular period were resolved to make one supreme effort to crush the Irish chieftains, particularly those of the north, and reduce the entire island to the level of an English province. Elizabeth had spared neither pains nor cost to effect this purpose, but, though wholly unscrupulous as to the means employed, she had failed. That questionable glory was reserved for James I.; and his successors did not neglect to carry out the system of injustice and spoliation inaugurated by him. The battle between Saxon ruler and Irish chieftain was a struggle for abitrary power on the one side, and for faith and fatherland on the other. James was beset by hordes of Scotch followers and needy Englishmen to whom he was under obligations, and who were loudly clamouring for royal favours. Not having wherewith in England to satisfy their importunity and their avarice, he turned his thoughts to Ireland as the place whence he could best supply their wants. All that was necessary was to drive out from thence the lawful owners of the soil, and parcel out the land among his needy dependents. It was a bold stroke of robbery, even for an English king; but James had no qualms of conscience about the injustice if he could but effect his object. He knew that he had tools as unscrupulous as himself to carry out his designs; and as the second Henry had come under the pretence of civilizing the natives, and purifying religion, even so James, under a

similar pretext, initiated his system of confiscation and religious intolerance.

The south and the east were, to a large extent, crushed; Connaught was partially subdued; the north alone held out uncompromisingly. O'Neill in Tyrone, O'Cahan in what is now county Derry, O'Doherty in Inishowen, Maguire in Fermanagh, O'Donnell in Tyrconnell, etc., were still unsubdued; and to reduce them to subjection was the fixed and merciless policy of the British Solomon. In Mountjoy, the deputy-general; Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir John Davies, and a host of others he found willing and able agents for carrying out his plans. Of these, however, the one we shall have principally to deal with is Chichester, who suceeeded in driving the earls out of the country, and in working the ruin of the young chieftain of Inishowen, whose territories he had long coveted for himself. The story of Sir Cahir O'Doherty is a sad one, as, indeed, is that of every Irish chieftain of the period; but the youth and chivalry of the lord of Inishowen, the treachery with which he was surrounded and goaded into premature rebellion, his untimely end at the rock of Doon, are circumstances that have thrown an air of romance over his history, and have called forth the powers of the poet and the novelist. Nor has the pen of the calumniator been idle in his regard. To shield from blame the plunderers of his territories, and to furnish pretexts of justification for their nefarious machinations against him, a web of falsehood was woven around his character, and he was exhibited as a monster of cruelty, and a heartless murderer both in the seizure of Culmore and the sack of Derry. So little trouble has been taken by even our best Irish historical writers to investigate the truth for themselves, that we find in even the latest work of note, Doctor Joyce's *Child's History of Ireland*, a book most admirable in other respects, the same calumny repeated as if it were bodily taken from the mendacious pages of Cox. Father Meehan, that charming writer, was also misled regarding Sir Cahir. In the library of Trinity College, Dublin, he found an anonymous pamphlet, a copy of one in the British Museum, which he believed to be a reliable

authority, and he made use of it in delineating the character of the young chieftain. It was not till after the second edition of his *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell* had appeared that he learned his grave mistake. To the present writer, as well as to many others, he expressed his deep regret for the injustice he had unwittingly and unintentionally done to the character of Sir Cahir, and declared his intention to repair the injury in a future edition of his work, but, unfortunately, he did not live to accomplish his design.

A still more inexcusable repetition of the calumny against Sir Cahir is to be found in a work published but a few months ago, and where we might naturally expect more historical accuracy. This is *Stuart's History of Armagh*, revised and edited by Father Coleman, O.P. Stuart gives the story of the massacre of the garrison at Culmore, etc., as told by Cox. For this Stuart is not much to blame, for the *State Papers* bearing on the subject were not then published, and he had, probably, no means of knowing that the story was untrue; but Father Coleman had no such excuse. Had he but turned to the pages of those authoritative documents, he would have found ample materials to refute the vile story of the unscrupulous Cox, as reproduced in the pages of Stuart. When Irish writers are thus careless about verifying the statements they put forth on Irish subjects, we need not wonder at the inaccuracies and misstatements of English writers.

It shall be our effort to vindicate the character of the hapless young chieftain from the foul charge of murdering the garrison at Culmore, and from the atrocities attributed to him in the seizure of Derry. We shall, moreover, glance at the character of some of the men with whom he had to deal, particularly Chichester, whose wily policy entangled the unsuspecting youth in snares carefully laid for his destruction. For years the lord-deputy had set his heart upon the lands of O'Doherty, and we know that he never permitted a sense of justice to intervene between him and the object of his avarice.

II

THE CLANN-FIAMUIN, OR O'DOHERTYS

The sept of the O'Dohertys was one of the most ancient in Ireland, being descended from Niall of the Nine Hostages through Cennfaeladh, the son of Garve. Cennfaeladh had three sons, of whom Fiamuin, the eldest, was ancestor of the Clann-Fiamuin, or O'Dohertys; and Muirchertach, the third son, was ancestor of the Clann-Dalaigh, or O'Donnells.[1] To the Clan O'Doherty was assigned the territory of Cinel-Enna or Enda, which takes its name from Enda, who was sixth son of Conall Gulban.

The territory of this sept [says O'Donovan], usually called Tir-Enda, comprised thirty quarters of lands, and is situated in the barony of Raphoe, and county of Donegal, to the south of Inishowen, and between the arms of Lough Foyle and Lough Swilly, *i.e.*, between Lifford and Letterkenny.[2]

As the descendants of Fiamuin increased, the territory of Cinel-Enda became too circumscribed for them, and we find them afterwards in possession of the adjoining territory of Ard-Miodhair.

The limits of this territory [writes O'Donovan][3] have not been yet determined. In the year 1199 O'Dochartaigh, now O'Dogherty or Doherty, was chief of the territory of Cinel-Enda and Ard-Miodhair. Ard-Miodhair extended westwards of Cinel-Enda, in the direction of Glenfinn, in the parish of Kilteevogue. On the increasing power and population of the descendants of Conall Gulban, O'Doherty, a very high family of the race, became lord of Inishowen, and expelled or subdued the families of the race of Eoghan, who had been lords of that territory before him.

In an ancient Irish poem by O'Dubhagain, the residence of the sept in Ard-Miodhair, or Ardmore, as it is sometimes written, is thus referred to:—

> A battle-armed host which is not treacherous,
> Is over Ard-Miodhair of irriguous slopes;
> Men who have been found valiant,
> Are proving it to O'Dochartaigh.[4]

From the year 1200 they held undisputed sway over

[1] *Battle of Magh Rath*, n. D., p. 164.
[2] *Irish Topographical Poems*, n, 209.
[3] *Ibid.*, n. 209.
[4] *Ibid.* Translated by O'Donovan.

Inishowen, and the dignity and authority of chieftainship we find centred in John O'Doherty at the close of the sixteenth century. He was knighted by Sir John Perrott, lord-deputy of Ireland. His death is recorded thus by the annalists under the year 1601:—

> O'Doherty (John Oge, the son of John, son of Phelim, son of Conor Caragh) died on the 27th of January. He was the lord of the triocha-ched of Inishowen;[1] and there was not among all the Irish of his time a lord of a triocha-ched of better hand or hospitality, or of firmer counsel than he.

He was regarded as one of the best warriors of his day, and it was on the battle-field that he met his death. At the battle of the Curlin or Curlew mountains he was the powerful auxiliary of Hugh Roe O'Donnell, and his death, as O'Sullivan tells us, was a severe blow to that valiant young chieftain. He had submitted to Elizabeth, and received from her a new grant of his lands on condition of his not going again into rebellion against her. This grant he forfeited afterwards by joining Hugh Roe when fighting against the English. In 1588 Sir William Fitz-Williams, lord-deputy, came to the north of Ireland, seeking to recover the treasure which he had been led to believe had been scattered on the coast by the wreck of the Armada, but failing to obtain it, 'he grew so enraged,' says Cox, 'that he imprisoned Sir Owen O'Toole [*recte*, O'Gallagher], and O'Dogherty, who were the best affected to the state of all the Irish; and the former he kept in prison during his time, and the other he detained two years, until he was forced to purchase his discharge.' Plowden narrates the story in almost similar words.[2]

Sir John was married to a daughter of Shane O'Neill, than whom, let his faults in other respects be what they might, Ireland never produced a more sterling soldier. Of this marriage there were, as far as we can discover, five children—Rosa, who was first married to Caffer O'Donnell, and, after his death, to Owen Roe O'Neill; Margaret, who

[1] Triocha-ched: a cantred, hundred, or barony, containing a hundred and twenty quarters of land.—Note by O'Donovan.

[2] *History of Ireland*, vol. i., chap. ii.

was married to Oghie Oge, son of Sir Oghie O'Hanlon, chief of Orier; Cahir, Rory, and John. Of these two brothers of Sir Cahir, Rory and John, Father Meehan tells us that at the time of the death of their eldest brother:—

> The latter (John) was in the custody of his foster-father O'Ruaric in Leitrim at the time of the insurrection, but Rory, the eldest, was seized by Sir James Parrott in the county Down. The executive, however, did not proceed against him because he was only eleven years old. Chichester, had it served his purpose, would have cut the throats of both; but his grand object was to get possession of their ill-fated brother's lands, and he knew that their life could not thwart his cupidity. As the crown made no provision for them, they found shelter in the house of O'Ruairc, where they were lovingly warded till they reached man's estate, when Rory proceeded to Belgium, and took service in the army of the archdukes. He, it would appear, died in Brussels; but it is likely enough that the blood of John, Sir Cahir's youngest brother, still survives in Spain, the land whence the bards and senachies of old were wont to derive the high lineage of the O'Dohertys, once potent lords of Inishowen.[1]

Rosa O'Doherty, who was a highly gifted and educated lady, died in Brussels in 1660, and was interred in Louvain, where her son, Hugh O'Donnell, erected a monument to her memory. Margaret, who was married to O'Hanlon of Orier, met a sad fate. After the death of her brother, Sir Cahir, O'Hanlon's territories were ravaged by the deputy's soldiers, and Margaret had to fly from her home into the woods. There, writes Sir John Davies, 'among the rest, Oghy O'Hanlon's wife was found alone, by an Irish soldier who knew her not; and being stripped of her apparel, she was so left in the woods, where she died next day of cold and famine, being lately delivered of a child.'[2] Davies in this, with his usual mendacity, tries to attach to an Irish soldier the disgrace of this savage and barbarous treatment, but, as Mr. Hill remarks, 'it is not credible, however, that the wife of an Irish leader would have suffered the indignity mentioned, from her countryman, without making known her name and position as a means of protecting herself against outrage.'[3] Her husband, Oghie Oge

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*
[2] *Cal. S. P.*, p. 15, 1608.
[3] *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 65.

O'Hanlon, was taken prisoner, and was, like so many other Irish Catholics of the day, sent off to be enrolled in the army of Gustavus Adolphus, who was fighting the battle of Protestantism against the Catholic house of Austria. Father Meehan says he was hanged, but the *State Papers* give a list of 'Irish Levies for Swedish Service,' and second on that list we find this entry:—

> Oghy Oge O'Hanlon is nephew to the Earl of Tyrone, heir to Sir Oghy O'Hanlon, lord of a great country, has forfeited his inheritance by entering into action of rebellion with O'Dogherty; of a malicious, stubborn, mutinous disposition, and without doubt a traitor in his heart, and will be ready to undertake any mischief.[1]

This description of O'Hanlon is in keeping with all the descriptions of the Irish as given by the English officials of that time.

After the death of Sir John O'Doherty, O'Donnell selected as The O'Doherty Phelim Oge, a brother of the deceased, and passed over Cahir, the son of Sir John. The MacDevitts or MacDavids, who were not only the clansmen,[2] but also the foster-brothers of Cahir, took this amiss, and determined that the law of tanistry should not hold in this case, but that the chieftainship should go *more anglicano* by lineal descent. With this object in view they made overtures to Sir Henry Docwra, the English governor of Derry, and nothing could be more pleasing to him, for, as Bishop Montgomery wrote, 'it was thought fit in policy of state to separate O'Doghertie from O'Donel, and this now finds the good of it, and will every day more and more.'[3] It was getting in the thin end of the wedge, which was later on to effect a fatal cleavage; but we will let Docwra tell in his own quaint English and straight-forward way the events as they occurred. In his *Narration* he thus writes:—

> And about Christenmas this yeare dyed Sr. John O'Doghertie

[1] *S. P.* for 1609.

[2] 'In the fourteeth and fifteenth centuries when the Irish families had increased, and their territories were divided into two or more parts among the rivals of the same family, each of the contending chiefains adopted some addition to the family surname, for the sake of distinction. The O'Doghertys, of Inishowen, [were divided] into O'Doghertys, MacDevitts, and MacConnelloges.' —*Irish Topographical Poems*, Introduction, pp. 19 and 21.

[3] Bishop of Derry, *S. P.* for 1607.

in Tirconnell, being fledd from his owne Countrey with his goods & people, a man that in shewe seamed wonderfull desireous to yeald his obedience to the Queene, But soe as his actions did euer argue he was otherwise minded; But, it is true, O'Donell had at our first coming Ceazed his sonne, afterwards called Sr. Cahir O'Doghertie into his hands, & kepte him as a Pledge vpon him which might iustly serue for some colour of excuse, that he was not at libertie to vse the libertie of his owne will; Being nowe deade, O'Donell sett vp in his place one Phelim Oge, a brother of his, neglecting the sonne who had bene bredd & fostred by the said Hugh Boye & Phelim Reaugh. These men tooke it as the highest iniurie [that] could be done vnto them, that theire Foster-Child should be deprived of that, which they thought was his cleere & vudoubtible right; & therevpon seriouslie addressed themselves vnto Mee, and made offer, that in case I would maintain the sonne against the Uncle, & procure he might hold the Countrey according to the same Lettres Pattents his father had it before him, they would worke the means to free him out of O'Donell's hands, to bring home the People and Catle that were fledd, & with them to-geather with themselves, yeald obedience & seruice to the state; many messages & meetinges wee had about it, & none but to my knowledge; O'Donell was still made acquainted with, yea and with the very truth of euery particuler speach that passed amongst vs; yet soe was he deluded (being himselfe a Crafte Master at that arte), that in the end a Conclusion was made between vs, theire demands were graunted by mee, & confirmed by my lord Deputie & Councell, hee perswaded to sett the young man at libertie; & when he had done, the people with theire goods retourned into the Countrie, took their Leaves of him, & declared themselves for our side, & from that day forward wee had many faithful and singular seruices from them, theire Churles & Garrans assistinge vs with Carriages, their Catle, with plenty of fishe meate, & Hugh Boye and Phelim Reaugh with many intelligences and other helpes; without all which, I must freelie confess a truth, it had been vtterlie impossible wee could haue made that sure and speedie Progress in the Warres that afterwardes wee did.

Sir Cahir, born in 1587, was fourteen at the time of his father's death, and was therefore in his fifteenth year when placed under the care of Docwra. That there existed a strong feeling of mutual affection between Docwra and his *protégé* is apparent from the manner the former always speaks of O'Doherty. Thus he tells us that being at one time stationed at Omy (Omagh), he and his men set out upon a 'catle prey' to 'Cormocke MacBaron's countrey,'

which they robbed of 400 cows. They did not, however, get off with them without a struggle with MacBaron's people, and in the fight Docwra lost twenty-five of his men. He says that on this occasion—

> O'Dohertie [Sir Cahir] was with vs, alighted when I did, kept mee companie in the greatest heats of the feight, beheaued himself brauelie, & with a great deale of loue and affection, all that day, which at my next meeting with my lord, I recommended him, and he gave him the honnor of knighthoode in recompence of.[1]

Cormock MacBaron's lands were evidently in the county Monaghan, as he tells us both Augher and Clogher stood in them.

Fault has been found with the MacDevitts for handing over Sir Cahir to the care of Docwra on account of the danger to his faith, but provision seems to have been made to guard against that contingency. We never find an instance of Docwra attempting to tamper with the faith of his ward, but on the contrary the author of *Inis-Owen and Tirconnell*[2] tells us that Docwra employed a priest to superintend his education. He may in the society of his patron and his English friends have imbibed ideas which if not anti-Irish, were at least un-Irish, but the old faith remained unimpaired, and the fruits of its teachings were manifested in his blameless moral character.

In person he is described as tall and handsome, of polished manners, winning and attractive, and well-educated. Some of his letters which are yet extant in Dublin, as well as some of his sister Rosa, attest the beautiful caligraphy of both.

'Eva' of the *Nation*, afterwards Mrs. Kevin Izod O'Doherty, in a footnote to her exquisite lines on Sir Cahir, says:—

> When about twenty years of age he was described as 'a man to be marked amongst a thousand—a man of the loftiest and proudest bearing in Ulster; his Spanish hat with the heron's

[1] *Docwra's Narration.*

[2] Mr. Wm. Jas. Doherty.

plume was too often the terror of his enemies and the rallying point of his friends not to bespeak the O'Doherty.'

> By the Spanish plumed hat, and costly attire,
> And the dark eye that's blended of midnight and fire,
> And the bearing and stature so princely and tall,
> Sir Cahir you'll know in the midst of them all.
>
> Like an oak on the land, like a ship on the sea,
> Like the eagle above, strong and haughty as he,
> In the greenness of youth—yet he's crowned as his due,
> With the fear of the false and the love of the true.[1]

About six months after the accession of James to the throne, Sir Cahir visited the English court to obtain from that monarch a re-grant of his estates which had been forfeited by the rebellion of his father. This favour was granted by James; but, shortly after his return, Sir Cahir found to his dismay that Mountjoy, the deputy, had leased away for twenty-one years to Sir Ralph Bingley the island of Inch, which was the most valuable part of all his property. To understand the value of this island we shall insert here the description given of it by Hill in his *Plantation of Ulster*[2]:—

> The island of Inch, represented as above to contain 1,024 acres, really contains 3,100 acres of the best land in the whole barony to which it belongs. It lies on the western side of Lough Swilly, being separated by a deep and narrow channel from Rathmullen. The land gradually slopes up from the shores, forming a sort of cone near the centre of the island, about 740 feet above the sea level. This height is known appropriately as Inch Top. Off the northern side of the island, which is overlooked by a fortified and garrisoned position known as Down Fort, there is a good roadstead for vessels bound to Letterkenny and Ramelton, and close to the shore is a valuable oyster-bed. The island is reached by various ferries from the mainland, the shortest of which connects with Quigley's Point, about a mile from Burnfoot Bridge.

Since the foregoing was written, Inch has been connected with the mainland by two ramparts, one stretching to Fahan, the other to Farland Point in Burt.

Such was the territory Sir Cahir found filched away from him, not only without any remuneration, but without his even having been consulted in the matter. It was, moreover, a gross violation of the re-grant made him by

[1] *The Ballads of Ireland*, by Edward Hayes. [2] Page 104, n. (55).

James, who had confirmed him in all that had formerly been granted to his father in Elizabeth's time, and in which Inch was certainly included. No wonder Sir Cahir felt aggrieved, and complained to Docwra of the injustice done him. Docwra himself seemed astonished at the flagrant act of robbery. He thus relates the circumstance in his *Narration*:—

Then touching O'Doughertie I tould him [Mountjoy] hee had hard his lordship had a purpose to give away the Ile of Inche from him, which hee had showed Mee was expreslie contayned in his father's Graunte, & therefore would importe a breach of Promise both of myne & his owne; Hee acknowledged he had beene moued in such a matter, but thanked mee for telling him thus much & bad mee be assured it should not be done, wherewith I rested fullie satisfied & tould O'Doughertie as much, whoe was at that time in towne in my companie.

Notwithstanding that promise on the part of the deputy, we find he had not the slightest intention of fulfilling it. Docwra tells us:—

As he [Mountjoy] was readie to take shipping, O'Doghertie came & tould Mee, that notwithstanding all the assurance I had given him of the Contrary, the Ile of Inch was past away. I could not possiblie believe it at first, but hee showed mee manifest proofes that a lease was graunted for xxi years; I then badd him goe speake for himselfe, for I had done as much as I was able, whereypon hee followed him into England and had such reamidie as shall presently be declared.

Sir Cahir followed Docwra's advice, and set out for England to see Mountjoy. That dishonourable hypocrite, playing upon the guileless youth's simplicity, pretended to hearken to his petition, and to grant him what he sought. He gave him a letter to Docwra, ordering that governor to restore Inch to O'Doherty.

Presentlie after him [O'Donnell] came O'Doghertie [writes Dowcra], alsoe with a lettre from my lord to Mee, to pray Mee to deliver him the possession of the Isle of Inch againe, which hee himselfe had past away before, first by lease for xxi yeares, & afterwards in ffee simple for ever, both vnder the greate seale; I tould him this warrannt was too weake to doe what it imported, & shew'd him reasons for it, which either he could not, or would not, apprehend, or believe, But plainely made shew to conceive a

suspition as though I were corrupted vnder hand to runne a dissembling course with him. To give him Contentment if I could, being then to goe for England, & to Dublin by the way, I spoke to Sr. George Carey that was then lord Deputie, tould him how the case stoode, & what discontentment I sawe it drave him into. Hee tould Mee it was past the Seales (gave mee a further reason too) & vtterlie refused to make or medle with it; Herevpon hee tooke it more to hearte, sente Agentes to deale for him in England, they preuayled not till my lord was deade, & then with impatience lead away with Lewd Councell besides, & conceiuing himselfe to be wronged in many other thinges, hee was first broke out into open Rebbellion, but that fell out a good while after.

It was, apparently, on his way home after this second visit to England that Sir Cahir visited Lord Gormanstown, whose daughter, Mary Preston, he wooed, and soon afterwards wed. It was a time of joy when the young lord of Inishowen brought his youthful bride to his ancestral home. She came to a land of wild and varied beauty. Clasped in the arms of the Swilly and the Foyle, with the waves of the Atlantic for ever breaking in foam around its rocky headlands, the peninsula of Inishowen was a principality of which any chieftain might well be proud. Its lakes and mountains, its green valleys and rushing rivers, its broad and fertile plains, its coast-line stretching in dreamy curves for miles on miles, and indented with many a sunny bay and harbour, presented such a picture of diversified beauty, that none but a master hand could delineate its charms. It was a home for a royal bride much less for a daughter of the Pale. O'Doherty's castles, whose tottering ruins still bear testimony to their former magnificence, were not only strongholds, but princely palaces. Than the site of Burt castle nothing finer could be found in the land. Crowning a rather insulated and conical hill, half of whose circumference was washed by the waters of the Swilly, the castle commanded one of the most beautiful prospects in the north. And when in the summer evening the sinking sun burnished the broad expanse of water, tipped with gold the hill-tops of Inishowen, and shed over the lands of Tyrconnell and Tir-Enda that glow—half amethyst, half golden—which distinguishes our Irish sunsets, surely no bridal pair ever gazed on a scene more truly elysian. Westwards, across the

lake of Shadows, rose the glorious mountains of Tyrconnell; Tir-Enda—O'Doherty's original territory comprising the plain of Magh-Ith—stretched away to the south; eastwards, beyond the Foyle, the lands of O'Neill sloped up from the water's edge till their hill-tops were curtained by the clouds; while, just as it were at hand, the castle of Inch, on the very shore of the island of that name, flung its shadow on the tide; and Elagh, in the distance, gleamed like a diamond on the slope of that eastern hill which is sheltered from the north by the peaks of Scalp mountain. Adjoining Elagh, and stretching towards Buncrana, were the beauteous hills of Fahan, with their romantic valleys, sung by the poet and sketched by the artist:—

> There mid its tall and circling wood,
> In olden times an abbey stood;
> It stands no more—no more at even
> The vesper hymn ascends to Heaven;
> No more the sound of Matin bell
> Calls forth each father from his cell.
>
> . . . . .
>
> And nettle tall with hemlock waves
> In rank luxuriance o'er their graves;
> There fragments of the sculptur'd stone
> Still sadly speak of grandeur gone
> And point the spot, where dark and deep
> The fathers and their abbey sleep.[1]

And crowning all, and looking down with queenly pride on that scene of beauty, royal Aileach for ever sat on her mountain throne, nursing the memory of bygone ages when kings held court in her halls, and mailed warriors went forth from her Grianan to wreak vengeance on their foes.

Yet Burt was but one of O'Doherty's many castles over which Mary Preston, his fair young bride, was now installed as mistress. It was a time of sunshine for her and her boyish husband of only nineteen years; but, alas! it was the deceptive sunshine that gleams before a winter storm. His enemies were gradually drawing their toils around him, and the wily Chichester, who hungered after the lands of Inishowen as the wild beast hungers for its prey, would

[1] *The Revenge of Donal Comm*, by Callanan.

soon have him in his power, and mercilessly crush him to the earth. The earls were gone and their territories confiscated to the crown. O'Neill, O'Donnell, Magennis and Maguire were no longer masters of their paternal principalities, and the young chieftain of Inishowen was the only ruler that remained to be driven from the land. He must be treated with suspicion; he must be harried by vexatious restrictions; he must be insulted as an inferior and a rebel, till his proud young spirit, chafing under such wrongs, would be goaded into rebellion—rash and premature—which would work his utter ruin. Chichester and his myrmidons seemed to trust and honour the young chieftain, whilst Judas-like they were plotting his destruction. Thus at the Commission held in Lifford about ten days before Christmas, 1607, to indict the fugitive earls, Sir Cahir O'Doherty was made foreman of the jury; but it may be remarked that Sir John Davies, his majesty's attorney-general, explained to the jury on the occasion 'that an indicment was but an accusation, and no conviction,'[1] so that Sir Cahir cannot be charged with assisting to convict the earls. The mode of empannelling the jury in this case was so pleasing to James, that he wrote to congratulate Chichester upon his diplomatic conduct.

> By the letters which we have received [wrote he], it appeareth what course you have taken with the fugitives by indicting them in such a form as yieldeth his majesty very good satisfaction, being done in the face of their adherents, and the bills found by so equal a jury, among which Sir Cahir O'Dohertie is noted to have been forward [foreman], and Sir Henry Oge O'Neill, which is a good argument of loyalty.[2]

Notwithstanding the trust they seemed to repose in him by making him foreman of the jury in this instance, we find that but a short time elapsed till they actually charged himself with being an accomplice of these same earls. Though it anticipates the regular narration of events, we shall insert here one of these charges. In the book from which we have just quoted there is found 'a brief relation

[1] See *State Papers*.
[2] *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i., Original Papers, letter xvi.

of the passages in the parliament summoned in Ireland anno 1613.' It states:—

The discovery of this treason moved Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and some other of their complices, to run out of Ireland. A peer of that realm, their associate, was taken prisoner, whom his majesty in his clemency pardoned.

The next attempt, *which was but a branch of the former*, was the rebellion of Sir Cahir O'Dohertie; but a happy shot, which smote him on the head, ended that business. By the flight of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, &c., the rebellion of O'Doherty and the traitorly Irishling of Sir Neale O'Donnell, O'Cahan, and others, six entire counties in Ulster (to dispose at his majesty's pleasure) escheated.[1]

Later on we shall see how unfounded was this calumny.

Spies were now evidently employed to watch every movement of Sir Cahir, and to give them a sinister complexion; and reports, duly interspersed with pictures of treasonable intentions on the part of the young chieftain, were regularly forwarded to headquarters. If he but moved from one castle to another, if he sailed in his boat on the Swilly, if he cut down a tree to repair the rafters of his dwelling, he was plotting treason and preparing for rebellion. Sir Richard Hansard writes thus to Lord Salisbury:—

Yesternight Sir Cahir O'Doughartie put himself with his wife and the principal gentlemen of his country into certain boats of his own. Twenty are gone for the island of Torrache (Torry) where they mean to stand upon their keeping, until the army shall arrive out of Spain, which is now (by general report) speedily expected. Tarraughe is (by fame) of that strength, that (being victualled) a small number are of power to defend the place against an enemy.[2]

Three days after this we find Sir George Paulett, governor of Derry, writing to the lord-deputy, giving his version of Sir Cahir's movements and designs as follows:—

When he knew that Sir Richard Hansard had written to his lordship of the first report of Sir Cahir O'Dohertie's flying out, thought it needless to write of the same until he might write more certainly. Employed some persons, therefore, to give him certain knowledge of his designs, and wrote presently to him very kindly assurances of his sorrow for the reports which were raised

[1] *Desiderata Curiosa Hibernica*, vol. i. [2] *S. P.*, 1st Nov., 1607.

on him, not believing the same, and desired him to repair to him at Derry. Received no answer to this ; and even this day, being the fourth of this instant November, went to Byrte Castle, accompanied by Captain Harte and Captain Sydney, to Sir Cahir's lady, purposing (as they found the place furnished) to have surprised it ; but by intelligence of one whom he sent to discover the inward strength of the place, was advertised that there were sixteen or twenty men well appointed within the castle ; and so they durst make no further attempt, for fear of being themselves surprised. But they certainly understood that Sir Cahir had put himself into the strength of three hundred men, with the chiefest of his country, and stands upon his guard (as his lady saith) until he has written to his lordship and receiveth an answer. Under pretence of going to Canabeyer [Canmoyre] Wood to cut some timber for his building, after he had received arms out of the store, he armed about thirty persons, and called unto him Shane MacManus Oge, by whose consent he has taken the isle of Torrey and manned the Castle, and is gone with his boats down by water to Malolinge [Malin] into a very strong place in the midst of Enishowen [Inishowen]. Phelemy Sewghe is with him, who had before gathered all his provisions in the castle of Byrte ; so that he now finds his judgment of Sir Cahir nothing deceived, and assures himself no less of O'Cahan, whose carriage daily confirms his conceit of him.

Even after he had closed his letters, and delivered them to the messenger, this enclosed was sent him from Sir Cahir O'Dohertye. Upon receipt whereof, after he had read the contents, he wrote to him, as his Lordship may read on the other side, the copy whereof he has thought good to send to his Lordship.

Encloses

Sir Cahir O'Doherty to Sir Geo. Paulett.

Sir Geo. Paulett, I understand you hold a very hard opinion of me, and that you were at my house to have it delivered to your hands, which I do think myself very hardly dealt withal, you knowing no more of my bad facts ; for I do think myself as good as you, and as any one that would say the like in my behalf ; but hearing of your hard dealing in this case I will not trust any of you until such time as I do hear of my Lord Deputy ; and then I do think that some of you here that charged me so wrongfully, so sure will he be ashamed of it, and thus I rest your loving friend.—Caragh Braughy, thus 4th of November, 1607.[1]

[1] Caragh Braughy. The ruins of Carragh-a-Braghey castle still remain. They stand on a high rock in the isle of Doagh, parish of Clonmany, at the mouth of the bar through which the Atlantic rolls its waves into Strath-Breagy. This bar separates Clonmany from Malin. Carragh-a-Braghey was inhabited at this time by Sir Cahir's relative, Phelim Breslaugh O'Doherty, and would, therefore, be to Sir Cahir the same as his own home.

P. I. Signed. Add.: 'To my very loving friend, Sir Geo. Paulett, Knight.'

This very modest letter received the following reply :—

Sir George Paulett to Sir Cahir O'Dougherty.

Sir Cahir,—Your writings are like your dealings, the one very disloyal, the other very false. I gave by my late letters unto you better testimony of the good opinion I held of you, neither did I until yesterday believe the common bruit of your disloyal going into armour. No man in these parts hath had less cause of offence than you, none more encouragement for well-doing, especially from the Lord Deputy; for my usage of you I ask no better testimony than your own knowledge. It seems you were very near the Castle, that could so soon receive advertisment of my coming and purpose, who yet never conceived thought of demand or delivery thereof, being possessed of a better opinion of you than now I am satisfied you did deserve. My purpose was to have seen your lady and from her to have known your intent if I could, and to have given her the best advice I could for your part; but understanding even then, by more certain intelligence than before, on what terms you stood, I did not think it fit to proceed any further, and so I sent your lady word, which it seems was very speedily conveyed unto you, being at least 20 miles off, as the text of your letter shows. I see you would draw on matter from us to colour your disloyal action, by supposal of bad dealings offered you from us; but you, with your legion of priests and friars late sent from Spain, are discovered well enough. Howsoever you stand upon your justification, if you do not presently disperse your men, and lay down your arms (the which in his Majesty's name I [order] you to do, and in the duty of your allegiance, I will forthwith denounce and proclaim you a disloyal subject to the King, a false and treacherous traitor to his quiet government, his Crown, and dignity; and if you persevere in this your folly, if it be my fortune to meet you in the field on horse-back or on foot, I doubt not but to make your proud spirit know the difference between a good subject and a disloyal false-hearted traitor; and so wishing confusion to your actions, I leave you to a [provost marshal] and his halter.'—Derry, 5th Nov., 1607.[1]

How delightful to the heart of Chichester must have been the perusal of this letter! His plans were ripening fast, which would soon be followed by the desired harvest of plunder.

The following letter from Sir Richard Hansard to

[1] *State Papers* for 1607.

Chichester clearly refutes the charge made against Sir Cahir of intended rebellion.

Sir Richard Hansard to the Lord-Deputy.

The bearer of the letters enclosed being brought to him by one who knew him to belong to Sir Cahir O'Dougherty, thought it fit to send himself and letters to his Lordship by his own messenger. Finds, upon conference with him, that he is well prepared to set a good colour upon his master's action, for he affirms that Sir Cahir's purpose was only to have cut wood at Canmoyre, for the finishing of a building which he has in hand, and that it being reported in the country (upon his departure from his house) that he was entered into rebellion, he thought it not safe for him to return home until he should have obtained assurance of his life from your Lordship. What his determination was, is, he thinks, known to a few; but, whatsoever was intended, it is certain that his carriage has been hitherto not in any other thing culpable than in arming about seventy men of his own country, which number he studies to increase by adding to them of the inhabitants of Enishowen, refusing to receive such strangers as have made offer to follow him. He returned into the lower part of Enishowen upon Tuesday by boat, as he departed, where he now remains, and safely may ever rest there; for (as his Lordship well understands) the weak forces in these parts are not of power to offend him, and even if they were, yet should he (Hansard) pause to undertake the prosecution of him until he should learn his Lordship's pleasure.—Lifford, 6 Nov., 1607.

Sir Cahir, like many other inexperienced young men, thought that those in high places were guided by dictates of justice, and that if the truth were laid before them, they would do what was right. With this impression on his mind he went to Dublin to clear himself in the presence of Chichester, of the charges of disloyalty made against him by Paulett. Little thought he that he was appealing to his most deadly enemy, to the man who was secretly fomenting the disturbances which were to end in his ruin. The lord-deputy thus narrates the event in a letter to the Privy Council:—

Sir Cahir O'Dogherty came to him [Chichester] yesternight from the north, and would have him believe that he intended not to fly or revolt, but howsoever he may hear his excuses, he cannot think him free from ill meaning. Will take the best assurance he can upon him, and will so return him, that others may not be scared by his restraint, which he well deserves; but this treason

has been long in plotting, for it took beginning before the powder treason was discovered, and how far it hath sped itself he knows not.[1]

Again Chichester writes to the Privy Council on the 11th December, 1607 :—

Since he last wrote concerning him, Sir Cahir O'Doghertie has been here, and he has been fain to accept of his excuses, however otherwise he conceives of him, as of all others of this nation. Has bound him in a great recognizance with two sufficient sureties (the Lord of Gormanstowne, his brother-in-law, and Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams) to be always forthcoming and to appear here upon certain days' warning, from time to time. Stood stiffly to have them bound for his true loyalty and allegiance towards his Majesty, his heirs and successors, which could not be ; and to induce it the more, committed him for some days to this castle, but in the end, finding it would be no otherwise, thought fit to accept of the former conditions, which seem to include the other.[2]

Sir Cahir returned to Inishowen bound hand and foot by legal restrictions, the violation of which, or of any of them, would involve him in the charge of treason, and render him liable to be haled up at any moment as a rebel, and this though Chichester pretended to believe his innocence of the charges preferred against him by Paulett. It will now be necessary before proceeding further in our narrative to examine what manner of man was Chichester who by his policy succeeded in banishing the earls, and confiscating thereby for the king six entire counties in Ulster; and who drove the young lord of Inishowen into rebellion that he might seize upon his estates which he had long coveted. Chichester was not the only one, however, that grudged Inishowen to Sir Cahir as is evident from a letter of Sir Francis Shaw to Lord Salisbury. That gentleman writes :

Innyshowen, O'Doghertie's Country, part of Tyrconnell, about 30 miles in length and about 14 broad, [illegible] gadge of 10,000 English lives and an infinite mass of treasur , was bestowed upon Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, a man of small right to the whole, without the reservation of poor men's rights, whereby he may, it is said, spend 2000£, if not 3000£, yearly. The city of Derry, built by

[1] *S. P.*, Nov. 28, 1607. [2] *State Papers.*

the English in hope that Innyshowen would be made an English colony, was not so much remembered as with a poor common to grass their horses in; a pitiful omission, prejudicing his Majesty's service, and defrauding many who hoped that that city would prove a yoke to curb and restrain the North, from whence in all ages the confusion of that kingdom hath sprung, which now or never will be cut off by this plantation. Sir Cahir O'Doghertie's grant would be looked into to help and care this languishing city, &c.[1]

Inishowen we see, then, was an eyesore to more Englishmen than the lord-deputy, and many another covetous heart as well as his longed for its possession. He, however, was better lessoned in the iniquitous school of duplicity and fraud than the others, and in consequence was better able to carry out his schemes more successfully. We shall now take a brief survey of this remarkable man's career that we may form some correct estimate of his character, and whilst we try to briefly delineate his life we shall 'nothing extenuate, nor set down aught in malice.'[2]

To be continued.] ✠ John K. O'Doherty.

[1] *S. P.*, anno 1607.

[2] Othello,' Act V., scene 2.

A FORGOTTEN CHANTRY

ST. SAVIOUR'S CHAPEL, NEW ROSS

NEW ROSS has been singularly unfortunate at the hands of its chroniclers. By some strange misadventure most of the standard authorities who have written on the subject of its history and antiquities have committed themselves to the gravest inaccuracies. If we are to judge from the errors which one writer after another seemed to aim at perpetuating, it is safe to conclude that none of these worthy scribes ever visited the place, or had even a limited knowledge of its topography. The site of the town, as most of our readers of the present day know, is a very hilly one—most remarkable in this respect—yet with the chroniclers of New Ross it is not uncommon to find places and scenes that belonged to the river side and low-lying portions of the town located on the hill-top and *vice versa;* while, in some instances, the one position is made to do duty for several passing incidents of historical importance. The records of Stanihurst, Holinshed, Hamner, Ware, Archdall, and those who have followed them, supply a striking illustration of the old classic adage:—*sui generis sequuntur greges.* Much that has come down to us in the shape of authentic records relating to the most eventful periods of the history of the town, that is, from the thirteenth to the middle of the seventeenth century, has been over-looked and suffered to lie forgotten, while the greater part of what has been written relative to New Ross cannot even be considered as an attempt at historical accuracy, for it presents the reader with little more than a mass of tangled threads of information—a skein of almost hopeless confusion. This fact is all the more to be regretted from a literary point of view, since there are few towns in Ireland that can lay claim to a greater wealth of chivalrous, sacred, or eventful association.

In dealing with a chapter of the past history of New Ross our present task is limited to touching on the ecclesiastical foundations that formerly existed there, and to making a more lengthened reference to one of them—St. Saviour's chapel. This was one of the mediæval institutions of the town, regarding which all reliable information (in Ross, at least), if not quite lost, has grown very faint indeed, and about which tradition or folk-lore are absolutely silent.

During the Middle Ages, under the auspices of their founders and successive patrons, several religious Orders established themselves in Ross. The oldest monastic foundation in the town was that of the Canons Regular; and, although they were admittedly the most important, and have left a lasting evidence of their existence in the ruins of St. Mary's once beautiful church, they can hardly be classed with the religious bodies of the Norman period. It is true their vast church was built long after the English invasion, and the endowments conferred upon it were the grants and gifts of the Norman settlers—but it must be borne in mind that the Canons Regular were the representatives of the Celtic monks of St. Abban, established in Ross-mic-Truin centuries before the Stranger set foot on the banks of the Barrow. And, whilst to suit the exigencies of times and newer methods of social thought, their constitutions were reformed, and their ecclesiastical designation changed, their succession and connection with the town remained unbroken from the sixth almost to the seventeenth century. All their associations with New Ross are, however, attached to the site of the Celtic monastery inside the North Gate, and of the ruined pile now draped with the ivied trappings of decay—St. Mary's Church.

The first religious house established in New Ross, after the English invasion, was that of the Cross-Bearers, or Crouched Friars (*circ.* 1195). Within a century they disappeared. Their priory gave its name to the present Priory-street.[1] Next in order of time came the Dominicans.

[1] *Recte*, Friary-street.

Theirs, however, was only a branch house or missionary chapel, situated where Trinity Hospital now stands. Twenty years later the Franciscans got possession of the derelict house of the Cross-Bearers, where their convent flourished till the Reformation. The Austin hermits appeared in 1320, since when to the present time their devoted ministrations have been identified with Ross.

With the Reformation the virtual existence of all these institutions came to an end. By the Act of Suppression their endowments and other possessions were forfeited to the crown and passed into secular hands.

During the reign of Charles I., under Falkland's administration, the members of the Society of Jesus were permitted to establish a Residence and College at New Ross. This will have been about 1625-29. Some of the members of this Order figured prominently in the religious vicissitudes of the Commonwealth. During the siege of the town by Cromwell, 1649, and the decimating plague that followed, we are told a Jesuit father, Gregory Dowdall, was left alone to minister to the spiritual wants of the wounded and the fever-stricken. He himself, worn out with fatigue, in the end caught the dire contagion, and died a victim of heroic charity. Subsequently, for twenty-six years, the parish of New Ross was administered by the Jesuits. During this period their college grew to be one of the principal classical schools in Ireland. They were the last Catholic priests who officiated in the titular church of the parish—St. Michael's. With the more stringent enactments passed in the reign of Charles II., the Jesuit mission in New Ross ended after 1678.

We have already stated that the Order of Dominicans, or Friar Preachers, was the second in historical sequence that established a settlement in New Ross. The Friar Preachers were introduced into Ireland by Brother Regnauld, an Irish member of their Order, in the year 1224. Their first Priory, St. Saviour's, Dublin, stood on the site of the Four Courts. An abbey had been previously erected on the ground by William Marshall, Earl of Pembroke, in 1209, for the Cistercians. But they transferred the site of a chapel

to the Dominicans on their arrival, probably at the desire of the founder's son, William Marshall, the younger. The latter was a devoted patron of the Dominicans. He founded the Black Abbey, Kilkenny, in 1225, where he was interred. His wife, who was the daughter of King John, ended her life in the Dominican Convent, Mount Argis, France.

The Dominican houses in Ireland eventually numbered upwards of forty, several of which, such as those of Dublin, Limerick, Waterford, Killossey, etc., were dedicated to St. Saviour. '*Sancti Salvatoris*' was a favourite title of dedication for the churches of this Order.

In the annals of Friar Clyn, a Franciscan of Kilkenny, the MSS. of which is preserved in Trinity College, Dublin, we find the following entry under the year 1267:—'Predicatores coeperunt locum de Ros et capitulum Minorum Kylennie,' *i.e.*, 'the Preachers established a *locus* at Ross and a chapter of the minors (was held) at Kilkenny (in this year).' This brief record is all that remains to tell of the origin of St. Saviour's Chapel, New Ross. In the same year the Priory of the Dominicans had been founded at Rosbercon, on the opposite bank of the river Barrow, in the county Kilkenny and diocese of Ossory.

Rosbercon at the time was a place of considerable importance. It was virtually the port of Kilkenny city—being the nearest point on the united course of the rivers Nore and Barrow navigable for deep-laden vessels. Under the De Clares, to whom Kilkenny passed by right of the co-heiress of William Marshall on the allotment of the Palatinate of Leinster in 1245, many municipal privileges were conferred on Rosbercon, and in the Charter of Gilbert De Clare,[1] granted in 1300, by which he confirmed all the grants of his ancestors, we find the civic privileges conferred on the Burgesses of Rosbercon were equal in every way with those enjoyed by the Municipality of Kilkenny. Hence we are not surprised to find Rosbercon selected for the second Dominican foundation in Ossory. However, then,

[1] Gilbert De Clare was son of Joan D'Acre, daughter of Edward I. He was killed in the battle of Bannockburn, 1313.

as now, Rosbercon was closely identified with New Ross, to which it was connected by the famous bridge of William Marshall, in the year 1200, the same structure being again rebuilt by his successor, Aymer de Valence, in 1323. But there is no reason to infer that the place ever became very populous. The greater town on the opposite side of the Barrow absorbed all its commercial and social interests.

According to the spirit and essential object of their Institute, the Dominicans settled in towns and centres of large populations, where their primary vocation as Preachers would most effectively be exercised. In Rosbercon alone they would have found a very limited field for missionary zeal of this kind. Hence we conclude that the Chapel of St. Saviour, New Ross, was a branch or *locus* of the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon, and as such is the same referred to in the annals of Friar Clyn, for, whilst the priory lay apart and in another diocese, the work of the Preachers would necessarily lie where the greater population existed, and where by their active ministration they could best fulfil the object of their rule.

The term *locus*, as applied to the constitutions of religious houses or foundations in the Middle Ages, will serve to throw some further light on St. Saviour's forgotten chapel at New Ross. A Dominican settlement, in order to be canonically erected and possess the independent dignity of being entitled a priory or conventus, should consist of a community of not less than twelve members. Every house of a lesser staff was entitled a *locus*. The existence of the latter depended on the will not only of the parent house to which it belonged, but also on that of the ordinary or bishop of the diocese in which it existed. Priories once canonically erected were subject only to the control of the provincial and chapter of the province in which they were founded, and were totally exempted from the jurisdiction of the diocesan ordinary.

There is no doubt that from an early period the Chapel of St. Saviour at Ross received certain revenues derived from lands lying not far from the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon and in the same parish. These lands derived

their name from the title of the church, and are comprised in the townland known at the present day as *Glen-san-Saw*, —Glen St. Saviour. The rents of those lands still form the endowment of the Hospital of the Holy Trinity in the town of New Ross, which occupies the site of St. Saviour's Chapel, and which was incorporated by Charter of Queen Elizabeth in the twentieth year of her reign. In the original grant or endowment of the Chapel of St. Saviour the parent house or Priory of Rosbercon seems to have had no vested control, and, strangely enough, when the chapel changed hands at the close of the fourteenth century, and again at the time of the Reformation, the lands that bore its title and were parcel of its belongings were not transferred with its other appurtenances in either instance to the new possessors. The inference is that the endowment of St. Saviour's was held only at the will of its patrons, while it is evident from the sequence of events that this endowment was of such a nature as to have never been alienated from religious or charitable purposes. Here it may be mentioned, though somewhat in advance of our narrative, that in the Elizabethan Records there exists an entry (January 22nd, 1566), where Sir W. Cecil applies to the lord-deputy on behalf of 'his servant, William Baname, for a lease of the "Chantry" of St. Saviour, in the town of New Ross, with its appurtenances.' The petition was not granted. But the title given to the chapel in this entry gives a clue to the exact description of what it really was—a chantry or chapel endowed for a specific purpose, *i.e.*, for suffrages to be offered in it for the soul's weal of its founders or benefactors.[1] Trusts of this kind in those times frequently

[1] Chantries were, according to Canon Law, divided into three classes:—Collative, and Chantries in Private Patronage—both of which had to be instituted by the bishop—and Mercenary Chantries, when a testator left property to a layman with the charge of having Masses said for his soul. St. Saviour's was of the latter class. All chantries were dissolved by the Acts of 1545 and 1547. These numbered over a thousand at the Dissolution. In Ireland, when the pious intentions of their founders could no longer be fulfilled, the recital of the *De Profundis* after Mass became usual wherever chantries had existed. The usage spread throughout the whole Irish Church during the penal times. At present Ireland is the only country in which the *De Profundis* is invariably said after Mass.

covenanted that these suffrages should be discharged by priests of a certain grade or order, and when these conditions were no longer fulfilled the endowment became inoperative for the time being, but still the power of resumption was not void.

The commercial prosperity of New Ross during the Norman period of its history was of the most fluctuating character. Numerous disasters befel the town from time to time from the hostile incursions of the neighbouring Irish septs, while in its mercantile affairs rivalry with Waterford became the source of frequent contentions. The same harbour was common to both towns. The varying policy of the Plantagenet kings with regard to the port of Ross intensified these commercial feuds. Henry III., in the year 1230, and again in 1266, enacted that all vessels should load and unload at Waterford, but *not* at Ross. Again, in 1275, Edward I. commanded all foreign vessels to discharge at Waterford and not at Ross. But the Royal edicts were not wholly effectual, since foreign ships entering the harbour were frequently taken possession of by the intrepid fleet of Ross, and carried *nolens volens* to the desired destination.

The export trade of Ross, chiefly with Spain, must at the time have been immense, since we find from the returns of the New Customs granted the king and paid by merchants leaving the port from May, 1277, till Michaelmas, 1280 (about three and a-half years), amounted to £2,130,[1] an enormous sum in those days. Its rival, Waterford, within the same period contributed to the Royal Exchequer £1,864. These two ports show from their returns at the time that they had a trade respectively many times in excess of that of any other port in Ireland.

Edward II., in the year 1317, freed the port of Ross from all restrictions, and fostered the trading interests of the town. One of the favourites of that luckless monarch, Aymer De Valence, Earl of Pembroke, was then Lord of Wexford. It may be remembered he it was who built the bridge of Ross for the second time, and to him also Wexford

[1] This would represent upwards of £25,560 money of the present time

owes its first Charter (1317.) Edward III. granted to New Ross its most important Charter, and also provided by statute for the walling of the town. Richard II., in 1377, confirmed all the privileges, granted by his grandfather and great grandfather, to the port. Yet even then the history of the town, true to its proverbial characteristic, continued to be made up of spasmodic intervals of prosperity and decay.

From the recital of the Charter of Edward III. (1374) it is quite plain that New Ross was at the time reduced to a state of great decadence, while its social and religious life must have been sorely paralyzed by the enactments of the statutes of Kilkenny enforced since 1368. No native Irish clergyman could in virtue of this statute be appointed to any position within the Church in the English district, and no Irishman could be received into any religious house in Ireland. These prohibitions would, as we have remarked, have seriously affected a town religiously constituted as Ross was. There were then six public churches in the town—St. Evin's, St. Michael's, St. Mary's, the churches of the Franciscans and Augustinians, and St. Saviour's Chapel. For a decayed town it was probably considered to be over-churched.

Be that as it may, from the Annals of Dunbrody we learn the Priory of St. Saviour's, with its appurtenances in Ross, was conferred by the Sovereign and Corporation for ever on the abbot in the year 1370. Thomas Denn, Bishop of Ferns, consented to the acquisition of the property by the abbey, and it received the sanction of the Viceroy, William de Wyndsore. Dunbrody was, as we know, a fortified abbey, and, from its rise to its fall, was a staunch stronghold of English power in Ireland. But though the abbot got possession of St. Saviour's and its appurtenances in the town of New Ross, we hear nothing of the landed endowments of the chantry. The latter were, no doubt, in the change reserved at will, in accordance with their trust, by the representatives of the original patrons of the chapel. Some time after the year 1384 the Dominicans of Rosbercon got possession of the Priory of Clonmines, county Wexford, previously held by the Regular Canons

of St. Augustine. Clonmines was at the time a place of great importance, owing to its valuable silver-mining industry.

At the Dissolution of monasteries, in 1536, it was found that the appurtenances of St. Saviour's Chapel, New Ross, consisting of thirteen messuages and five gardens, in possession of Dunbrody, had been mortgaged by the abbot to Thomas Butler, and remained unredeemed when the abbey surrendered. In the year 1540 three chapels in New Ross —St. Evin's, St. Michael's, and St. Saviour's—were leased to John Blake, of New Ross, merchant, 'to farm,' that is, to turn to what use he could. At this period religious houses and churches leased on those conditions were not unfrequently rented by the lessee for the time being to the clergy who had previously held them. This was very common with abbeys in the west of Ireland. Meanwhile the Dominican Priory of Rosbercon was granted for ever to John Parker, the grant also including the Priory of Clonmines. The grantee afterwards received the extensive estates of the Priory of St. Selskar, in the town of Wexford, which now form in great part the 'Portsmouth Estate,' county Wexford. During the last year of Henry VIII. (1547) Parker obtained royal licence to alienate (probably by sale) the former possessions of the Priory of Rosbercon to John Blake, of New Ross, who, as we have previously said, leased St. Saviour's Chapel.[1] By inquisition taken in 1619 it was found that his descendant, Luke Blake, was before the year 1574 seized *in capite* of the belongings of Rosbercon Priory.

Little more remains to be said of St. Saviours Chapel, New Ross, till the founding on its site of the Hospital of the Most Holy Trinity by Thomas Gregory, a warrant relative to which is first recorded in the fiants of Elizabeth bearing date February 12th, 1578.

The first mention of the family of Gregory occurs in the records of the third year of Edward VI., 1550, where reference is made to T. Gregory, Escheator of New Ross. He

[1] In this acquirement by John Blake, Rosbercon Priory and St. Saviour's Chapel became again historically united.

built a custom house close to St. Saviour's, and subsequently a portion of the disused chapel was occupied as a residence by George Conway, his son-in-law, Collector of the port. There is ample reason for assuming that Thomas Gregory was representative of John Blake previously spoken of as the lessee of St. Saviour's chantry. Circumstances, too, point to the fact that the lands of Glen-san-Saw were all through held in trust for religious purposes by the representatives of the first founders of the chapel, and owing to the religious vicissitudes of aftertimes were applied to the endowment of the charitable institution which is still associated with the name of Thomas Gregory, founder of Trinity Hospital.[1]

The foundation of Trinity Hospital, New Ross, most probably dates from the reign of Philip and Mary, when the Catholic religion was restored. The petition for its charter in the reign of Elizabeth indicates that the founder was then long since dead. The charter of Elizabeth for the founding of the hospital appoints George Conway as its first master, and associates with him in the management of the institution the sovereign and the four senior members of the council of the town, and empowers them to appoint a secular priest as chaplain to the hospital. Nine years later, in September, 1587, at the petition of Sir Patrick Walsh, the Queen bestows upon the hospital the Chapels of St. Saviour's and St. Michael, as the master and brethren require a convenient place 'to repayre unto for public and divine service.' On the 26th of October, in the year following, in response to the petition of Sir Patrick White, a fiat of similar contents is signed by Lord Deputy W. Fitzwalter.

From the names of the petitioners on whose supplication the charter for the incorporation of Trinity Hospital and subsequent grants to it were confirmed, it is plain the institution was a Catholic charity.

George Conway, first master of the hospital, who died

[1] In the fiants of the XXXII. of Elizabeth is a grant conferring head rents of certain lands in the counties of Louth, Carlow, Waterford, Wexford, and Kilkenny on Thurlogh O'Byrne, chief of one of the Wicklow clans, who espoused the English cause. Here Glen Saint Saviour is mentioned as 'parcel of St. Saviour's chapel, New Ross,' then held by George Conway.

in 1595, came of a family long and honourably connected with the parishes of Ross and Rosbercon. In the last named district the family is still represented. A finely sculptured tomb, bearing a floriated cross, interlaced with *fleurs-de-lys* (late decor. style) may be seen in St. Mary's Cemetery, New Ross, bearing the following inscription:— 'Hic jacet Patricius Conway quondam Burgiss; Villae Novae Rossi qui obiit año; Domi 1587.' The generation to which George Conway belonged was closely connected with the Catholic priesthood. He was the eldest brother of Father Richard Conway of the Society of Jesus, who, with Fathers Thomas White[1] and James Archer, were the three first vice-rectors of the Irish College of Salamanca. In the year 1617, Father Conway took charge of the college of Santiago. Two years later, at the request of Philip II., the Spanish provincial of the Jesuits opened the college of Seville. Father Conway was appointed its first rector. Fathers John Conway, who died at Cashel in 1632, and Patrick Conway, S.J., who laboured in the same mission in 1649, were members of the same family.

Sir Patrick Walsh, whose name also appears in the documents of Trinity Hospital, was scarcely less intimately connected with the Catholic Church at the time, while Sir Patrick White, also named, came of a family which an eminent ecclesiastical historian tells us gave more distinguished representatives to the Church than any family in the whole of Ireland. In the annals of the Jesuits at the period four members of the society, besides Father Thomas White referred to, belonged to this family, and were all distinguished men. They figured prominently in the Spanish Province of the society.

As may be seen from the perusal of the Charter of Trinity Hospital, New Ross, the first master, George Conway, and his successors, and the heirs of Thomas Gregory, were in the administration of the hospital, subject to the consent and advice of the Sovereign and four of the seniors of the council of the town, the subsequent history of

[1] Father White, S.J., was founder of the Irish College of Salamanca.

the hospital is easily accounted for. With the development of the policy of James I. in regard to the constitutions of the municipal corporations in Ireland, Catholic institutions in the management of which they shared control experienced a change. The policy of this king was to establish a number of corporations for the avowed and express purpose of spreading the Reformed religion. Very few of the existing corporations in Ireland hesitated to accept new charters from King James. The old charters of Wexford and New Ross were not fundamentally altered; they were, however, submitted to be revised and supplemented to suit the religious views of the king.[1] It is needless to say in their electoral provisions these corporations, like the rest, soon became essentially Protestant.

The exclusion of Catholics from all corporate offices was effected during the reign of Charles II., in the year 1667. Certain rules, orders, and directions were made in that year, and promulgated and established by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Essex. These rules, in substance, directed that 'no person shall be mayor, sovereign, port-reef, burgomaster, bailiff, alderman, recorder, treasurer, sheriff, town clerk, counsel man, master or warden of any guild, corporation or fraternity, or hold any such like office in any city, walled-town, or corporation in Ireland, unless he shall have taken the oath of supremacy established by act of Parliament.[2] The Hospital of the Blessed Trinity at Ross, incorporated by royal charter, constituted a fraternity of which the master could no longer be a Catholic, nor could the Catholic heirs of its founder henceforward be recognised by law.

After this time all the associations of a religious nature attached to the site of St. Saviour's Chapel ended. The foundation of Thomas Gregory was, henceforward, managed

[1] A warrant, dated January 12th, 1612, was issued by Sir Arthur Chichester to Sir John Davies to draw forth a fiat of grant of new corporation to the sovereign and burgesses of New Ross, with a grant and confirmation of their former liberties according to the king's letter.

On the 3rd February Robert Walsh, in behalf of Richard Viscount Mountgarrett, lodged a petition to enter a *caveat* against the sealing of the charter obtained by the corporation of Ross.

[2] II. of Elizabeth.

as a secular charitable institution. The corporation seems to have invested itself with the entire control of its administration, and so continued down to the middle of the last century. In the year 1775, when the buildings of the hospital were repaired and re-built, Charles Tottenham, who was landlord of the town, and represented it in Parliament, was Master. A mural slab in front commemorates this fact. Then, and long afterwards, the management of the hospital apparently lapsed into the hands of the Tottenham family.

The Emancipation Act of 1829 removed many Catholic disabilities. By the Municipal Reform Bill, 1840, the old Corporation gave place to the Town Commission in New Ross. Somewhere in the Fifties an inquiry was instituted into the management of the hospital by the Town Commissioners of the time. As representatives of the Town Council of Elizabeth's day, they claimed a share in its control in accordance with the charter. A suit in Chancery resulted. The heir of Thomas Gregory, after two and a half centuries, was vainly sought for. After a protracted and expensive course of litigation, a scheme of management was framed by the Lord Chancellor, by which the right of the commissioners to recommend or object to the appointment of inmates (neither being necessarily accepted) to the hospital was provided for, the office of master being allowed to remain vested in the Tottenham of that day, whose representative, Colonel Charles G. Tottenham, fills the position at the present time. Some thirteen widows, or spinsters, continue to receive the benefit of the charity, which is still derived from the *chantry lands of Glen St. Saviour*.

Although in the vicissitudes of time and change, St. Saviour's Chapel and its holier associations came to be forgotten, still a spell of old-time sanctity seems to have clung to its site. Beside the quaint hospital—which remains a memorial of Elizabeth's better thought—stands the Protestant church of St. Catherine, with its embattled belfry and neat surroundings. The space behind, that extends up the hillside—long ago the precincts of the forgotten chantry—is appropriated to religious purposes

once again as the site of the new Catholic church, whose completion is rapidly drawing to a close. This beautiful church, designed by Walter Doolin, Esq., M.A., Dublin, promises not to be out-rivalled in elegance by that of any Gothic building of its proportions in Ireland, and will be, indeed, a fitting link between the present and St. Saviour's Chantry—of the past.

JOHN B. CULLEN.

THE MODERN 'REIGN OF TERROR' IN FRANCE

IF we glance but cursorily over the pages of the world's history we cannot fail to observe the truth of the old adage, *homo homini lupus*—man is a wolf to his fellow-man.

The Bible-story opens with fratricide and closes with deicide. The amphitheatres of pagan Greece and Rome for several centuries rang with the shrieks of victims butchered to make a holiday for a depraved aristocracy. Henry VIII. in England, and Cromwell in Ireland, are names inseparably associated with wanton shedding of blood. The mines of Siberia at this moment resound with the despairing moans of ten thousand victims of autocratic despotism.

But history cannot furnish us with any epoch equal in fiendish cruelty and licentiousness to the period of the Reign of Terror in France. The grand fabric of monarchy was felled by a single blow; King Louis and his noble queen, Marie Antoinette, perished beneath the axe of the guillotine; Mirabeau, Danton, Marat, Robespierre and Tallyrand scrambled for the ascendency, and, with the exception of the last mentioned, paid the price of their ambition with their lives.

The Church along with the State came down with a crash. Bishops torn from their sees, priests from their parishes, were hurried to the scaffold; religious communities

were disbanded and their goods confiscated; convents were turned into barracks; Christ was hurled from His altar and the Goddess of Reason substituted—it was a Reign of Terror.

Do I mean to imply by the title of this essay that there exists in France a state of things that could bear any comparison with such hellish scenes? I say emphatically, yes. To-day in France the knife of the assassin and the bomb of the anarchist are lying hid in the street, in the chamber, and even in the church, and any one without a moment's notice may meet with the fearful end that recently befel President Carnot. Are these less terrible weapons than the guillotine?

To-day in France—though it is a Catholic country, and even the religion of the State is the Catholic religion—a bride and bridegroom dare not enter a Catholic church before they are 'civilly' married by the mayor or his deputy; children must not hear the name of God mentioned in the school-room; men who have government appointments must not be seen in church with their families at the risk of losing their positions; religious communities are burdened with an intolerable tax or else disbanded altogether; priests are jeered at in the streets with impunity; bishops are threatened, reprimanded, fined for all sorts of imaginary offences against the State, and as I write a law is in course of enactment making the clergy liable to imprisonment if they give any expression of opinion on political matters—a privilege enjoyed by all others in the land. Is not such a state of things a veritable Reign of Terror?

In virtue of the Concordat of Napoleon the Catholic religion is the established religion of the State; the bishops are paid as government officials; every church is State property, its finances are in the hands of a lay committee or *fabrique*, and not a candle may be burnt or vestment purchased without the consent of that body. It is easy to understand how the enemies of religion would take advantage of this subservient position of the clergy, and relegate them from public life to the sacristy. This they have

practically done. With all the energy characteristic of evil-doers they have wormed themselves into public life, and thence to parliament, where they have succeeded in having laws enacted that have made the position—not only of priests but of Catholics—absolutely unbearable. Their motto would appear to be similar to that of the atrocious Carrier, 'We will make a cemetery of France rather than not regenerate it after our own fashion.' Unfortunately they are succeeding but too well.

In the first place they have secured the enactment of a law that renders void in the eyes of the law marriages celebrated by a Catholic priest. This law is the more insulting, because, as I have just noted, the Catholic religion is the recognised religion of the State.

In the next place the anti-clericals have set about laicising the schools. In 1882 they succeeded in abolishing the existing law which made religious teaching compulsory, and had another passed ordering the removal of all religious emblems from the schools, and making the very mention of the name of God a punishable offence. The desired effect has been produced and the present generation of children are little better than pagan. They sneer at religion, delight in insulting priests and nuns, and are steeped in every kind of immorality. Recently an account was given in a French paper of the murder of a school-girl by a boy of fourteen. When asked in court what was the motive of his crime, the young criminal replied that he was jealous of the attentions she was paying another boy!

The law enacted to secularise the schools is ruthlessly carried into execution as is apparent from the following incidents. In a recent issue of La Fontaine's *Fables*, drawn up by the municipality of Paris for use in the schools, the well-known fable which begins :—

> Petit poisson deviendra grand
> Pourvu que Dieu lui prête vie

was changed in the second line to

> Pourvu que l'on lui prête vie.

The *Temps* of August, 1896, related how at the general

council of the Sarthe—a purely Catholic district—on the motion of M. Laproche, a radical senator, a vote of censure was passed on an inspector of primary schools at Le Mans, for having set questions which implied the existence of God.

There are numerous voluntary schools throughout the country where religious instruction is given, and to which parents who are concerned for the spiritual welfare of their children, send them to be educated, but the anti-clericals are again on the warpath, and are endeavouring to have these schools abolished; or what comes to the same thing, to have them emptied of children.

Recently a motion was introduced into the Chamber of Deputies by M. Pochon, deputy for Ain, to the effect that none but those who had been educated in State schools should be eligible for government positions. The proposal was defeated by a small majority, but with the onward march of irreligion we may expect that the measure will be again introduced and legalized.

More drastic even than the deputy for Ain is the senator for Charante, M. Combes, a former minister of education. He proposed that all persons in the employment of the government should be forced, under pain of dismissal, to send their children to the State schools. The measure met with the same fate as that of M. Pochon, but we may expect that neither of these gentlemen will be deterred by one defeat.

Nor will the anti-clericals be content with their diabolical work in schoolroom, chamber, and senate; they follow the Catholic official into private life—even into the house of God, and if he is fulfilling his Christian duties, he is pounced upon by these vipers and threatened with dismissal if he does not discontinue such superstitious practices.

In the *Journal des Debats*—amongst whose contributors were Taine and Renan, and, consequently, it cannot be suspected of any leaning towards Catholicity—the following incident was related in an issue of November, 1893. The postmaster of a town in La Vendée, who, as is usual, in that

region, observed his religious duties, was sent for by the Sous-Préfet, who said to him :—

It is reported that you are in constant attendance at church on Sundays ; more than that, you always take a book with you ; and a man who follows the service with a book must not be surprised if he be put down as a clerical. Besides there are your daughters ; the eldest who is being educated at the convent school, sings in the chapel choir, and her sister makes the collection at the parish church. Now all these things are noted against you in your *dossier*,[1] and I think it is fair to warn you that you are getting the name of being a clerical.

If such arts of terrorism were rare and confined to one portion of France, very great significance need not be attached to them, but on the testimony of Mr. Bodley, a modern Protestant historian, they are occurring in every department throughout the land.

In *L'Eclaireur*, 5 Mai, 1895—a Tours journal—'a group of republicans' felt moved to denounce the following scandal :—

In our commune [they said] the curé wishing to make his services more attractive, has been looking out for singers. With our good pastor's efforts to increase his revenue we have nothing to do ; but what does astonish us is to see in the choir two sons of an old democrat, hitherto a staunch liberal and an anti-clerical. Is it possible that a soldier of the republican army had failed to bring up his children in sound principles, or has he left them to be perverted by the curé to abandon 'Marianne' for the Blessed Virgin? In either case he would do well to give us a plain answer, in order to allay the malevolent suspicions which he has aroused in the hearts of his friends.

Another instance comes from the north of France. Two years ago, while a clerical friend of mine was spending a holiday in a town in Normandy, the mayor was summarily dismissed for having taken part in the Corpus Christi procession.

But one might expect that at least communities of unoffending nuns would be free from persecution. No ; these devoted women, who for the most part spend their

[1] *Dossier* is the name given to the confidential collection of documents relating to every functionary of the State, which his authorities consult when there is question of promotion or dismissal.

lives in the service of the poor and sick, are by recent legislation burdened with an intolerable tax, which threatens their very existence in the country. One example will show that this iniquitous law is carried out to the letter.

A short time ago in a provincial district, two Little Sisters of the Poor, having spent the day collecting food for those under their care, were returning home. They were met on the way by a toll-collector, who demanded a tax on these 'provisions.' The poor sisters were unable to pay it, and the eggs and butter were seized and retained.

But the programme of the anti-clericals does not end with the persecution of Catholics ; it proposes the utter extirpation of all religious belief. At Dôle, in the Jura, there was a custom of commemorating the inhabitants who died defending their homes in the war of 1870. One year the mayor issued a placard inviting the people to take part in the usual ceremony in which he said 'our pious souvenirs will go beyond the tomb to show our fellow-townsmen that we do not forget them.' But the anti-clericals in the town council saw in the language of the mayor an official sanction given to the deplorable superstition of a life beyond the grave, and as a result compelled him to have expurgated placards posted over the others !

Laymen, bishops, priests, nuns, mayors are terrorised by the anti-clericals—aye, even the President of the Republic. Less than three years ago a Solemn Requiem service was held in Notre-Dame at Paris, for the victims who perished in the awful fire in the Rue Jean Goujon. President Faure, as officially bound, was present, as were also envoys from several European powers. Next day the President was vehemently denounced in the chamber for countenancing such absurd and superstitious rites. Sometime afterwards though present at the civil ceremony held at Orleans in honour of Joan of Arc, he did not dare to be present at the Solemn High Mass at the cathedral through terror of the anti-clericals.

Leaving the schoolroom, the chamber, and the church, the champions of irreligion carry on their nefarious propaganda in the public gardens and boulevards. Every

monument, every statue that one sees, is a glorification of revolution, anarchy, and of vice. The gigantic Tour Eiffel commemorates the bloody revolution of 1789, which ended in the Reign of Terror. Every year the anarchist days of the commune of 1870 are celebrated with great festivity. On every square, boulevard, and garden, statues are erected to gods and goddesses—generally nude to blunt all sense of modesty; or else to revolutionary heroes—to fan the flame of anarchy and irreligion. The result is what might be expected: appalling lewdness in the theatres, music halls, and *éntrées libres* in the streets at evening time, a rival of the abominations of Sodom and Gommorah.

In one other way, the only other at their disposal, by means of the press, do the enemies of religion complete their diabolical work. No country of modern times possesses such a vile, brutal, and atheistic press as France does at present. At election time one might expect a little extravagance, but language such as the following would not be tolerated under any circumstances in the press of any civilized nation.

A would-be deputy, in his manifesto referring to his rival, says:—

> One of us is an honest man, which? X. leads a luxurious life among the princes of finance, though he is absolutely without resources. His newspaper brings him in nothing, and his relations have to support him; while I live modestly in the provinces where I have won an excellent position at the bar. X. confesses he has not paid his debts, while I have paid the debts of others. His furniture is still unpaid for, yet he has shooting and horses. I deprive myself of these luxuries, but I owe nothing to my tradesman.

In another manifesto an anti-clerical candidate boasts that he was not married in achurch, nor had he ever any faith in its effete Christian superstitions; his equally anti-clerical rival next day explains that the church had no alternative, as the woman he elected to wed was already divorced!

At another time one reads accounts of civil marriages, civil funerals, and the like, in which religion is scoffed at and the Goddess of Reason lauded to the skies; or again it

may be a sketch of the glorious work done by the Society for the Promotion of Civil Baptism and of Atheism; or else, what is not at all uncommon, a story in which priests and nuns are made to play the most revolting parts.

This is surely a Reign of Terror in France, little less fearful than that of 1789. What is the cause and what the remedy for such a lamentable state of things? And first, as to the cause. It might be traced, in no small measure, to the national characteristic—fickleness. From the time of the establishment of the nation by Charlemagne, and during the period of the feudal monarchy, and the supremacy of the houses of Valois and of Bourbon, the internal history of the country is one of perpetual strife among the classes; and from the time of the accession of Louis XVI., in 1774, down to the present day, the history is a series of recurring upheavals and revolutions.

In 1798 a revolution broke out and shook the nation to its very centre, ending in the awful scenes of the Reign of Terror. In 1797 Napoleon, who had seized the reins of government, established a directory. In two years that was abolished, and a consulate substituted. An empire was deemed expedient in 1804. That, too, collapsed after ten years, giving place, in 1814, to a restored monarchy, which lasted until the revolution of 1848. After four years duration, the weather-cock of public opinion again pointed to an empire, and that desired form of government was vouchsafed to the people; but, alas! it came to a fearful end in the revolution of 1870. France is now enjoying the sweets of a republic. Four presidents have resigned, Thiers, MacMahon, Grévy, and Casimir-Périer; one, Carnot, has been assassinated; ministries are changing every other day, and, consequently, the person who would predict the disappearance of the present form of government would not require the mantle of Elias to guarantee the accuracy of his prophecy.

The second and immediate cause of the present Reign of Terror is the increase in the number of freethinkers and freemasons throughout the country. When these secure places in the ministry their ambition is to treat every priest

and bishop in the contemptuous manner in which the brutal Napoleon treated the venerable Pontiff Pius VII. Whatever may be said of English freemasons, the members of the fraternity in France make no secret of their avowed resolve to wage a fierce war against all religion.

In the recent lenten pastoral Cardinal Langénieux of Rheims, referring to the attempt that the State is making to monopolise education, declares that all the iniquitous measures that have been passed in parliament, and that are now before it, are the outcome of freemasonry.

The bill [writes the cardinal] on the school question provides that our great national schools, such as the Polytechnique, the naval school, the military schools of Saint-Cyr, Saumur, Versailles, Fontainebleau, Saint-Maximent, the higher normal school, and others, shall only be open to young men who have passed two or three years in the schools or lycées of the State; and, consequently, that they shall be closed to the pupils of private schools. Now, as there are to-day scarcely any other private colleges except ours, it means that the scholars in religious schools will be, for the sole reason that they are Catholics, stricken with a moral incapacity, and excluded from official life, and from positions in the administration of public affairs. This demand was formulated twelve years ago at a masonic congress in the east of France: 'in future no one shall be eligible for a public situation paid by the State, unless he has made the studies demanded for such a position in the schools of the university. Diplomas and certificates of study may only be given to those candidates who, for three years previous to their examination, shall have made their studies in a school belonging to the State, the departments or the communes.' This appeared at the time so outrageous that public opinion, indignant but reassured by the very violence of the proposition, did not take it seriously. Its supporters, who were only the spokesmen of the sect, let fall first indications of their aim. But since then the idea has travelled forward, and the lodges have prepared the way in parliament. The *Bulletin du Grand Orient* (p. 489) declared in 1889 that 'it was the strict duty of a freemason, if he was a member of Parliament, to demand the exclusion of the scholars of the religious orders, or of ecclesiastical establishments, from special military schools, and from the ranks of the army and situations in the civil administration.' Every year this motion has been taken up and developed. In 1896 the general assembly of the Grand Orient declared that it was 'obligatory upon all functionaries to send their children to laicised schools, and that education under

religious communities was absolutely prohibited.' In 1898 the same resolution was again discussed and adopted. 'Every person who is a member of, or affiliated to, any religious congregation is forbidden to teach in public or private schools.' The assembly insisted that not only the State should have a monopoly, but that 'it should laicise its programmes and turn education in the direction of freethought.' This very year in the sittings of the 22nd and the 24th November, the echo of these resolutions was heard in the chamber and the senate. The convention of 1899 continued the campaign, and now this project, so ill-received in 1888 by all the free press, and, as people thought, overwhelmed by ridicule, is on the eve of being discussed from the tribune.

Is there no remedy in such an awful crisis? We may ask: Where are the bishops and priests of France? What are they doing? The answer comes: They are not permitted to assemble for any purpose whatever, and hence we can hear little of their work, but that they are not doing their best to stem the tide of irreligion is untrue.

Are the laity then to blame? Unfortunately it must be answered, yes. Catholics are more than ninety-five per cent. of the population, yet fifty per cent. of the children in France frequent the State schools where the name of God must not be mentioned.

The priests are eligible for membership in the Chamber of Deputies. In that assembly one of their number has more influence for the good of religion than twenty outside, yet in the whole of France only two have been elected. Truly if the laity could be roused to a sense of their duty and their power, they could, at a single blow, drive every atheist, freemason, and Jew, from the chamber and the senate.

But we must not be too pessimistic. The land of Charlemagne, of Bossuet, of Vincent de Paul, of Joan of Arc, of the Curé of Ars is not without defenders of the faith. The venerable Archbishop of Aix has sounded the tocsin of battle. The government fined him for showing his sympathy with the persecuted Assumptionists. With trumpet voice he has proclaimed *non licet*. That voice rings throughout the land. He has been deprived of his stipend but we may be assured that the eldest daughter of the Church will not permit her mitred son to die of hunger. He is but one of

the many who are prepared to do the same if there be need.

The laity, too, are not without champions of the faith. The Count de Mun and M. Demoulins might be taken as examples. When, on last Good Friday, the nation was shocked by the unexpected prohibition of the customary signs of mourning in the fleet, the Count addressed a long and vigorous protest to the minister of marine.

I have the honour [he said] to represent maritime constituents. This measure will wound them to the heart. It is my duty to express in their name sentiments of indignation which I cannot, since it is vacation time, express in the chamber. The custom of commemorating by a touching manœuvre of the fleet, the most august of Christian mysteries, could give offence to none except to those whose sectarian passions are aroused by any manifestation of Christian faith. These are the men you have obeyed. Freemasonry is pleased with your action and will applaud you, and well have you deserved its applause. But Christian France will be moved with sorrow, and with it all those—and they are many—who, although they may not be exemplary Catholics, yet respect the ancient religion of their fathers. The people who serve their country by handing over their children to the perilous life of the sea will keenly feel the attack that has been made upon their religious belief. They know that it is faith sustains the sailor and binds him to his distant home. . . . The world will be astonished, but those who are observant know who are to blame; certainly it is not France. Hence do I raise my voice as a Christian, as a representative of the people, against an act of irreligion forced upon an unwilling navy.

The language of M. Demoulins is equally vigorous. Writing in the *Gaulois* he said :—

M. Waldeck-Rousseau, M. de Lennessan, M. Millerand want to dechristianise the fleet, to extinguish in the soul of the sailor that faith which strengthens, encourages and consoles him. The measure is nothing less than an abominable and a criminal one, which will provoke in all France an outburst of indignation.

Finally our hope that the faith is firmly rooted in France, and that it will ultimately triumph, is strengthened when we notice the great work that France is doing for the propagation of the faith in heathen lands. With little earthly comforts her anointed sons, her consecrated daughters, are

labouring heroically among the Buddhists, the Mohammedans, the negroes, and the savages. It is French money, too, that enables them to continue their noble work. We may, then, have the highest hopes for the success of the Church in France. Her bishops have wisdom, her priests have zeal, her people have perseverance which has sustained them in many a trial in the past. They are all now engaged in a fierce conflict with the double-headed monster of atheism and freemasonry. The Catholic world is anxiously watching the struggle; a bitter and prolonged one it will be. Let us hope that when it is ended the Church will place another garland of victory upon the brow of her eldest daughter.

C. M. O'Brien, C.C.

CORRESPONDENCE

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

Rev. Dear Sir,—Under the above heading your correspondent, 'Canonicus,' asks that some one connected with University College should furnish information regarding the spiritual helps provided for Catholic university students, whom he thinks somewhat neglected; and he quotes for comparison the arrangements recently made at Oxford, 'where a Jesuit father gives regularly to the young Catholic undergraduates religious conferences.'

Will you kindly permit me to give the information desired. I should note, to begin with, that the Catholic University Medical School, to which your correspondent expressly refers, is an entirely distinct institution, with a governing body of its own, quite independent of University College; and that a considerable number of its students have no connection whatever with the college. Secondly, that, unlike the condition of things at Oxford, where the Jesuit fathers have charge of the parish and of the parochial church, the Jesuit fathers at University College have no church available for collegiate uses; the church, which is known as the Catholic University church, being now, as for many years, occupied as a parochial church, and administered by the parochial clergy; and that the religious ministrations provided for the students of University College are, therefore, restricted to the limited accommodation of the college chapel.

The religious helps provided under these conditions, and at which, by printed notice in the public hall, all members of the college are invited to attend, are the following:—

1. On Sundays and holidays Mass at 8.30 a.m., and sermon by the President or another Jesuit father.

2. On week-days Mass at 7, 7.30, and 8 a.m.

3. Benediction at 5.45 p.m. on all Sundays and holidays and first Fridays, and daily during the months of May and October.

4. Conferences monthly to the members of the college sodality, which the students are invited to join.

5. A yearly retreat of three days to prepare students for their Easter duties.

It is quite true that, as our extern students live scattered

through the city and suburbs—many of them some miles away—it has been thought more advisable to leave them free to attend the parochial churches in their immediate neighbourhood rather than to enforce attendance at the ordinary religious services in college.

But we use our best endeavours to induce students to join the sodality and to attend its meetings, and also to take part in the annual retreat; and of these exercises notice is given, not merely in the class-rooms and in the public hall, but also in the newspapers.

I need hardly add that the fathers think it a duty—more imperative even than that of giving secular instruction—to interest themselves in the spiritual welfare of their students, and to help them in every way to lead a good Christian life.

Believe me, rev. dear Sir,
Yours faithfully in J. C.,
WILLIAM DELANY, S.J.,
President.

University College,
August 10*th.*

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the absence of the registrar, Professor Birmingham, I take the liberty of replying to the letter of 'Canonicus,' published in the August number of the RECORD.

There are three active sodalities in touch with our students. The Ignatian, under the zealous care of the Rev. J. A. Cullen, S.J., for more than a dozen years has taken a special interest in the Medical school. Its notices are permanently hung in the hall; the annual retreats are announced by special cards; and, in addition, the members are summoned through the post to the monthly meetings. The Ignatian sodality, which holds its meetings in St. Francis Xavier's, Upper Gardiner-street, is not limited to students of medicine; but, I fancy, there are very few of our men who have not been associated with it at one time or another. Then we have the University College sodality, of which the Rev. Henry Browne, S.J., is director. It is of more recent foundation than the Ignatian, but is official in character; that is, limited to students of University College and of the Medical school. Its secretaries are selected one from each institution,

and the office of president is generally held by one of the professors. The retreat is held during one of the last weeks of Lent, while that of the Ignatian comes off early in the winter session. The third is the important Professional sodality of St. Saviour's, Dominick-street, of which Rev. P. A. Murphy, O.P., is director. It has a goodly roll of student members, and its cards come regularly.

Why so many? One reason, among others, is that the students live in different parts of the city, and, I suppose, the sodalities find their working members mainly in the particular districts where they are located.

I remain, rev. dear Sir,

Yours faithfully,

DENIS J. COFFEY.

Medical School, Cecilia-street,
Dublin, *August* 17*th*, 1900.

DOCUMENTS

DECREE IN PRAISE OF THE LITTLE SISTERS OF THE ASSUMPTION

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM

DECRETUM LAUDIS PRO INSTITUTO 'DES PETITES SŒURS DE L'ASSOMPTION' VULGO NUNCUPATO

Anno 1875 Emus et Revmus S. R. E. Cardinalis Guibert canonice erexit Institutum *des Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption* vulgo nuncupatum, cuius fundamenta iam decem ante annos posita fuerant opera et zelo Rev. P. Stephani Pernet et piae mulieris Antoniae Fage. Hoc autem Institutum, opitulante Deo, ita propagatum est, ut hodie iam numeret quadringentas Sorores, domusque possideat non solum in pluribus Galliarum Dioecesibus, sed etiam in Anglia, in Hibernia et in Statibus Federatis Americae. Porro Sorores omnes in praefatis domibus commorantes Moderatrici Generali subsunt et simplicia vota obedientiae, paupertatis et castitatis prius ad tempus dein in perpetuum emittunt. Praeter propriam cuiusque Sororis sanctificationem alter est Instituti peculiaris finis sive scopus, cura nempe aegrotis, pauperibus duntaxat et gratis omnino, in ipsorum domibus seu tabernis praestanda, eo potissimum consilio ut per impensum operum Misericordiae exercitium dum corpora curantur animarum saluti sedulo prospiciatur. Contigit sane ut praedictarum Sororum ope praeterquam quod opifices pene innumeri non obstante vita iumentorum more anteacta, in osculo Domini pie obierunt, singulis annis quamplura perditorum hominum millia, recuperata valetudine, una cum ipsorum propinquis in tenebris atque aeternae mortis umbra antea sedentibus, ineffabilia catholicae religionis beneficia auspicati fuerint assecuta. Nimirum ex ingenti Parvularum Sororum caritate et zelo multi non solum infantes sed etiam aetate provectiores sacro regenerationis lavacro abluti sunt, multi itidem S. Confirmatione donati, multi S. Synaxi primo refecti, quamplurimi autem a vitiorum coeno, ab exitiali concubinatu, ab haeresum monstris, a Massonum secta aliisque nefariis societatibus abrepti ad piae matris Ecclesiae complexum feliciter perducti sunt. Quovero istiusmodi hominum millibus spiritualia iugiter praesto sint subsidia, ipsae Sorores tres veluti

filiales instituerunt pias Consociationes, quarum primae cognomentum—*les Dames Servantes des pauvres*—alteri—*la Fraternité de Notre Dame du Salut*—tertiae autem—*les Filles de Sainte Monique*. Quae quidem piae Consociationes et ipsae uberes ad Dei gloriam ac animarum salutem iam dederunt fructus ac studiose incumbunt ut ferant in posterum uberiores. Itaque quum nuper Moderatrix Generalis, transmisso ad S. Sedem Constitutionum exemplari, nomine totius Instituti Apostolicam approbationem imploraverit, Antistites omnes, in quorum Dioecesibus enunciatae Sorores commorantur et praesertim Emi Archiepiscopi Parisiensis, Rhemensis et Westmonasteriensis ipsius preces libentissime ac summopere commendarunt. His autem relatis SSmo. Dno. Nostro Leoni Pp. XIII. in Audientia habita ad infrascripto Cardinali Praefecto huius Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis et consultationibus praepositae die 15 Martii 1897, Sanctitas Sua, omnibus mature perpensis, attentisque praesertim commendatitiis litteris praefatorum Antistitum atque Emorum S. E. R. Cardinalium, enunciatas Sorores speciali favore prosequi cupiens iisque volens animum addere ut alacrius in propositum finem contendant, recensitum Institutum amplissimis verbis laudare et commendare dignata est, prout praesentis Decreti tenore ipsum amplissime laudatur et commendatur, salva Ordinariorum iurisdictione ad praescriptum SS. Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum, dilata ad opportunius tempus approbatione tum Instituti tum Constitutionum eius, circa quas interim nonnullas animadversiones communicari mandavit.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria memoratae Sacrae Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium die 2 Aprilis 1897.

S. Card. Vannutelli, *Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

A. Trombetta, *Secr.*

ALTARS CONSECRATED WITHOUT RELICS

DE CELEBRANDA MISSA SUPER ALTARIBUS CONSECRATIS SINE RELIQUIIS SANCTORUM

In Relatione status Ecclesiae Nichteroyen., seu Petropolitanae, exhibita S. C. Concilii, sequens postulatum ad S. Rituum Congregationem transmissum reperitur: nimirum

'An tolerari possit ut Sacrificium Missae celebretur super

lapides altarium etiam ecclesiarum parochialium praecedenti saeculo, vel etiam saeculo decimosexto consecratos sine sepulchro et sacris Reliquiis Sanctorum a Missionariis vel antiquioribus Episcopis? Sunt qui affirmant antiquis illis temporibus habuisse Missionarios Americae Meridionalis privilegium consecrandi altaria portatilia seu lapides ad Sacrificium sine Ss. Reliquiis.'

Feria IV, die 17 *Ianuarii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Inquisitoribus Generalibus habita, propositum praefatum dubium quod ad hanc Supremam Congregationem resolvendum transmissum fuit, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt:

'Curet Episcopus, ut ritu praescripto in altaribus collocentur Sanctorum Reliquiae: et interim, in casu, tolerari potest usus celebrandi in praedictis altaribus.[1]

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 19 mensis Ianuarii in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII ab Adsessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. D. N. Resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

[1] Hoc dubium fuit transmissum S. Officio pro solutione, quia in *Collectanea* edita a S. C. Prop. Fidei, sub. n. 825 reperitur sequens concessio facta a S. Officio, Missionariis Tunchini:

Fer. IV, die 14 maii 1681. I. Num possint consecrari altaria portatilia sine reliquiis Sanctorum? Prima ratio dubitandi est quia ut in Tunchino fervet persecutio, multa iam altaria ab infidelibus capta execrata sunt, sacrae reliquiae conculcatae. Secunda ratio quia si adeo crassa fiant et . . . ut in eis reliquiarum sepulcrum possit incidi, maior creabitur molestia iis qui sacram supellectilem ab uno in alium locum transportant, nam in Tunchino tum missionarii apostolici, tum indigenae parochi, raro in uno pago tres quatuorve dies subsident, sed quotidie ferme post celebratum Sacrum ab uno plerumque ante lucem in alium pagum emigrant. Tertia, quia data est facultas celebrandi in altari sine reliquiis; ergo illud sine reliquiis consecrandi, quod si nondum concessum sit, petitur ut concedatur. Responsum fuit: Attentis motivis deductis, supplicetur SSmo. pro dispensatione. EEmi. adprobarunt votum praedictum DD. Consultorum,

Uti patet, in postulato Rmi Ordinarii Nicteroyen. non verificantur rationes necessitatis uti in casu pro Tunchino. In Brasilia enim non urgent persecutiones, et hierarchia ecclesiastica ubique instituta reperitur. N. D.

PUBLICATION AND PROMULGATION OF THE DECREES OF THE PLENARY COUNCIL OF LATIN AMERICA

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM

LITTERAE APL. QUIBUS DECRETA CONCILII PLENARII AMERICAE LATINAE PUBLICANTUR ET PROMULGANTUR.

LEO PAPA XIII

Iesu Christi Ecclesiam, qua late patet, tueri eius que utilitates ubique terrarum provehere, Pontificum Romanorum munus est atque officium. Nos igitur, quibus, licet immeritis, id modo muneris, Deo disponente, commissum est, uti ceteras catholicorum nationes, sic lectissimas Americae Latinae gentes curas studiumque Nostrum desiderare nunquam permisimus. Ut enim christianae pietatis laude et ecclesiasticae disciplinae vigore semper florerent magis, cum multa alia opportunis temporibus praestitimus, tum Archiepiscopis et Episcopis universis auctores fuimus, ut coire in plenarium Concilium placeret. Id Nobis perutile summeque efficax videbatur ; cognoscere enim de necessitatibus singularum ecclesiarum nulli melius possent, quam qui eas regere a Spiritu Sancto sunt positi ; collatae autem Pastorum omnium sententiae cavere fidelibus pericula, disciplinae prospicere, cleri populique bono consulere aptius et validius valerent.—Quum vero et Concilium habendum unanimes sensissent Episcopi ; et, pro ipsorum in B. Petri Cathedram observantia atque amore, sedem Concilio nullibi quam Romae, in Nostris oculis, eligendam duxissent ; Nos, datis die xxv decembris MDCCCXCVIII Apostolicis Litteris *Cum diuturnum*,[1] Concilium ipsum Romam convocavimus.—Sic demum coivere Antistites. Quaque primum animorum concordia, nullo varietatis gentium respectu habito, grave opus sunt aggressi ; eadem prosecuti, fausto optatoque exitu expediverunt. Nec minor concordia voluntas fuit impensusque labor ; ut mirum non fuerit Concilium brevi spatio absolutum, quaeque tractanda proponebantur, agitata sapienter, gravibusque sententiis ac legibus decreta fuisse. Ipso autem Concilii tempore, non destitere Patres perpetua Nobis pietatis et obsequii exhibere argumenta ; quae Nobis quam grata acciderent, coram, plus simplici vice, professi sumus. Ut vero Venerabilibus Fratribus benevolentiam Nostram ulterius testaremur, S. R. E. Cardinalium

[1] Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. vii., p. 3, p. 227, p. 337, p. 390.

peculiarem coetum designavimus, quibus, nomine et auctoritate Nostris, Decreta Concilii cognoscenda commisimus.—Quod cum ii, maturitate maxima diuturnoque studio, perfecerint; Nos Patrum Concilii plenarii primi Americae Latinae desiderio obsequentes, Decreta Concilii eiusdem, ab Apostolica Sede recognita, praesentibus his Nostris Litteris publicamus, simulque edicimus ut eadem, per Apostolicas has ipsas Litteras, quibuscumque minime obstantibus, in universa America Latina singulisque dioecesibus, ab omnibus ut publicata ac promulgata censeantur ac sedulo observentur. Faxit Deus, ut quae a tot Pastoribus, providenti amantique animo, sancita sunt atque a Nobis recognita, eadem in singularum Ecclesiarum bonum et splendorem cedant.

Datum Romae sub anulo Piscatoris die prima mensis Ianuarii anni millesimi nongentesimi, Pontificatus Nostri anno vicesimo secundo.

LEO PP. XIII

A CASE OF 'SANATIO IN RADICE'

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DENEGATUR SANATIO IN RADICE UNIONI CONCUBINARIAE ET DEIN CIVILI, INTER CATHOLICAM ET ACATHOLICUM, IN QUA, ANTE UNIONEM CIVILEM, SPONSUS EVASERAT IMPOTENS

Beatissime Pater,

Bertha catholica Archidioeceseos M. soluta, cum Titio acatholico pariter soluto, ex quinque circiter annis in concubinatu fide praestita et cum affectu maritali vivens, novissime, nempe die mensis septembris anni 1898, cum eo matrimonium, quod vocant civile, coram magistratu civili iniit. Ex ista coniunctione duae proles exortae sunt, quarum altera die 29 m. septembris 1894 nata catholice et baptizata est et educata, altera, die 29 m. martii 1896 nata, paucis septimanis post nativitatem decessit.

Parocho dictae Berthae vehementer allaborante ut ad validum et licitum matrimonium adducatur, tandem res in eo est ut dispensationi super religionis mixtae impedimentum, praemissis debitis cautionibus, iam locus per se esse posset, nisi impedimentum perpetuae impotentiae intercessisset, ex eo proveniens, quod dictus Titius mense iunio 1896 (i.e., duobus annis ante celebrationem matrimonii civilis) operatione chirurgica utroque teste privatus existit. Restare solum videtur, ut ad dispensationem in radice coniunctionis petendam confugiatur. Revera

intentio, seu consensus matrimonialis non defuit, nec saltem post contractum civile matrimonium extrinseca species matrimonii deest, adeo ut dictae partes pro coniugibus communiter habeantur. Cum per sanationem saluti animae resipiscentis et legitimitati prolis superstitis provideatur, denegata vero sanatione separatio minimo fieri posset et gravissima scandala pertimescenda forent, ideo preces mulieris catholicae pro obtinenda gratia enixe commendamus.

Feria V, loco IV, 8 *Martii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab Emis. ac Rmis. DD. Cardinalibus in rebus fidei et morum Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, propositis suprascriptis precibus, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, omnibus rite diligenterque perpensis, iidem Emi. ac Rmi. Patres respondendum mandarunt :

' In casu exposito sanationem in radice concedi non posse; et ad mentem. Mens est quod cum matrimonium revalidari nequeat, putati coniuges illico separari deberent. Si vero hoc moraliter impossibile sit, saltem adhibitis cautelis sub eodem tecto cohabitent uti frater et soror. Quod vero ad canonicam prolis legitimationem, eam per rescriptum Principis rite expediendum concedi posse.

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 9 eiusdem mensis et anni, per facultates Emo. ac Rmo. Dno. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario concessas, SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII resolutionem Emorum. ac Rmorum. Patrum adprobavit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

THE CONFESSION OF CONVERTS WHO ARE BAPTIZED CONDITIONALLY

[In view of some controversy that has recently arisen regarding the confession of converts, we think it useful to give the authentic decrees that bear on the subject.—Ed., I. E. Record.]

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE PROPAGANDAE FIDEI

DE INTEGRA CONFESSIONE A NEO-CONVERSIS SUB CONDITIONE BAPTIZANDIS EXIGENDA.

Beatissime Pater,

Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi et Episcopis Angliae enixe rogantibus ut Sanctitas Vestra dignaretur declarare :

An debeat, iuxta Synodi provincialis Angliae decretum a S. Sede approbatum, Confessio sacramentalis a neo conversis in Anglia exigi, et an ea debeat esse integra?

S. Congregatio S. R. U. Inquisitionis, decreto suo, Feria V, loco IV, die 17 decembris 1868 dato, et a Sanctitate Vestra eadem die ac feria approbato et confirmato, respondit: Affirmative; et dandum esse decretum latum sub feria quinta, die decima septima iunii anni millesimi septingentesimi decimi quinti, quoad dubium:

'An quidam Carolus Wipperman, S. Fidei Catholicae reconciliatus, sit rebaptizandus; et, quatenus affirmative, an teneatur confiteri omnia peccata praeteritae vitae, et, quatenus affirmative, an confessio praeponenda sit, vel postponenda baptismo conferendo sub conditione.'

'Sanctissimus,' auditis votis Emorum, 'dixit: Carolum Ferdinandum' (Wipperman) 'esse rebaptizandum sub conditione, et, collato baptismo, eius praeteritae vitae peccata confiteatur, et ab eis sub conditione absolvatur.'

Nunc autem humiliter quaero an decretum supra allegatum obliget non tantum in Anglia, pro qua latum est, sed etiam in hac provincia ecclesiastica et in aliis regionibus?

Quebeci die 29 maii 1869.

✠ C. F. Archiepiscopus Quebecensis.

RESPONSUM

Illme et Rme. Domine,

Quoad dubium ab A. T. litteris diei 29 elapsi mensis maii propositum atque sacramentalem confessionem attingens a neoconversis exigendam, observandum occurrit responsum S. O. Feriae V, loco IV, diei 17 decembris elapsi anni, licet Episcopis Angliae tantummodo rogantibus datum, universalem legem continere, proindeque non solum in Anglia, sed in aliis etiam regionibus obligare. Hinc patet quod nullatenus permitti possit ut praedictae decisioni contraria sententia doceatur.

Romae ex aed. S. C. P. F. die 10 iulii 1869.

Al. C. Barnabo, *Praef.*
Ioannes Simeoni, *Secretarius.*

FACULTIES FOR CONFESSION ON BOARD SHIP

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DECRETUM

CIRCA FACULTATES AUDIENDI CONFESSIONES FIDELIUM NAVIGANTIUM

In Congregatione Generali S. Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis habita fer. IV. die 4 Aprilis 1900, quum disceptatum fuisset super facultate Sacerdotum iter transmarinum facientium excipiendi Fidelium eiusdem itineris comitum Sacramentales Confessiones, Emi. ac Rmi. DD. Cardinales in universa Christiana Republica Inquisitores Generales, ad omnem in posterum hac super re dubitandi rationem atque anxietatibus occasionem removendam, decreverunt ac declararunt: 'Sacerdotes quoscumque transmarinum iter arripientes, dummodo a proprio Ordinario Confessiones excipiendi facultatem habeant, posse in navi toto itinere durante Fidelium secum navigantium Confessiones excipere, quamvis forte inter ipsum iter transeundum, vel etiam aliquandiu consistendum sit diversis in locis diversorum Ordinariorum iurisdictioni subiectis.

Hanc autem Emorum Patrum resolutionem SSmus. D. N. Leo Div. Prov. Pp. XIII per facultates Emo. D. Cardinali S. Officii Secretario impertitas, benigne adprobare et confirmare dignatus est.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

EXCOMMUNICATION OF ITALIAN PRIESTS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DECLARATUR EXCOMMUNICATIONEM MAJOREM INCURSAM FUISSE A DUOBUS SACERDOTIBUS

DECRETUM

Feria IV, die 13 *Iunii* 1900

Sacerdotem Paulum Miraglia e dioecesi Pactensi, sed in Placentina degentem, ob plura eademque gravissima crimina atque immania scandala, quibus, incredibili audacia atque obstinatione, Placentinam Ecclesiam diu contristavit, Decreto huius Supremae Congregationis S. Officii lato feria IV. die 15 Aprilis 1896,[1] praevia monitione canonica, a fidelium communione remotum fuisse, compertum est.

[1] Cf. *Anal. Eccl.*, vol. iv., p. 100.

Cum tamen nihil is exinde melior effectus, sed in deteriora in dies proruens, eousque temeritatis ac pervicaciae novissime devenerit, ut ab haeretico viro Iosepho Renato Vilatte, episcopalem characterem iactante, hunc in finem Placentiam arcessito, in Episcopum consecrari sacrilego ausu attentaverit atque episcopales vestes et insignia, perinde ac si verus Episcopus censendus foret, publice deferre non dubitaverit; haec eadem Suprema S. Officii Congregatio, ne tantum facinus impunitum maneat ac ne ex legitimae auctoritatis silentio scandalum fideles ultra patiantur, ipsum sacerdotem Paulum Miraglia eiusque complicem Iosephum Renatum Vilatte maiorem excommunicationem, ad normam Constitutionis 'Apostolicae Sedis' Summo Pontifici speciali modo reservatam, iterum iterumque multiplici ex causa incurrisse, praesenti Decreto expressim declarat; fideles insimul graviter admonens ut eos omnino devitent.

Datum Romae ex Aedibus S. Officii die, mense et anno supradictis.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. I. Not.*

PRECEDENCE OF THIRD ORDERS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE EPISCOPORUM ET REGULARIUM DECLARATIO CIRCA PRAECEDENTIAM TERTIORUM ORDINUM

In Congregatione Generali diei 6 Aprilis 1900, proposito dubio circa praecedentiam Tertiariorum Ordinis S. Francisci aliorumque Ordinum Regularium in Processionibus, Emi. Patres declarandum esse censuerunt: 'Tertiarios S Francisci, necnon aliorum Ordinum, tum solummodo habere ius praecedentiae in Processionibus, cum iidem collegialiter incedunt sub propria Cruce ac veste uniformi induti, vulgo SACCO.'

Facta de praemissis relatione SSmo D. N. Leoni Pp. XIII in Audientia habita supradictis die, mense et anno ab Emo Praefecto S. Congregationis Episcoporum et Regularium, Sanctitas Sua praefatam declarationem approbavit et publicari mandavit.

Fr. Hieronymus M. Card Gotti, *Praefectus.*
A Panici, *Secretarius.*

THE SCAPULAR OF THE SACRED HEARTS OF JESUS AND MARY

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

RITUS ET FORMULA BENEDICTIONIS ATQUE IMPOSITIONIS SCAPULARIS SACRORUM CORDIUM IESU ET MARIAE

'Suscepturus Scapulare Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae genuflectat, et Sacerdos apostolica facultate pollens, stola alba indutus, capite detecto, dicat':

V. Adiutorium nostrum in nomine Domini.
R. Qui fecit coelum et terram.
V. Ostende nobis, Domine, misericordiam tuam.
R. Et salutare tuum da nobis.
V. Domine, exaudi orationem meam.
R. Et clamor meus ad te veniat.
V. Dominus vobiscum.
R. Et cum spiritu tuo.

OREMUS

Clementissime Deus, qui ad peccatorum salutem et miserorum perfugium Cor Filii tui Iesu Christi caritate et misericordia plenum et Cor Beatae Mariae Virginis eidem simillimum esse voluisti, hoc scapulare in honorem et memoriam eorumdem Sacrorum Cordium gestandum bene✠dicere digneris, ut hic famulus indutus meritis et intercessione ipsius Deiparae Virginis secundum Cor Iesu inveniri mereatur. Per eumdem Christum Dominum Nostrum. Amen.

'Postea Sacerdos Scapulare aspergit aqua benedicta illudque imponit, dicens':

Accipe, Frater, Scapulare Sacrorum Cordium Iesu et Mariae, ut sub eius protectione et custodia, utriusque Sacratissimi Cordis virtutes recolendo et imitando, resurrectionis gloriae dignus efficiaris. Per eumdem Christum Dominum Nostrum.[1] Amen.

'Deinde una vice cum adscripto dicat sive latino sive vernaculo idiomate sequentes preces iaculatorias':

Cor Iesu Sacratissimum, miserere nobis.
Cor Mariae immaculatum, ora pro nobis.

DECRETUM

Quum postremo hoc tempore per acta Sacrorum Rituum Con-

[1] Si scapulare mulieri imponatur, dicatur: *haec famula*, etc. *Accipe Soror*, etc. Si vero pluribus, tum omnia plurali numero dicantur.

gregationis, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Papa XIII ad cultum ac pietatem erga Divinum Cor Iesu atque Purissimum Cor Deiparae Virginus Christifidelium animos magis magisque excitare atque inflammare studuerit, Rmus. Dnus. Ioannes Ludovicus Robert, Massiliensis Episcopus, tempus opportunum atque utile advenisse censuit ad ipsum Beatissimum Patrem accedendi enixeque rogandi, tum suo tum Antistitae ac filiarum Cordes Iesu nomine, ut scapulare eiusdem Sacri Cordis Iesu in agonia facti necnon Amantissimi Cordis Mariae perdolentis speciali ritu et formula benedicendum atque imponendum adprobare dignaretur. Hoc autem scapulare ex privata fidelium devotione iamdiu adhibitum, constat ex duabus de more partibus laneis albi coloris per chordulam seu vittam coniunctis, quarum una praefert emblemata duorum cordium, Iesu nempe iis insignibus ornati, quibus repraesentari solet, et Immaculatae Matris Mariae gladio perforati, subiectis utrique instrumentis Dominicae Passionis; altera vero pars exhibet sanctam crucem ex panno rubri coloris. Sanctitas porro Sua, exquisita Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis sententia, supradescriptum scapulare una cum proprio ritu ac formula benedictionis et impositionis adhibendis ab iis tantum Sacerdotibus quibus ab Apostolica Sede facultas facta fuerit, adprobare dignata est. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Die 4 Aprilis 1900.

Cai. Card. Aloisi-Masella, *Pro-Datarius*,
S. R. C. Pro-Praefectus.

L. ✠ S.

D. Panici, *S. R. C. Secr.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

General Introduction to the Study of the Scriptures. By Rev. Francis Gigot, Professor of Scripture in St. Mary's Seminary, Baltimore. New York: Benziger Brothers.

From the Sulpitian fathers in the United States we expect nothing but the choicest fruits of Catholic scholarship. The appearance of *Clerical Studies* created this expectation. And most emphatically the work before us is to be placed in the same category. We have in it a combination of sound erudition and lucid exposition with a studied and thoughtful ministration to the needs of those entering on a course of Biblical science.

It is no mere platitude to say that, during the present century, no science has struck off so far from the beaten track of ages as this same Biblical science. The higher criticism has arisen, and its adherents have vied with each other in the originality and boldness of their theories. The secrets of the hieroglyphics have been unfolded, and the mounds of Mesopotamia have unbosomed their treasures. Many who stand eminent in the sciences of folk-lore and comparative religion have played fast and loose with the orthodox supernaturalism of Judaism and Christianity. In the face of such startling changes, the apologist and the Catholic scholar must be alive to the necessity of meeting destructive criticism on its own grounds, opposing fact to theory, showing up the vagaries of so many of the critics, and, maybe, of evoking testimony to divine truth from the mouths of would-be blasphemers. It is the duty of the Catholic scholar to secure for true science the germ of truth, which tends to obtain a temporary acceptance for even the most baseless theories. The duty is an instant one, for the fascinating evolution-idea has been imported, and worked for all it is worth here also. It has served to attract and retain the attention of the multitude. Indeed, to-day few sciences are more in favour with the general reader, as the phenomenal circulation in England of popular works on Biblical criticism and archæology amply proves. We, therefore, want to hear the truth from Catholic savants, for to-day, in face of the new dangers, the Catholic Church is, on a new score, by the deeds of her children, the guardian of God's Word. These remarks will serve to show

how sacred is the duty which Father Gigot has voluntarily undertaken. And nobly has he discharged it. We cannot conceive how any young student, with opportunities and a leaning for this branch of study, could master this work without, in addition to acquiring a wide range of positive knowledge, being stirred to high endeavour in defence of God's Word according to the measure of his abilities. The general division of the subjects forming the general introduction is pretty much the conventional one. The first part deals with Biblical canonics—a full and critical survey of the various canons; the second is devoted to 'lower' or textual criticism of the Bible generally, while the third deals critically and historically with the various systems of interpretations. There is added an all important appendix—why call it an appendix?—on the history, proof, nature and extent of Biblical Inspiration. But if the plan is conventional, the treatment of the various subjects is not such in the sense of being nerveless. Vigour as well as up-to-date erudition is evidenced on every one of its five hundred and sixty pages. With a kindly eye to the young student's wants, Father Gigot has prefixed a most useful synopsis to the beginning of each chapter. In the realms of hard fact we looked for fulness, accuracy and the latest results of scientific research, and we found them all. In matters of doctrine and opinion we found our author progressive without having progressed into the borderland lying between orthodoxy and heterodoxy. Where everything is so admirably treated it is difficult to single out portions deserving of special notice. Perhaps particular mention is due to his powerful marshalling of the evidence in favour of the Deuterocanonical parts of the Old Testament. With Corluy and Loisy he regards St. Jerome's attitude towards them as evincing him 'a strong but involuntary witness to a Canon which is still that of the Christian Church.' Two chapters of novel and peculiar interest deal with the Apocryphal books of the Old and New Testaments. The history of the Hebrew language is narrated with almost the life and freshness of a biographical sketch. As we have said, at every stage the author avails himself of the most recent advances in Biblical science. The reader is made perfectly confident that he is being put in possession of the best and latest finds that modern research has unearthed. To give an instance—the famous Palimpsest Syriac MSS. discovered in 1892, by Mrs. Lewis, comes in for due mention. Frequent reference—mostly in invaluable foot-notes—almost tempts the student to follow

up the study on a larger scale. The honoured names of Vigouroux Loisy, Bickell, Martin, to name but a few, occur so often as to make their bearers become as everyday acquaintances to the student.

We looked with special interest for his appraisement of the results of the higher criticism and his treatment of the intricate question of inspiration. However, for the former we shall have to possess our souls in patience until his forthcoming volumes on Special Introduction appear. We noticed with much pleasure a history of the doctrine of inspiration, in view of the fact that minds unfriendly to dogma are at work upon similar lines tracing its growth and history according to their idea. But we think our author is somewhat briefer upon the nature of inspiration than the importance of the subject allows. He distinguishes three orthodox Catholic theories of inspiration. With the first—which he calls the theory of divine dictation—he has but scant spmpathy, since it reduces the human author to a mere mechanical amanuensis. The second, which is a theory of verbal inspiration allowing the human writer to play a more considerable part, would appear to be the opinion of his choice. The third, or *limited illumination* theory, according to which God gives 'an impulse to write on a given topic and a general indication of things already known which He wishes should enter into the composition of the book,' appears to him to be against the spirit of the encyclical of Leo XIII. Yet we feel certain that the most satisfactory theory of divine authorship is that in which God is conceived as being the author of the *res et sententiae* though not of the individual words. Undoubtedly He also exercises a general supervision over the choice of suitable words to convey the divine idea. There are enough difficulties for our Catholic apologists to meet without adding those arising out of verbal inspiration, especially since neither the letter nor the spirit of the encyclical seems to require it. Truth, however, to say our author does not seem to be pertinaciously attached to any one theory. Father Gigot's attitude towards the admission of non-inspired *obiter dicta* into Holy Writ is as uncompromising as the encyclical *Providentissimus Deus* itself. Many that are seemingly such are amply explained by the distinction between absolute and relative truths.

We have carried our remarks to some length because we highly esteem the value of the present work. It may seem

almost ungenerous to deprecate the frequent use of unusual words. Thus 'concordant' and 'disparate' are only some shades more English than 'concorporant' and 'comparticipant' of the early Rhemish version of the Bible. Yet we repeat that to call Father Gigot's volume a nearly ideal classbook is hardly fulsome praise. Those who desire such a work, and who have not already Cornely's *Introduction* would do well to provide themselves with Father Gigot's. Moreover it makes an attractive volume, produced in Benziger's best style, enriched with a copious index and nineteen plates full of interest and instruction. We are confident the forthcoming volumes on Special Introduction will be eagerly awaited. We are, furthermore, convinced that if they are in keeping with the volume before us, Father Gigot's work will need only to be known to become the classbook in all our colleges. And who that knows will deny that such a work is sorely needed.

P. L.

A General History of the Christian Era. Vol. III. Guggenberger.

We must apologise to our readers for our delay in introducing to them the above-mentioned work, to which the author has aptly given the title the *Social Revolution*, because the history of the world, which it professes to narrate, for the last two centuries, is but one long story of surprising revolutions both in the social and political world. The volume is divided into three books, the first of which, after an introduction containing such important chapters as 'The Making of Russia,' 'The American Colonies,' 'The Division of Poland,' briefly unfolds to the reader the causes of the political and social revolution of the eighteenth century. These causes, according to the learned author, may be divided into internal and external: the internal being the spread of false philosophical theories and, as a natural consequence, an utter disregard for ecclesiastical and civil authority; the chief external cause being the success of the American war of freedom. The second book treats of the great French revolution, the Napoleonic wars, and their effects on the other countries of the old world as well as on the American States. The third book brings us through all the changes in European and American politics down to the late Greco-Turkish and Spanish-American wars. Though we were disposed to regard with little favour a work which

professes to set forth in four hundred and twenty-five pages the history of the world for the last two centuries, yet the many good points of the present volume has done much to remove our prejudices. The narrative though, of course, very much condensed, is clear and pleasing, whilst the methodical and skilful handling of the various events which claimed his attention clearly indicates the logical mind, and sound philosophical training of the author.

The work is intended for Catholic colleges, and reading circles, and for self-instruction. We have little hesitation in saying that for Catholic schools, where so many subjects must be brought under the notice of the pupils, as well as the general reader who may not have time to devote himself to a lengthened perusal of all the intricacies of history, the present work will be found satisfactory and convenient. The fact that the learned author is a member of the Society of Jesus, and a distinguished professor of a great American college, is a sufficient guarantee of the reliability of the work from a Catholic standpoint, whilst the skilful blending of ecclesiastical and secular history is worthy of the highest recommendation, especially, in these days, when even Catholic writers are more or less inclined to under-rate the influence of the Church upon past as well as present-day society. We do not, of course, recommend the work as perfect; like all things human it has its faults, and in this connection, we may be pardoned for remarking that the Americanism of the author—if we may use the expression—has led him to give a prominence and importance to events in the history of America which an historian from the other side of the Atlantic would hardly give, were he engaged in unfolding the story of the human race for the last two hundred years. Valuable aid is given to the student for the fruitful perusal of the work by the different styles of type which have been used to indicate the relative importance of the events narrated, as well as by the maps indicating the many changes in European countries and possessions during the last two centuries, and by the tables at the end of the chapters setting forth the genealogies and the principal events with dates; whilst the very exhaustive list of books of reference serves at once as a guarantee of the reliability and research of the author, and as an indication of the source from which the reader may derive a fuller account of any event in which he may be specially interested.

J. M'C.

Lectures for Boys. Vols. II. and III. By Very Rev. Cuthbert Doyle, O.S.B. London : R. & T. Washbourne.

Most priests have felt and acknowledged the want that exists in these countries for some good handbook on Catholic belief which they might put with confidence into the hands of our growing-up boys. By none has it been felt more keenly than by those in charge of or in any way connected with our primary and intermediate educational establishments. Books of the sort are hardly to be found. Those that do exist are not for some reason or other all that might be desired. Their point of view, their treatment, their subject-matter, their whole tone and temper are not quite what would be best calculated to catch and keep the interest of the young. Juvenile literature in most departments has been making strides of late years towards perfection of form and substance. It is only in religion that we are yet awaiting the juvenile classic, or even any decent make-shift instead. One is forced to admit that in this special department educational facilities for our boys are much in the same way as when Catholic education began in these countries.

The present volumes are an attempt (not wholly unsuccessful) at supplying the need. So, at least, we gather from the title. We have not received the first volume, and speak, therefore, under correction of the author's purpose ; yet we think our surmise to be fairly within the truth. In any case the volumes under review will, without doubt, work out towards the end indicated, and will certainly be a very appreciable help to anyone having to do with the training of our boys. The author has taken to himself a very large field of subjects, dogmatic and moral, and manages their treatment with a certain amount of freshness and versatility. At times one might question his method of arrangement. It is not always easy to make the connection between the several chapters. This is, however, only a detail. Each chapter is, in itself, admirably arranged and worked out and has a certain completeness within itself which makes it independent, in a good measure, of its setting.

The author's general treatment is, as we have said, almost complete—one heading often extending over many chapters. Dogmas are explained and proved, and objections against them answered. In this connection the volumes will prove useful to a much larger audience than 'our boys.' As we read over some

of the chapters we were forced to admit that many of us who are not boys at all might peruse herein with profit.

Admitting the comprehensiveness of the volumes as an excellence from one point of view, we suspect, however, that it will prove a defect if the purpose of their author be as we have indicated. The field is too large, and the treatment often, we think, too exacting for the youthful intelligence. Objections, especially, are sometimes noticed of which few boys, we think, can have any personal or other experience; we would also have wished a fresher and lighter method of treatment in many of the chapters.

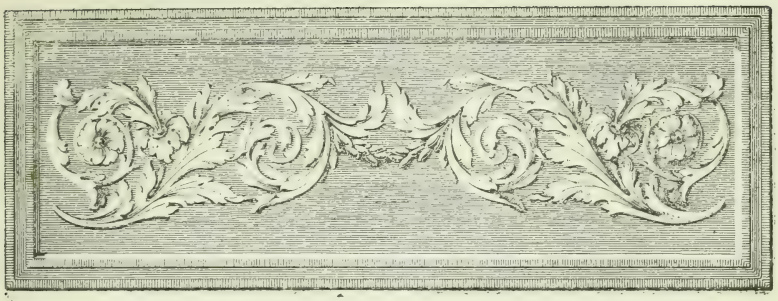
The book is well brought out by the publishers, beautifully printed and strongly bound.

P. D.

THE PRUDENT CHRISTIAN. By the Rev. J. Fletcher, D.D. Revised by the Very Rev. P. A. Sheehan, P.P. Dublin: Jas. Duffy & Co. 1900.

A HANDY little volume of meditations. We can confidently recommend Father Fletcher's *Prudent Christian* to our readers. There is nothing new or startling in the choice or handling of the contents. The headings of the chapters are so venerable as—'The Necessity of Meditation,' 'The Esteem of our Salvation,' 'Death,' 'Judgment,' 'Hell,' and 'Heaven.' The treatment is the natural unstudied out-pouring of an earnest soul in presence of these awful mysteries. There is, however, a freshness of expression and illustration, dissociable from all genuine thought, that cannot fail to attract even the superficial thinker, and an amount of thought-provoking considerations that will profit him. The treatment reminds one very much of St. Alphonsus, and we are certain that all lovers of the saint's works—and who of us is not?—will welcome this of Father Fletcher's. The name of Father Sheehan on the title-page is a sufficient guarantee of the literary excellence and devotional earnestness of the book.

P. D.



THE ETHICS OF PATRIOTISM

AMONG the various disputed questions of current politics there are many that belong to the region of mere opinion, and the voter, in taking one side or the other, is lightly swayed by sentiment, or party ties, or motives of expediency. There are others, again, involving technicalities on which the mind of the mere layman must needs be guided by the voice of experts or constitutional lawyers. And though in all these questions the citizen must act according to his conscience, at least in this, that he does what he deems best for the common welfare, it can hardly be said that, as a rule, the issue involved in deciding for or against a particular policy is, in itself, a moral question. For this reason the moralist or the theologian can have no special claim to speak on these matters; and, save in exceptional circumstances, they would hardly seem to be an appropriate subject for discussion in these pages.

But there are other questions decided at the polls, or debated in Parliament, that are of far deeper moment, and directly involve a grave moral issue. Such is the case with legislation directed against the interests of religion or the sanctity of the Christian family. Which of us would think of such minor matters as the triumph of this or that political party if we had to vote on laws that made polygamy legal, or revived a policy of religious persecution?

Such is, surely, the case when the question at issue is that of peace or war. Not that war is something essentially wrong, or that good Catholics and religious-minded men must always oppose it, as they would resist legislation hostile to morality or religion. But a policy of war always involves a grave moral question; it can never be a mere matter of interest or of expediency. A just and necessary war may be a solemn and sacred duty; an unjust war is at once a calamity and a public crime; and no question in politics is a surer test of the moral fibre and character of a nation than this question of peace or war.

We are at present passing through a national crisis of this kind; for with needless haste the Government has called on the country to pass judgment on their war policy. It is a season for anxiety and searching of hearts. Some politicians in England are apprehensive as to the results of a 'khaki' election; they are filled with fear that it may lead to a further break up and weakening of the once powerful Liberal party, which, under our present system of party government, might well be a matter of regret, even for those who are of another way of thinking in politics. But to a thoughtful observer it will probably appear that we are really in presence of a much graver danger. It is not merely the interests of a school of politicians, or the due equilibrium of constitutional government, but some of the most fundamental moral principles that are being placed in jeopardy.

There are some among us who hold that, in spite of the blunders of our commanders and the sufferings of our soldiers, the present war will prove a real benefit to England and the empire, by rallying all the various forces in one common effort in support of the mother country. We need not stay to examine the precise value of this supposed accession of strength and unity; but we fear that the price at which it is won, if won it be, may be something yet greater than all the blood and all the treasure that have been poured out like water on the sunburnt soil of Africa. Those who make the most of the alleged gain to the empire appeal to the past record of the British people, and argue that this

accession of new power will be a benefit to the world at large, for it will strengthen the forces that make for peace, and justice, and freedom. We would not scrutinise that record too closely, for we fear it is not all so bright as we Britons fondly imagine. But, be this as it may, there seems to be some reason for thinking that it is just this boasted love of peace, and right, and freedom, that is now being bartered away for the bauble of empire.

We speak of fear for the future. But in truth it is the facts of the present that fill us with grave misgivings. For already our peace-loving people have been kindled with a military fire and fever that bodes ill for the world's peace and harmony. Let us not be misunderstood. We are not for peace at any price. There are, as we have already said, occasions when war is really necessary. But, for our part, we believe that those occasions are very rare. And, in any case, war should only be accepted in the last resort, and waged as a sacred duty in the cause of justice. It should never be lightly undertaken, as a move in the game of politics, to promote the interests of a party, or to gratify popular passions. Nor is this all. A war that is just in itself may not be urged on and encouraged in an immoral manner. When two nations are actually at war, it is difficult, no doubt, to treat each other with justice and forbearance. But this is none the less a duty. And it is a grave offence for anyone to spread false charges against the enemy and endeavour to inflame popular passions.

We would fain hope that these general principles would be admitted by all Catholics—nay, by all Christian or non-Christian moralists. There is, indeed, an extreme school which would forbid all warfare whatever. But, so far as we are aware, no writers affecting any kind of morality would defend the proposition that war may be waged without a grave reason, or conducted without regard to the principles of justice. In these matters, however, practice is often far more bold than theory. And we may thus find men of unquestionable probity giving practical approval to a course which they would not be prepared to maintain as an abstract principle. Many good people among us, many excellent

Catholics, are loud in support of the present war with the Transvaal. But how many of them have carefully weighed the reasons for and against the war, and convinced themselves of its justice? And if they have not done this, may not their patriotic support of the Government be little less than participation in a public crime? Here we may be reminded of the difference in this matter between the people and their rulers. It is the principle of moral theology that, although no one can lawfully take part in a war which he certainly knows to be unjust, the soldier is safe in obeying his orders. It is not his place, nor is he generally competent, to deal with affairs of state and the motives and object of the war in which he is sent to fight and suffer. And may not the same be said of the mass of ordinary civilians? May not they safely support their country in any war, and leave the decision to the wisdom of their rulers? In a measure, and under certain circumstances, this may well be true. But we venture to think that the principle has a very limited application in these days of popular government and the 'new Diplomacy.'

When the affairs of the nation were managed by the king and the ministers of his choice; when the people had no knowledge of the negotiations, and no voice in the council; it was natural that they should have little direct concern with these questions of high politics. But now the case is altered. Who are the ministers responsible at the present moment, and whence comes their authority? The votes of a few thousand working-men cast the other way five years ago would have left the affairs of the nation in other, possibly in safer, hands. Nor is this all. The ministers already in office are influenced in no small measure by indications of the popular feeling. The man in the street is, in some sense, regarded as an authority by the men in the Cabinet. Undoubtedly the ministers still retain their own responsibility. The chief credit for a wise course, and the chief burden of guilt, will rest with them. But it will not be fair to give them all the praise or all the blame. We should be sorry to think that any of the present ministers could be so guilty as to make a war for the sake

of gaining votes or popularity. But it is safe to say that they would have been kept back from it, if they had felt that it was against the will of the people. If Mr. Stead and Mr. Courtney had been able to gather large and enthusiastic meetings in favour of a policy of peace ; if war meetings had been broken up by a Radical rabble; if the majority of the London papers had opposed the war, and Tory editors had been forced to resign because they dared to support it ; this 'inevitable' war would most certainly have been avoided. It can hardly be denied that all those who took part in the popular clamour in support of the war policy have their full share in the responsibility—whether for good or for evil. If that war be wise and just, they may claim something of the credit for saving the country ; and if it be unjust, they must share in the burden of guilt.

It can hardly be necessary for an Englishman writing in an Irish periodical to offer any reason against the present war with the Boer Republics. On this matter, Catholic Ireland has already spoken through her representatives with no uncertain or divided voice. And, even apart from this consideration, one who, like the present writer, believes the war to be unjust, is scarcely called upon to bring forward any positive reasons to prove that injustice. Every war is an evil, unless it can be shown that there is some just and weighty cause that renders it right and necessary. The burden of proof rests with the supporters of a war policy; and all that its opponents need do is to meet their arguments and show their insufficiency. At first sight, this might seem a formidable task in the case of the present war. For who can lightly undertake to sift all the miscellaneous evidence, or stem the bewildering stream of argumentation that has flooded our popular platforms and the pages of Jingo journals? But the task should not really prove as serious as it seems. For if there be a true cause for the war, if some great cause, some just principle, be the motive force of this popular movement, it will surely stand out clearly so that all may see it. The same dominant note will be struck in all the divers speeches and papers or pamphlets. The real motive may be set forth in a thousand

different ways, now with passionate rhetoric, now with calm reasoning, but it will still be the same in substance. When we see it before us we may differ as to its merits and its importance, or its sufficiency as a *casus belli*. But at least there will be no doubt as to what is the real issue.

On the other hand, if the war be waged under the influence of popular passion, or racial hatred, or feelings of revenge for former defeats, or a desire of gain, or other sordid motives that dare not be avowed; its apologists will have to put forward some decent and plausible pretext to clothe its evil nature with imputed righteousness. But as this is not the real issue, the advocates will soon find it difficult, if not impossible, to agree in the same tale. Various pretexts will be adopted in succession. New reasons will be found more effective than those put forward at first, and the original motives will be laid aside and forgotten.

Which has been the case here? What, after all, is the real issue? At the outset much was made of the grievances of the Outlanders, and the terms on which those patriotic Englishmen who wished to become Transvaalers should be admitted to the franchise. But the unsatisfactory nature of this pretext was soon apparent. It was found that a considerable number of these same suffering Outlanders were fighting for the 'tyrannous oligarchy' against the Britons who came to bring them franchise and freedom. Some apologists fall back on the transparent argument that the Boers were the aggressors. We are asked to believe that the war is just, because it is defensive; and all the trouble is ascribed to the Boer ultimatum. This is really an appeal to popular ignorance. For the massing of troops on a frontier is recognised as a menace of war, and the state which is menaced is entitled to protest or demand explanations, or, in the last resort, to forestall the threatened invasion. Can it be said that the dispatch of British troops implied no hostile intention? Were they simply sent to protect the colonies? This might be a reasonable explanation, if the subject in dispute between the two Governments had been some Dutch grievance at the Cape, and the Boer President had demanded redress in forcible and threatening language.

But in the actual circumstances, the movement conveyed a very different meaning. The question at issue was the submission of the Republic to the insistent demands of England. And it is now frankly admitted by the responsible minister that our Government was determined to secure what it sought by peaceable means if possible, or, if necessary, by exerting the force of the empire. Unless the Boers were prepared to yield, the war would still have come, and the course they adopted merely decided whether it should begin in circumstances that gave them an advantage, or wait for England's convenience.

Before long, however, the plea that the war was one of defence was put in shape that gave it some semblance of reason. The initial failures in the field led our wounded vanity to exaggerate the Boer armaments. And from realizing the possibility of being driven into the sea, our apologists came to 'the great afterthought' of a Dutch conspiracy for effecting that purpose. This argument was so attractive to some writers that they soon came to set it in the front of their defence. The war was now represented as just and necessary, not because it was fought in the interest of the injured Outlanders, or for British suzerainty, or paramountcy or what not; but because we were compelled to crush this gigantic Dutch conspiracy. This would certainly be ample reason to justify the war and make it appear purely defensive on our part—if we could have some satisfactory proof of this alleged conspiracy. And it would clearly put the Boers in the wrong from the first. But how could it justify the action of those statesmen who entered on a war before they were aware of this alarming Dutch combination?

With the recent discovery of the correspondence between the Boer authorities and Cape Dutch statesmen, or English members of Parliament, the case for the war has entered on a new phase, and we find a revived interest in those earlier questions which had been overshadowed by this ingenious theory. Anxious to turn the discovery to some advantage against their opponents, our apologists make much of the letters, and we may find them

triumphantly appealing to the strong remonstrance of a Cape Dutch statesman urging President Kruger to yield on the subject of the franchise. This language of friendly advice, it is urged, shows that the obstinate President was in the wrong, and the English interference was therefore justified. But if this was the course adopted and the counsel given by Cape Dutch statesmen, what has become of the famous conspiracy ?

Unhappily, this vacillating insistence now on the Outlanders, now on Afrikander conspiracies, does not exhaust the list of pretexts or motives for the war policy. Eagerness for annexation is clearly a common factor in most apologies for the war. And the fact is, certainly, significant ; for all wars do not end in annexation of the vanquished, and when a war is waged for some just reason, many of its advocates will be satisfied when that end is obtained without seeking to annex any territory. It is, at least, a little curious that few, if any, of our politicians are found to take this line. But, besides this unblushing greed of aggrandisement, we find in too many instances plain tokens of a yet meaner motive, a desire for vengeance. The cry of *avenge Majuba* has often served to rally the forces of the war party. And even such men as Lord Roberts and Lord Salisbury have stooped to pander to this unworthy weakness.

Now, it may be that, in all this, the war apologists have done themselves an injustice. In the natural excitement of an honest indignation, they may not be able to express their reasons clearly and coherently; but, after all, the reasons may be there. And whatever may be the case with violent politicians or heedless enthusiasts, we make no doubt that the more thoughtful defenders of the war do honestly believe that it is just and necessary, and could give us an intelligible and consistent account of the grounds of their opinion. As may be gathered from what has been said above, we are unable to share that view of the controversy. But, on a large and somewhat complex question like the present, we should be loth to assume an attitude of authority. If we claim the right to judge of the facts and the evidence for ourselves, we are ready to allow the same right to others.

And, however convinced any one of us may be that his own view is right, if he is wise he will judge the views of others with forbearance, and remember that on some points he may himself be mistaken. We may hope, indeed, that in the present matter the mistakes on either side, and the difference that divides us, are a question of fact rather than one of moral principles. If the facts of the case were seen by some of our opponents as they appear to us, they, too, would join us in condemning the war; and, if we could accept their version of the question at issue, we might soon arrive at the same conclusion.

But, at least in some quarters, we fear that the difference is deeper than this. And not only are facts misread or misrepresented, but important moral principles are gravely compromised or called in question. We see this in those organs of opinion, in which serious charges against the enemy are lightly made and lightly accepted. And it is yet more apparent in the line openly adopted by certain champions of the war, and in the treatment too commonly accorded to its opponents. Besides those who have consistently supported the Government from the first, there are others who condemn its policy in unsparing terms, but argue that, now the war has begun, we must 'see it through.' To do Mr. Chamberlain justice, it must be added that he has protested strongly against this doctrine. But, to judge by the attitude adopted towards pro-Boers, as they are called, it would seem to be very widely accepted. For those Englishmen who still oppose the war are too often treated as traitors to the cause of their country.

It is true that we are often apt to assert broad principles when we are only thinking of some particular application. And philosophers who distinguish between inductive and deductive logic have omitted to notice a third form of argumentation which is, perhaps, more common than either of the others. We may venture to call it political logic, from the subject-matter in which it is of most frequent occurrence. In outward form it agrees with the old deductive syllogism. But instead of the truth of the conclusion being drawn from the principle set forth in the major premiss, that principle

is really founded on the conclusion. Hence it may be that many who now maintain the strange doctrine that a patriotic citizen is bound to support the Government of his country in any war against a foreign foe, are only generalizing their own conception of our duty in the present war, which they themselves deem just and necessary. They are not contemplating the application of this principle to other cases. Be this as it may, the principle itself is being asserted without reserve, and we cannot suffer it to pass without a word of protest.

In one way this is a matter of yet deeper moment than the question of the justice or injustice of the present war. For, if once this principle be admitted, it will serve for many future occasions, and may go far to corrupt such notions of political morality as may still linger amongst us. And its pernicious effect may possibly be felt in other ways, besides in the encouragement given to unjust and wanton warfare. Perhaps, in the long run, patriotism itself will suffer the most; for those who have been asked to sanction crimes in the name of their country may come to refuse it their lawful service.

This would certainly be a grave evil. For a sound and enlightened patriotism is a moral quality of no light importance. As the social order is really, though indirectly, ordained of God, all men are bound to render obedience to the lawful authorities of their own nation, and do what lies in them to maintain its good estate. The true love of country, giving loyal service to its rightful calls, is no mere matter of sentiment, but a sacred duty. When our country is engaged in a just and necessary war, the strife of parties should cease for a while, and the voice of faction should be silent. Undoubtedly patriotism is a duty; but, like other laws and moral obligations, it has its just limits and conditions. If it be strained too far, it may clash with higher laws and duties yet more sacred.

We confess we should have some difficulty in attempting to prove that there is, and can be, no obligation laid upon us to support the Government of our country in a course of wrong and injustice. For we could only prove it from

something more clear and more certain, and to find this were no easy matter. Perhaps the most ready way to enforce the truth of that which should be so obvious, is the old method of the *reductio ad absurdum*. In other words, let us take some concrete example to show whither this new patriotic principle would logically lead us. Whether the present war be unjust or no, it will be allowed on all hands that it would be a great crime for a strong power to make a wanton and unprovoked attack upon some weaker state, for the sole object of gain and conquest. Now, let us suppose that some evil-minded ministers held the reins of government in this country—we have had such in the past, and we may have them again in the future. Let us suppose that having the ear of a weak sovereign and the support of a corrupt majority in Parliament, and having bought the consent of neighbouring nations, they set about the conquest of some weaker state, such as Belgium or Holland. If the preparations for the war became known in this country, every honest Englishman would do his best to prevent the aggression, and save the national honour. We will suppose that there is a strong feeling in many quarters, and the iniquity of the ministers is clear and unquestioned. There is thus a reasonable hope for a triumph of the right—when suddenly the Government hastens on the war and begins the projected invasion. What will be the consequence? Instantly all those who were preparing to hurl the guilty ministers from office find the ground cut from under their feet. There is still no doubt that the war is a wicked, wanton aggression; but they must not move a finger to stop it. Their country is at war, and they must support the Government. The crime has begun, and they must 'see it through.'

Or let us take a different example, and see how the new patriotism will work in the case of weaker nations. Let us suppose that some dispute arises between Holland and Germany. The more prudent party in the smaller state very reasonably urges the importance of timely concessions, in order to avoid a conflict with their powerful neighbour. Ministerial measures seem likely to lead to this calamity,

and the Opposition statesmen use every effort to check or change them. But a headstrong Government pursues its fatal course, and war breaks out. German armies pour into the Netherlands, and the little state is threatened with ruin, if not with extinction. It might seem the wiser course to counsel a change of policy, and offer some tardy concessions, in order to conciliate the forbearance of the invaders, and save the land from further evils. May the members of the Opposition make this last effort? 'No,' says the new patriotism, 'the country is at war, you must support the Government, and see this through!' Such is the logical and natural outcome of this new patriotic principle. It is, forsooth, a duty to support and approve what we know to be a crime; and the love of country is to lead us to help on a course that will bring the land we love to ruin or dishonour.

We venture to hope that even those who loosely use this language in the present discussion would scarcely accept the validity of the principle in these extreme cases. And, however much they may rail at those who oppose the present war, they must admit the possibility of a war so wicked, or so rash and reckless, that even they must stand out against it. But, in this, we are not entirely left to speculation on hypothetical possibilities. Even in their utterances on this war, we may see plain tokens that our friends the Jingoes do not really believe in this precious principle, which they use as a convenient stick to beat pro-Boers withal. Have we not been told of Free-Staters or Transvaalers who were opposed to the policy of Steyn and Kruger? Have we not heard that now this party, and now the other, was sick of the war with Britain, and the Presidents would soon be forced to abandon the struggle? It never seemed to occur to those who gleefully repeated these rumours, or cited the wise words of enlightened 'pro-British' Dutchmen, that these men were under any obligation to support the Government of their country in a wrong-headed war policy, or that once the war was begun, all patriotic Boers must unite to 'see it through.' In their case it would seem that a 'Stop the war' policy was the sign of an enlightened patriotism.

But, if in any of these instances, the opponents of war were justified in continuing their opposition even while hostilities were raging, the same must surely be true of the English peace party of to-day, supposing that there is a like guilt or a like danger in this war with the Boer Republics. The true duty of a patriot is to serve his country in every just cause, and to seek above all things to save that country from shame and disaster. If the policy pursued by the present Unionist Government is unrighteous or fraught with future danger—however the guilt may be screened by specious pretexts or the danger obscured by a fleeting advantage—the advocates and abettors of that policy are the real traitors, and the truest and best patriots are to be found among those that oppose it. As may be sufficiently seen from what has been said already, we believe that this is actually the case ; and in our view the honour of England and the future well-being of her people are being put in jeopardy by a false and fatal policy. Those who raise the immoral cry, ' Our country, right or wrong ! ' can have no real love of country. For to love the land, is to wish it well, to seek its real good, to hold it in honour. We would fain hope that England has still some patriots left, whose love of country is based on their love of right, of truth, and of freedom ; who can say to their land in the words of the knightly lover,

> I could not love thee, Dear, so much,
> Loved I not Honour more.

Those who take up this position might well retort the charge of treason or want of patriotism upon those who support the war policy. But for our part we should be sorry to bring such serious charges against all the Government champions. We make no doubt that many among them are animated by a genuine love of country, and trusting to the voice of their leaders they believe the war to be just and necessary. The gallant sacrifices made by so many brave Irishmen and Englishmen may well excite our admiration—though we could wish that they were offered in a worthier cause. And there are those

among the supporters of the war who would never be willing champions of wrong or oppression. However much we may deem them mistaken, we are ready, at any rate, to allow the uprightness of their motives and the purity of their patriotism. It could be wished that some of them were prepared to make the same attempt to form a just estimate of the position of their opponents. If we look at the journals on their side, even at those of the better sort, we can find but few tokens of this common fairness. Opposition to the war is too frequently accounted as little better than treason, or ascribed to the meanest motives. The chorus of condemnation abroad, that conscience of the world to which so many appealed in the Dreyfus case, is taken as the outcome of envy of England. The gallant resistance offered by the Irish party is put down to national hatred or political faction. And as for England itself, an attempt is made to belittle the opposition and make a show of unanimity. Possibly, this bold assertion may be to readily accepted abroad, or even in Ireland. We should not be greatly surprised to find that some intelligent outsiders were under the impression that England is practically unanimous, with the exception of an inconsiderable minority.

It is not to be denied that the war party makes the most noise, whether in the press or in public meetings and celebrations. But though these things may serve to show what is the feeling of the majority, they can hardly help us to any accurate estimate of its precise proportions. There will always be a considerable number of men who are not represented by popular clamour. Even a parliamentary election would not be a sure test, for under the present system of registration many are without votes, and in any case the issue will be confused by the conflicting influence of many other political questions. But if we cannot estimate the numbers of the party of peace, we may still find some satisfactory indications of its strength in the country. On the one hand, the names appended to the protest of authors and the list of the Conciliation Committee, together with the utterances of such men as John Morley and Leonard Courtney, suffice to show how much of the best thought of

England is arrayed against the Government war policy. When the noise and excitement of the hour passes away, the wise words of these men may yet bear fruit in the future. On the other hand, the strong line of opposition taken by John Burns, and the Labour members generally, is an indication of a feeling widely prevailing among British working-men. This, again, is a hopeful sign; for there can be little doubt that the power of the Labour party is gradually growing. And ere long it may be more than a match for those older parties that are now infected with the military fever. The wide difference between these two classes of the thinkers and the toilers adds weight to their witness in the cause of peace and justice. For neither is likely to be much influenced by the other, and the truth of their cause is the sole bond between them. Happily they both receive welcome help in the struggle from the united forces of Irish nationalism—help that carries a greater moral weight because it is clearly not dictated by party interests.

Before we leave the subject it may be well to draw a distinction between what has been said against the war and what has been said on the general principles of patriotism. The first depends, in great measure, on questions of fact, and there is, consequently, much room for difference of opinion; and many Catholic readers—at least in England—may be unable to agree with us. And we fear that there would be little use in asking them to come over to help us. It is otherwise with the question of principles. Here we would fain hope that our Catholic opponents on the other matter are really at one with us. They support this unhappy war because they think it just; they would not support injustice and robbery. And we may venture to appeal to them to join us in protest against the pernicious principle that citizens should support their country in injustice; to raise their voices against the campaign of calumny directed against the Boers and their friends in England; to set their own defence of the war on some nobler basis than pride of race, or revenge, or prejudice, and vindicate the true principles of Christian patriotism.

W. H. KENT, O.S.C.

SHAKSPEARE'S IDEA OF REPROBATION AS FORMULATED IN 'LADY MACBETH'

HAZLITT calls *Macbeth* 'an unruly chaos of strange and forbidden things.' The description is true in so far as the genius of Shakspeare has fashioned the externals of the tragedy into due dramatic correspondence with the inner workings of a guilt-laden soul. The play deals with conscience—the hell-haunted conscience of a lady, high-born, high-mettled, high-placed, but prayerless, God-forsaking, God-forsaken. Lady Macbeth is the central figure of a drama that has no music in it; and in Lady Macbeth we seem to see Shakspeare's portraiture of a human spirit reprobate—reprobate in the theological sense: reprobate because Christless. Shakspeare, who knew his Bible, has built up the Macbeths, more especially the wife, as if designing them to fall within the category of those described in the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans: 'As they liked not to have God in their knowledge, God delivered them up to a reprobate sense.'

In an admirable chapter of his *Folia Literaria*, discussing certain points of resemblance between *Macbeth* and *Paradise Lost*, Professor Hales observes:—

> Shakspeare and Milton are, in these great works, each in his own way, thinking of the same transcendent problem, viz., the freedom of man's will. As to Adam, so to Macbeth, the old, old questions arise: Were they capable of resisting the terrible forces arrayed against them? Could they have delivered themselves from evil? How did they come to fall so miserably? Whence was engendered the weakness that undid them? How far were they responsible for so disastrous a debility? What is the parentage of crime?

To these questions, which involve one another, a succinct answer can be given *en bloc*. Everywhere in his plays Shakspeare makes his position clear upon these matters, in voicing his assent to the traditions of the old order of things

that had given place to the new in 'Merrie England.' There is remarkable attestation in *Macbeth* that Shakspeare had laid to heart the text 'My grace is sufficient for thee' in the wonderful scene wherein Malcolm unfolds his true self:—

> I am yet
> Unknown to woman; never was foresworn;
> Scarcely have coveted what was mine own;
> At no time broke my faith; would not betray
> The devil to his fellow, and delight
> No less in truth than life.

If this passage be compared with that other which precedes it in the same scene, wherein Malcolm imparts his counterfeit self to Macduff so as to test the latter's good faith, we shall readily find the premises of a valid syllogism of which the conclusion is true, viz., 'By the grace of God I am what I am'—chaste, true, open-handed, loyal, just. As distinguished from the 'fix'd fate' teaching of the materialists of the new learning, this is the free-will doctrine of the Catholic Church; and it is Shakspeare's doctrine whencesoever he got it. The university of Wittenberg, the headquarters of the new rationalism of the sixteenth century, had expressly taught that 'Man has not free-will to act in natural and civil duties.' In 'Doctor Faustus,' Marlowe sketched a student of this university, who 'for a consideration' had signed with his own blood a bond with Satan to yield up his soul at the expiration of twenty-four years. When the bond is about to fall due, Faustus resists the entreaties of his friends to sue for God's mercy on the ground that having accepted 'the consideration' he is no longer a free agent to cancel the compact.[1] His final impenitence does not proceed from positive despair. His soul is not atrophied. He speaks words of solemn warning to his friends. His belief is great in the efficacy and universality of the Atonement, and in the wisdom and power of prayer. But his faith in fatalism is greater and chokes the better

[1] 'For vain pleasure of twenty-four years hath Faustus lost eternal joy and felicity. I writ them a bill with mine own blood: the date is expired; the time will come, and he will fetch me.'—*Faustus*, Act V., scene 3.

The whole of this (the final) scene points in this direction. Note especially: 'O would I had never seen Wertenberg!' and, 'The devil will come and Faustus *must be damn'd*.'

promptings of his soul. The virus of the doctrine he had imbibed at Wittenberg is in him, weakening the will-power, as it did in Hamlet's case.[1] But Lady Macbeth's will-power remains unbroken to the end; her will has first subdued her nature; her purpose has then, and once for all, fascinated her will. Long sunk in spiritual inanition, her final impenitence proceeds from rigidity and immobility of soul. She utters no prayer, and makes no sign, because she believes prayers powerless, and pardon impossible. Self-reliant and self-centred, her sole aim is to secure 'present safety,' escape from her present throes. She is content to jump the life to come. Faustus was by no means so content. In Marlowe's hands Faustus is fated to be damned; Shakspeare by many a subtle side-touch traces the genesis and evolution of Laby Macbeth's self-elected damnation. For instance we may note:—

1. Her knowledge of holiness, as is made plain by her comment on her husband's letter in Act I., sc. 5, 19-21. Her's then is, at the outset, a sin against grace.

2. Her incredulous note of dastardly exultation to the bearer of the news of the king's visit: 'Thou 'rt mad to say it': Act I., sc. 5, 31.

3. Her utter recklessness of undoing: Act I., sc. 7, 70-71.

4. Her utter callousness in the murder scene: Act II., sc. 2.

5. Her spiritual blindness after her fall:—

> 'Tis safer to be that which we destroy
> Than by destruction dwell in doubtful joy.
> Act. III., sc. 2.

What are these but a logical sequence of phases in the evolution of the reprobate?

It is not easy to see the precise value of the discovery that the subject of *Paradise Lost* and the subject of *Macbeth* are the same, viz., the ruin of man. The

[1] On Shakspeare's probable purpose in sending Hamlet 'to school in Wittenberg' (even anachronistically), while Laertes goes to the university of Paris, see a masterly article by the Rev. J. Darlington, S.J., in the *New Ireland Review* for January, 1898.

similarity as to motive and action in both the epic and the drama needs neither to be emphasized nor minimized, and does not necessarily extend to the artist's conception of the character and motive of each and every character in either. 'Find the motive of a play which is at the back of the artist's mind,' says Father Darlington, in the article just referred to, 'and you have a master-key to unlock every difficulty.' Nothing could be truer. But the central motive of a play is not necessarily identical with the artist's conception of one particular personage, but is rather the resultant of the motives of all the characters in action. If Shakspeare's inner motive or thing signified in *Macbeth* was to bring on the stage the mystery of the temptation and fall of man, Eve would be the intellectual conception in Shakspeare's mind figured by Lady Macbeth; and whatever is true of Eve's character and motive as represented in Catholic theology, would be true of the character and motive of her antitype, Lady Macbeth. But *is* Lady Macbeth an antitype of Eve? The parallelism between Eve and Lady Macbeth is, no doubt, plausible and tempting. Eve was the cause of Adam's undoing. So was Lady Macbeth of her husband's. Shakspeare evidently makes the woman the immediate cause—as Eve to Adam. Utility was the highest standard of morality with Lady Macbeth. [Shakspeare's ideas about utility—or what he calls 'commodity'—are discernible from the Bastard's famous speech at the close of Act II. of *King John;* and there is nothing in Shakspeare which more clearly differentiates him from the other dramatists of his period in respect of the moral sense. Utility seems to have been a vice of the new religion in Shakspeare's day, bearing the same relation to moral conduct as the new rationalism bore to the old belief.] Utility, likewise, occasioned the fall of Eve. Eve plucked the forbidden fruit as Lady Macbeth clutched at the forbidden throne for reasons of utility, as contrasted with reasons of justice and obedience to divine command. Both the apple and the throne were fair to see and pleasant to have—'naughty, but nice.' So far everything seems similar between Eve and Lady Macbeth. Unfortunately, however, for the theory

that in thinking of Macbeth's wife Shakspeare was thinking of Adam's, the likeness is, after all, a necessary likeness. The parallelism goes just that length which it *must* go; then the lines diverge as far as heaven and hell asunder. All great crimes have broad and general features of resemblance in respect of motive and development. The power to abstract and generalize these common features, however helpful to the detective, may prove a pitfall to the critic.

The chief objection to this interpretation of the inner motive of *Macbeth* lies in the very fact that it creates an element of pity for the wife. It constitutes the husband the real criminal. In a sense, no doubt, he *was;* but not, we believe, in Shakspeare's sense. For the playwright has taken far greater pains to disabuse us of all sense of pity for Lady Macbeth than for her lord. Professor Hales in the *Folia*, and Father Darlington in the first of his able essays on the *Catholicity of Shakspeare's Plays*, tacitly make the very assumption which Shakspeare has taken laboured pains to counteract. Their position is this :—The head of the woman failed to guide the weaker vessel. Vacillating, uxorious, unprincipled, he left his impulsive wife a free hand. The wife is the sentiment, the husband the reason. If the reason does not operate, the sentiment brings disaster. *Hence, if Macbeth failed his wife as guiding principle, there is pity for the woman* who thus brought about his ruin and her own.

But what evidence does the play itself furnish of the poet's mind upon this matter? There is absolutely nothing in Lady Macbeth's nature and character to raise our pity for her doom. The whole tenor of the situations in the play where she appears—not excepting the sleep-walking scene—are so contrived as if on set purpose to eliminate all sense of pity for the pitiless. In this connection a note of her nature is sounded as by way of anticipation. Of the babe at her breast she can say :—

> I would while it was smiling in my face,
> Have pluck'd my nipple from his boneless gums
> And dash'd the brains out.

Her treachery alone were enough to discount our compassion.

We do not pity Lucan for his fate, as we remember his betrayal of his fellow-plotters, and impeachment of his noble mother.[1] We do not pity Judas because he 'went and hanged himself.' Nor is there pity for the impenitent thief, who rejected the crucial grace and joined the blasphemers. There are situations in *Macbeth* of intense pathos as well as of intense horror; but it may fairly be asked: How is pity for Lady Macduff consistent and co-ordinate with pity for Lady Macbeth? Even in the marvellous scene, in which Shakspeare surpasses Webster on Webster's own ground of 'power to move a horror skilfully —to touch a soul to the quick,'[2] those who affect to see an appeal to pity see farther than the two eye-witnesses. The gentlewoman's attitude is one of cold and guarded reserve; the doctor's, one of horror, perplexity, prayer. Here where, if anywhere, pity should be most pronounced, there is no note of pity. Shakspeare was right: final impenitence overleaps the province of divine mercy and that of human pity. Undeserved suffering, or else suffering deserved yet nobly borne—these two alone unlock the well-springs of pity in the human breast. Lady Macbeth's agonies are of neither kind. As in the life temporal, so in the life spiritual 'there is a tide in the affairs of men.' From the rank shore of her self-sufficiency she had calmly watched the blessed flood ebbing slowly from her feet. There is a temptation which proves, and a victory which decides. There is a 'sin unto death,' as well a crowning grace unto everlasting life. Shakspeare created Lady Macbeth to be, not a moral suasive, but a moral deterrent. She cleanses the sick soul through terror, and terror alone.

What, then, is the secret? Why does the poet seek to dam up in our souls all pity for this woman? One of Milton's impracticable theories was that incompatibility of temperament justifies divorce. Shakspeare rather seems to think that in the selection of a life-mate caution and wise discernment should be employed beforehand. The Macbeths

[1] See *Tac. Ann.*, xv. 57.
[2] Lamb's *Specimens of English Dramatic Poets.*

form the exceptional case—that of a woman whose sole womanly trait is physical weakness, mating a man whose sole manly trait is physical courage. Shakspeare probably felt that these exceptional cases are not uncommon, particularly in the higher grades of society. Many of the world's greatest crimes have been the offspring of such mal-alliances; and in Isabella of France, wife of Edward II., in Joan I. of Naples, in Catherine II. of Russia, the voice of history has, in some sort, sanctioned the fearful creation of the Tragic Muse. These women, and such as these, with their commanding gifts and graces of intellect and person, might almost be considered historic counterparts of Lady Macbeth. Like her—though she is differentiated from them by a strongly marked individualism of her own—these famous, or infamous, women belong to the most insidious and pernicious class of malefactor—that of the smiling, bewitching, cultured criminal of high life, whose brain is subtle, whose purpose is inexorable, whose nerve is iron, whose hand is sure. We think, therefore, that in the play of *Macbeth* Shakspeare had not so much in view the abstract question of the origin of evil, as the concrete question of the evil, temporal and spiritual, which may be expected to await an ill-sorted marriage. In Macbeth and his wife the natural positions are reversed. In all things wherein moral courage and spiritual guidance are required, the wife was the head; the husband, the weaker vessel; the wife, the reason; the husband, the sentiment; the wife, the reprobate will; the husband, the willing tool. Potential holiness had wedded actual unholiness. She had taken his measure from the start: he was 'without the illness' that should attend ambition:—

> What thou wouldst highly
> That wouldst thou holily.

And in the sequel, 'What's done cannot be undone.' After the murder Macbeth has conscience-prickings; Lady Macbeth has none. The psychological attitude of the reprobate is that of stolid defiance: such is Lady Macbeth's attitude throughout. The sense of sin is heavy upon her;

how could it be otherwise? So she builds herself 'a lordly pleasure house.' This is the meaning of the banquet scene. She strives, as so many strive, to lull remorse by rushing into the tumult of society. She feels the want of human companionship, for the partner of her crime is not good company. 'She has light by her continually,' for she feels lonely, not with the blessed loneliness of repentance, but the awful desolation of remorse. 'For what is remorse but repentance without God, without Christ, without hope?'[1] 'Earth is become iron, and heaven brass' to her. She will not tread in the footprints of Him Who trod the wine-press alone. So the end is despair.

In *Paradise Lost*, Milton, in his puritanic and self-righteous way, justifies God's chastisement of Adam and Eve *in this life*. Shakspeare, linked to Catholic ideals and traditions, less self-conscious (save, perhaps, of his sins), and despite his sympathy for sinners, elsewhere broadly evident, shows in *Macbeth* what obstinate persistence in sin inevitably entails *hereafter*. He selects an all devouring passion, whose fruit is a series of aggravated murders, succeeded by an aggravation of chastisements which culminate, at least in Lady Macbeth's case, in despair, suicide, and final impenitence. 'The story of Adam,' says Professor Hales, 'is perpetually repeated; it is a faithful image of what goes on every day in the world. Every day paradises are lost. Happily, too, in some sort the lost paradises are regained.' So far, so good, But Shakspeare's purpose in *Macbeth* is not to vindicate the ways of God to man, but to show what men and women may become without God and His Christ. Shakspeare never divorces religion from morality. Macbeth and his wife are religionless, prayerless, Christless—that is to say, they have elected to place themselves in the same position which Adam and Eve would have occupied after the fall, had there been no promise of a redeemer. For to believe in one's inability to repent is to be without hope of salvation;

[1] From the seventeenth of a selection of sermons preached in the chapel of Harrow School, by Rev. C. J. Vaughan, D.D., and entitled *Memorials of Harrow Sundays*.

and to be without hope of salvation is practically equivalent to being without the promise of a saviour. 'Know you not your own selves that Christ Jesus is in you? *Unless, perhaps, you be reprobates.*' Macbeth and his wife are not what Adam and Eve were either before the fall or after it. They are what all Christless men and women are *in posse*; and what all men and women would be *in esse*, were it not for the Word made Flesh. *Sine Tuo Numine nihil est in homine.* In *Macbeth* Shakspeare begins where Milton ends, tracing God's justice to 'the one supreme appeal,' not with the dogmatism of a self-elected vindicator, but with reverence, which is 'the angel of the world.'

With what deftness of dramatic strength and subtlety Shakspeare moulds this woman to the full stature of unrighteousness necessary to his purpose! How carefully he guards against any interpretation of her into the semblance of a *lusus naturae!* She is not a monstrosity. She is not an abstraction. She is not an impossibility. She is a woman of flesh and blood—and a woman she remains to the end. For the poet with consummate art has brought her sex into prominence just in those situations where she stands forth in all the hideousness of the relentless murderess. 'Out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh:' do we not seem to hear a woman's heart wildly throbbing as she says:—

> From this time
> Such I account thy love;—
>
> Come to my woman's breasts
> And take my milk for gall;—
>
> I have given suck and know
> How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me;—
>
> Had he not resembl'd
> My father as he slept, I had done 't.

The very gifts of the woman—her air of sweetness, her seeming sincerity, her graceful hospitality, her courtliness, self-possession, social tact—serve but to build her up into an appalling incarnation of wickedness. Shakspeare everywhere

shows a fondness for psychology, and was well aware that very abandoned souls may be 'very nice people.'

> There is no art
> To tell the mind's construction in the face

Lady Macbeth, then, is a woman 'desperately wicked,' yet —a woman.

Into what special orbit of wickedness has the poet launched his creation? What is this woman's predominant passion? Precisely that which is best calculated to ensure the fulfilment of the poet's aim in creating her. Her's is not the 'summer-seeming' lust of the flesh, for there is not a trace of it in the tragedy. Nor yet the lust of blood: she is not cruel for cruelty's sake. Bloodguiltiness leagues with motive; yet she has no injury to revenge. Neither is her's the vulgar ambition that covets the trappings and baubles of 'the golden round' for vanity and imbecility to bedizen themselves withal. Practically, even though unconsciously, she identifies herself with the arch-fiend's *non-serviam* :—

> Better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.

Her's is the lust of power—power for itself alone—power that will

> Pour the sweet milk of concord into hell

rather than suffer abatement—power, which shall to all her

> Nights and days to come
> Give solely sovereign sway and masterdom.

Other lusts may be transitory—may burn out in their own fires. When this lust coils round the heart of woman, a more than masculine mercilessness demonizes her nature, and conscience from being the throne of God becomes the footstool of Satan. Thus, we conceive, Shakspeare abstracted the moral and spiritual effects of the power-lust, and concreted them in Lady Macbeth.

Before the murder of the king, Macbeth expresses his willingness, nay, his anxiety, to withdraw from the 'deed of

dreadful note,' which in its inception was but a 'flighty purpose':—

> We will proceed no further in this business.

Did, then, Duncan's murder eventuate, on the part of Macbeth's wife, from the suddenness of an overmastering temptation? Shakspeare answers emphatically, no. There are consultations betwixt the guilty pair before the play begins:—

> What beast was't then
> That made you break this enterprise to me?
> . . . Nor time nor place
> Did *then* adhere and yet you would make both:
> They have made themselves and that their fitness *now*
> Does unmake you.

It is peculiar to the power-lust that it knows no sudden, overwhelming temptations. It is based on the coldest reckonings of *pro* and *con*. Hence, it has a gradual growth and a normal development. The words of the satirist are the words of the theologian: *Nemo repente fit turpissimus*. No extenuation, therefore, of sudden and overmastering temptation, no palliation of passion redeems Lady Macbeth from desperate wickedness, so as to evoke a tear of pity at the close. On the other hand, no enormity, whether in action or utterance or avowed intention, is left unrevealed or unrecorded, which can aggravate her guilt or accentuate her doom. In this connection the incident of Duncan's greeting gift of the diamond may not be without significance. By her very acceptance of the king's jewel as his souvenir of her hypocritical and murderous hospitality, Lady Macbeth may be said to forfeit 'to the common enemy of man' the 'eternal jewel' of the King of kings.

Lady Macbeth is an awful example of what a gifted woman may become, who is without woman's surest safeguard—deep moral and religious feeling. In the gruesome horror, in the appalling ghastliness of the sleep-walking scene, the fact is borne in upon the soul of the beholder that Sin is an Illusion, and that the greater the sin the greater the illusion; and the text that sums up all the verities of

human life stands clear as a scroll in letters of fire: 'What fruit had you in those things of which you are now ashamed? For the end of them is death.' It is plain that before the play opens Lady Macbeth had defied conscience, trampling, so to speak, under her feet God's preventive grace, which He denies to none. Her mind, thus become an open avenue to the devil's agents, first discerns the possibility of the realization of her premeditated scheme from the suggestions of the weird sisters conveyed to her in her husband's letter. At one bound her imagination jumps the life to come. The lurid hell-lights of the road to the throne fascinate her. How fearlessly she would pioneer her husband to the goal of blood! 'Give *me* the daggers.' (For she who had nerve to 'gild the faces of the grooms' had nerve to kill the king.) And with what 'even-handed justice' she precedes her husband to the *wages* of blood—the doom of death! For 'the wages of sin is death.'

Before the murder Lady Macbeth had turned her back on God, sealing her ears to the high behests and solemn ordinances of His commandment, which are as voices from eternity to the soul. After the murder she feels in want of God; but now God has turned His back on *her*. For woe unto those who bow down before ill-gotten power as their idol of worship. Thus, she who had been unyielding to touch of pity for the august and sleeping victim—she who had stood unfaltering, undismayed, amid the terrors of that grim night of blood—she who had been undeterred by the the greater terrors of the night beyond the grave—now feels the burden of 'that perilous stuff which weighs upon the heart,' and tastes the bitterness of the chalice of 'hell-broth' of her own concocting, which she must drain to the dregs. In isolation from man, in still further isolation from God, not one day of satisfaction shall she know, not one hour of peace, not one moment of the sleep of forgetfulness shall there be for her, who 'hath murder'd sleep.' The angel of conscience, at first disregarded and despised, at last degraded and dethroned, seems in the sleep-walking scene to rise up a 'nemesis of retribution,' a torch-bearer to 'the everlasting bonfire.' To have seen Sarah Siddons, or Helen Faucit

rehearse the guilty queen's remorseful, unrepenting struggles to wash, not the blood from her hands, but the blood from her soul, were worth a thousand homilies. Truly 'the wages of sin is death;' and after death 'hell is murky.' Thus, as he re-echoes the doctor's prayer, the beholder feels his soul purged and purified through that fear which is the beginning of wisdom: and though he be not criminal, bows down before the Almighty in humility and trembling, because of the possibilities of wickedness that lurk within his heart, biding an outlet, and in humble thankfulness also for His infinite mercy and unspeakable loving-kindness.

'Subtract from many modern poets all that may be found in Shakspeare,' says Colton,[1] 'and trash will remain.' There is much truth in this rough apophthegm. The *sursum corda* of the olden times has given place to the *deorsum mentes* of modern days. The high literary ideals and aspirations of the ages of faith, hope, and charity have in great measure perished with the ages which produced them. The old fires which, fitfully renascent, even yet from time to time 'flash forth a stream of heroic rays,' serve but to remind us of the light and warmth, the beauty and the glory that we have lost. Nowadays, in poetry, we have for the most part the 'literature of despair;' while in fiction we have the literature of carnalism. Horace deplored the decadence of the drama in his day, and assigned a reason for the decadence:—

> Iam migravit ab aure voluptas
> Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana.[2]

Is the twentieth century of the Christian era likely to be better off in this regard? Tragedy no longer purifies the passions, but titillates the senses. Comedy, gone mad, blasphemes the sacred or ridicules the Decalogue. The great poets and playwrights of the elder time are no longer with us, and cannot be born again. If they could come back, they would not be understood, and would receive no

[1] *Lacon*, p. 290, in the edition of 1866.

[2] *Ep. Lib.*, ii. 1.

honour. Nor are they required. An age of material advancement demands material, not intellectual, amusement, and gets it 'ready made to order.' Men and women, nowadays, expend their intellectual energies in piling up the means of material prosperity, and have very little energy left for the cult of the spiritual whether in art or in life.

> The world is too much with us: early and late,
> Getting and spending, we lay waste our powers.

If this couplet stated a fact morally certain when it was penned, the fact is metaphysically certain now. The cotemporary theatre is sacred to the glorification of

> The varying vanities, from every part,
> That shift the moving toyshop of the heart.

Shakspeare, it has been said, 'spells ruin' at the present day to a theatrical manager. Occasionally a lessee, with more pluck than prudence, may put on the boards one of the masterpieces; but 'to draw,' *i.e.*, 'to pay,' it must be 'gorgeously mounted,' and blazoned forth as being so. Yet in truth scenic accessories are not a necessary appanage of Shakspeare's theatre. He never dreamed of them, and those who love him do not need them. He makes his appeal, not to the eye and the senses, but to the reason and the soul. Milton alone—'mighty mouth'd inventor of harmonies'—has written, or could write, what might fitly be the motto of the master's theatre:—

> The rather thou celestial light
> Shine inward, and the mind thro' all her powers
> Irradiate; *there plant eyes.*

'Shakspeare in his plays [says Father Darlington] shows us human nature on this side of the grave—living, loving, working, sinning, and struggling against sin, in the light of the same illumination, which accounts for the universality and excellence of the *Summa*, the *Divine Comedy*, and the *Imitation*.' The reason is because Shakspeare's soul was steeped in the spiritual beauty of the ages of faith and chivalry. A sturdy, big-browed Warwickshire lad, fresh from his native heath, unacquainted with, and uncontaminated by, university

life and training, goes up to 'mighty London town' with his 'little Latin, and less Greek,' but with his imperial intellect and his imagination 'in a fine phrenzy rolling.' In those days the dividing line of social intercourse between gentleman and yeoman was not so strictly drawn as it is now, so that the ardent youth is attracted to, and welcomed by, 'the choicests wits and spirits,' that is, by the best minds of both universities. His receptive and assimilative nature imbibes from the association all that was lofty and excellent in their methods of thought and forms of speech, with but slight and superficial admixture of the profane and the obscene. For nature, by some strange and secret alchemy of her own, had infused into Shakspeare—Saxon as he was—the genuine *Kelticus furor:* the hunger and thirst for that moral beauty which is God's righteousness—the Kelt's keen and clear insight into the splendours and the terrors of the invisible world. 'How tremendous,' said Keats, 'must have been Shakspeare's conception of ultimates!' There are ultimates not only of the world of art and the imagination, but also of man as a being spiritual and responsible. The grand ultimates of man—what are these? The death that awaits him, the judgment that is in store for him, the hell that yawns for him, *or*—the heaven that Christ has won for him, if only he abide in obedience to that other ultimate which comprehends all things—the will of God which is the law of life.

These were the subjects, so far as we can infer from his mature life-work, which formed the staple matter of Shakspeare's musings. And how in moments grave or gay or serious or severe, a thought or a phrase of his comes to us like the ripple of an echo in the brain, bearing with it gentle solace, or wise warning, or sure guidance!

> His is a presence to be felt and known
> In darkness and in light.

In his earlier and middle-time plays, Shakspeare deals with knotty problems of human life; in the plays of his later time he seems to scan with curious and enquiring eyes, as if from some far-off shore, the darker and deeper mysteries

of death. To say that he is ever true to nature is the widest and vaguest commonplace of criticism:—

> To him the mighty mother did unveil
> Her awful face.

Shakspeare is ever keenly alive, not merely to the harmonies of external nature and 'the music of the spheres,' but more especially to that strange diapason of 'order in disorder' which swells and surges in the human heart like pulses of the sea, because of the attractions of the senses and the oscillations of the will. The good and the bad jostle one another on the stage of actual life. The divine fiat is: 'Let both grow together till the harvest.' The good and the bad strut and fret their hour upon the stage of Shakspeare. The play that harrows us with the aspect of 'devilish Macbeth' and his 'fiendlike queen' in the phrenzied throes of their despair, gives us also glimpses of two sainted kings. In his plays, generally, and markedly in *Macbeth*, Shakspeare points the solemn warning of Holy Writ:— 'They that have done good things shall enter into the resurrection of life; and they that have done evil things into the resurrection of judgment.'

JOHN D. COLCLOUGH.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

III

SIR ARTHUR CHICHESTER

THE family of Chicester was of great antiquity in Devon. One of them, Walleran de Cirencester, was Bishop of Exeter in 1128. Arthur, the future deputy, second son of Sir John Chichester and Gertrude Courtenay, was born at Raleigh, an ancient inheritance of their house. He studied at Oxford; but being convicted for robbery while there, he fled into Ireland for safety. His friends used their influence in his behalf, and obtained his pardon; after which he entered the army of Queen Elizabeth. That he distinguished himself in the field there can be no doubt, for Henry IV. conferred on him the honour of knighthood in acknowledgment of his valour. He commanded a ship of war in Elizabeth's time (1587), and served under Sir Francis Drake in Portugal and the West Indies. He came to Ireland with the Earl of Essex; and, on that deputy's retirement, he figured in various actions under Mountjoy in Ulster till 1603, when he was named a privy councillor, appointed governor of Carrickfergus; sergeant-major of the army (somewhat similar to the rank of general), which gave him command over the whole troops of Ulster; admiral of Lough Neagh, and commander of the fort of Mountjoy, etc. During these employments he often had reason to admit that he had been foiled by the military genius of O'Neill, who regarded him as a very poor general. Sir Arthur was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland, 3rd February, 1604-5, and held that office for the long period of ten years, during which time he was created a peer: he was appointed lord high treasurer, and held that office till his death in February, 1624-5.

Sir Arthur [writes Father Meehan], deficient in depth of intelligence, but thoroughly skilled in every species of low

intrigue, was malignant, cruel, devoid of sympathy, and solely intent on his own aggrandizement. His physiognomy was repulsive and petrifying; so much so, that, looking at his engraved portrait, one is inclined to wonder that he ever sat to a painter. His religion was puritanism of the most morose character, which he learned in the school of the fanatical Cartwright.[1]

With these qualifications he was regarded by King James as the fittest man to enforce his policy in Ireland, of which he appointed him deputy-general early in February, 1603, to hold during pleasure in the absence of the lieutenant-general, Mountjoy, with a third part of all the allowances made to the latter. In the following year, as we have seen, he was appointed lord-deputy of Ireland. He inaugurated his *régime* by what he termed 'a reformation of religion,' and directed all his evil energies against the professors of that faith of which one of his own blood had been a bishop in the reign of King Stephen. In 1605, by the king's order, Chichester published a proclamation which revived the old penal statutes of Elizabeth against all who dared to remain faithful to the ancient religion, or who did not conform to the faith of the king. Donning the robe of sanctity, the better to cover the cruelty of his nature, he might well have said, in the words of Richard the Third:—

> And thus I clothe my naked villany
> With old odd ends, stolen forth of holy Writ;
> And seem a saint, when most I play the devil.[2]

Sir John Davies was his chief adviser, and the partner in his diabolical cruelties. Chichester was married to a daughter of Sir John Perrott,[3] the man who treacherously captured Hugh Roe O'Donnell at Rathmullan, and lodged him as a prisoner in Dublin castle. Of this marriage there was but one child born, which died a few weeks after its birth. A merciful Providence thus saved the land from being cursed by any direct progeny of this inhuman monster.

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

[2] 'Richard the Third,' Act I., Scene 3.

[3] 'This deputy was supposed to be the son of Henry the Eighth, and had much of his towering spirit in him. When he was condemned, he asked the lieutenant of the Tower *whether the Queen would sacrifice her brother to his frisking adversaries*, meaning the Lord Chancellor Hatton, who, he said, came into court by the Galliard. He was condemned on the priest's forged letter, and died suddenly in the Tower.'—Cox's *History of Ireland.*

Sir Arthur was the founder of the fortunes and acquirer of the immense estates (though not the direct ancestor) of the Donegall and Templemore families. The natural position of Carrickfergus, and its relative magnitude and importance, pointed it out as a species of centre; and this accordingly was his first position. His castle of *Joymount* was situated near the town, while his grants lay north, west, and south, in the barony of Carrickfergus, Upper and Lower Belfast, and Castlereagh. The districts enumerated extend from Islandmagee to Belfast, and thence up the valley of the Lagan, including the modern Falls, Carnmoney, Shankhill, Ballynafeigh, etc. Of course these were merely a part of the grants made to Sir Arthur and his family throughout Ulster.

In 1609, he had a grant of the entire barony of Innishowen, then called O'Doghertie's Country, and rated worth upwards of £1,000 per annum. The following year he was granted the Castle of Dungannon, with 1,320 acres of land. . . . His grants of land in other counties were also extensive,[2]

Strange as it may seem—

Though ever greedy and grasping, Chichester [says Mr. Pinkerton] was never mean or miserly; and, either from natural inclination, or to further his political aims, he freely lavished large sums of money on mere objects of display. During the last Parliament he held in Dublin, he spent ten thousand pounds (an immense sum at that time) on show and liveries; and the Irish people long after looked with scorn on his successors in the Lord Deputyship, whose private fortunes rendered them unable to approach the display made by Lord Deputy Chichester.[3]

A glimpse into this man's character and disposition may be got from his own letters, as well as from the writings of his *confrères* in the work of the Plantation. The Rev. George Hill, writing of him, tells us—

Sir Arthur Chichester's policy was, that 'hunger would be a better, because speedier, means of destruction to employ against the Irish than the sword.' But, as far as possible, he wielded

[1] For fuller particulars about this man and his possessions see *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, and Fr. Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, from which works most of the foregoing facts have been gleaned.

[2] McSkimin's *History of Carrickfergus*.

[3] Mr. W. Pinkerton in *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii.

both with the most revolting and fiendish complacency. He speaks of a journey that he made at this time from Carrickfergus to the neighbourhood of Dungannon, along the banks of Lough Neagh, in the following terms :—'I burned all along the Lough within four miles of Dungannon, and killed 100 people, sparing none, of what quality, age, or sex soever, besides many burned to death; we kill man, woman, and child, horse, beast, and whatsoever we find.' After detailing the circumstances of a similar journey into the Route, he concludes in these words :—'I have often sayd and written, yt is famine that must consume them; our swords and other indeavours worke not that speedie effect which is expected; for their overthrowes are safeties to the speedy runners, upon which we kill no multetudes.' This stolid monster, but famous statesman and soldier [concludes Mr. Hill], died full of honours, and lies buried in Carrickfergus.[1]

In a letter addressed to King James, Chichester, at the end of his term as deputy, mentions all the good and meritorious works he had done in his majesty's service. Among these he enumerates the transportation of a number of the Irish youth. He thus tells his bold and statesmanlike act :—

Besides the cuttinge off manye badd members, and disloyall offenders within land; I have sent away aboue six thousand of this same inclinacon, and profession into the warrs of Sweden, whereof but a fewe are yet returned backe, and this was an act of no small difficultie.[2]

Father Meehan tells us who these six thousand were. After the deputy had got Sir Cahir out of the way—

The remnant of the Clan O'Doherty were driven to the mountain fastnesses by Chichester's orders [says he], and suffered to remain there till he had found a way of getting rid of them forever. He, himself, had set his heart on obtaining a grant of O'Doherty's lands, but his holding might be imperilled were he to suffer 'idle kerne and swordsmen' to bide there as his tenants. What, then, was he to do with them, or rather how was he to clear them out? His counsellors, Davies and Caulfield, solved the difficulty by advising him to seize the able-bodied peasantry, and send them off by hundreds to perish in Livonia and Russia, under the banner of Gustavus Adolphus, then fighting the battle of Protestantism against the Catholic house of Austria.

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. viii. [2] *Ibid.*, vol. ix.

Chichester adopted the suggestion, appointed Caulfield to the place of muster-master; and, as Sir John Davies tells us, swept Inishowen of six thousand of its inhabitants, who were thus inhumanly compelled to shed their blood in a cause which their consciences could not have approved.[1]

> This is his triumph, this the joy accurst,
> That ranks him among demons all but first.[2]

What was written at a subsequent period of Townshend, lord-lieutenant in 1771, might, with greater truth, have been written of Chichester, that—

> His conduct in government was a disgrace to him whom he represented, a reproach to those who appointed him, and a scourge to those whom he governed. . . . His wisdom was fraud; his policy, corruption; his fortitude, contempt of character; his friendship, distrust; his enmity, revenge; and his exploit, the ruin of a country.[3]

The passion for robbery which had banished him in his early years from Oxford, remained with him to the end, verifying the words of Job: 'His bones shall be filled with the vices of his youth, and they shall sleep with him in the dust.'[4] A second 'Veiled Prophet of Khorassan,' worshipped by his followers, he seems to have been the embodiment of every vice, unrelieved, as far as we can discover, by a single redeeming quality. Puritanism of the gloomiest form was his substitute for religion. Hard-hearted, avaricious, and insatiable, his was ever the cry of the horse-leech, 'Give! give!' Human misery and suffering could evoke no sympathy from him, for he loved to gloat over the agonies of the victims of his tyranny. Caligula wished of old that the entire Roman people had but one head, that at a single blow he could sever it from the body, and thus destroy them. Chichester's sentiments towards the Irish people were similar. As a pretext for further oppression, he revived, as we have seen, all the odious religious penalties of Elizabeth that he might the better goad on the chieftains to rebellion, and thus find an excuse for seizing on their

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*
[2] 'The Veiled Prophet of Khorassan.'
[3] Baratariana.
[4] Job xx. 11.

estates. This *ruse de guerre* of zeal for religion is the ordinary cloak for robbery with men of his stamp,

> And yet this act, to varnish o'er the shame
> Of sacrilege, must bear devotion's name ;

but his was the gospel according to Josue—the extirpation of the Irish Amorrhites. His Biblical studies had evidently never extended so far as the Sermon on the Mount.

To such a state of utter and unspeakable misery had he at this time reduced Ulster, that the words of the prophecy of Jeremias against the Jews were literally fulfilled in the case of Chichester's victims: 'I will feed them with the flesh of their sons, and with the flesh of their daughters: and they shall eat everyone the flesh of his friend in the siege, and in the distress wherewith their enemies, and they that seek their lives, shall straiten them.'[1] Lest we may be thought to exaggerate, we shall, from the pages of his own historian, who evidently relates with great complacency the doings of the deputy, adduce a few examples of the appalling famine created by this ruler. Fynes Moryson,[2] in his *History of Ireland*, thus writes:—

Now because I have often made mention formerly of our destroying the Rebels corn, and using all Means to famish them, let me by two or three Examples show the miserable Estate to which the Rebels were thereby brought. Sir Arthur Chichester, Sir Richard Moryson, and the other Commanders of the Forces sent against Brian Mac Art aforesaid, in their Return homeward, saw a most horrible Spectacle of three Children (whereof the eldest was not above ten years old) all eating and gnawing with their Teeth the Entrails of their dead Mother, upon whose flesh they had fed for 20 Days past, etc.

[1] Jeremias xix. 9.

[2] Fynes Moryson was a literary man, a fellow of Peter House, Cambridge; and brother of Sir Richard Moryson, governor of Dundalk. Having come on account of delicate health to stay some time with his brother, he was in Dundalk when the fight at Carlingford occurred in which Mountjoy's secretary was killed. Moryson was at once appointed to the vacant place, and wrote a minute narrative of the rise, progress, and suppression of Tyrone's rebellion, which he named 'A History of Ireland, from the year 1559 to 1603.' This *History* throws a lurid light upon the iniquities of English rule in Ireland at that time, and is particularly valuable on account of the source from which it comes.

He then enters into all the details, which are too loathsome to be repeated, and then goes on as follows:—

Formerly mention hath been made in the Lord Deputie's Letters, of Carcases, scattered in many Places, all dead of Famine. And no doubt the Famine was so great, the Rebel Soldiers taking all the common People had to feed upon, and hardly living thereupon, (so as they besides fed not only on Hawks, Kites, and unsavoury Birds of Prey, but on Horse-flesh, and other things unfit for Man's Feeding,) the common sort of the Rebels were driven to unspeakable Extremities (beyond the Record of most Histories that ever I did read in that kind) the ample relating whereof were an infinite task, yet will I not pass it over without adding some few Instances. Captain Trever and many honest Gentlemen lying in the Newry can witness, that some old Women of these Parts, used to make a Fire in the Fields, and divers little Children driving out the Cattle in the cold Mornings, and coming thither to warm them, were by them surprized, killed, and eaten, which last was discovered by a great Girl breaking from them by Strength of her Body, and Capt. Trever sending out Soldiers to know the Truth, they found the Children's Skulls and Bones, and apprehended the old Women, who were executed for the Fact. The Captains of Carrickfergus, and the adjacent Garrisons of the Northern Parts can witness, that upon the making of Peace, and receiving the Rebels to Mercy, it was a common Practice among the Common Sort of them (I mean such as were swordsmen) to thrust long needles into the horses of our English Troops, and they dying thereupon, to be ready to tear out one another's Throat for a Share of them. And no Spectacle was more frequent in the Ditches of Towns, and especially in Wasted Countries, than to see Multitudes of these poor People dead with their mouths all coloured green by eating Nettles, Docks, and all things they could rend up above Ground. These and very many like lamentable Effects followed their Rebellion, and no doubt the Rebels had been utterly destroyed by Famine had not a general Peace followed Tyrone's submission (besides Mercy formerly extended to many others) by which the Rebels had Liberty to seek Relief among the subjects of Ireland, and to be transported into England and France, where great multitudes of them lived for some years after the Peace made.

A few pages before this Moryson tells us that a reason assigned by Mountjoy for coming to a settlement was the lamentable state of the country:—

Out of human commiseration, having with our Eyes daily seen the lamentable Estate of that country, wherein we found

everywhere Men dead of Famine, insomuch that O'Hagan protested unto us that between Tullogh Oge and Toome there lay unburied 1,000 Dead, and since our first drawing this year to Blackwater there were about 3,000 starved in Tyrone. And sure the poor People of those Parts never yet had the Means to know God, or to acknowledge any other Sovereign than the O'Neals, which makes me more commiserate them, and hope better of them hereafter.

Certainly the gentle, soothing methods of civilization adopted by Mountjoy, and so faithfully carried out by Chichester, were well calculated to bring the people to the knowledge of God, and to an humble submission to the English sovereign in preference to The O'Neill! Chichester created a desert, and called it peace. As we proceed we shall have occasion to see, from time to time, further examples of the merciless policy of this statesman, whom his royal master loads with praises for his successful government of Ireland.

Chichester died in London in February, 1625, but in the October following, his remains were brought to Carrickfergus to be interred with those of his wife and infant child. As his presence in Ireland during his life had been one of that unfortunate country's greatest curses, he seemed desirous of perpetuating that curse even in death by having his body interred in Irish soil.

The Rev. Alex. Spicer, spiritual attendant on Chichester in his last illness, wrote 'An Elegie on the much-lamented Death of the Right Honorable Sir Arthur Chichester,' etc., which was published in London in 1625, and was actually republished at a subsequent period, so enamoured were the people of London of the life of this new Protestant saint. In a bombastic and inflated style, Spicer speculates on what will be the feelings of Ireland in general, and of Carrickfergus in particular, when the remains of the deceased hero reach its shores. Of course the writer does not intend to be either sarcastic or ironical, but were he describing the very revulsion of the soil to receive the putrid corpse of the erewhile tyrant and persecutor, he could scarcely have written

more happily. He thus concludes his doleful lamentation :—

'Tis well Knockfergus stands upon a rocke,
For otherwise the fierce, impetuous shocke
Of dismall outcries when the corpes come hither,
Will make the Fort, and Wall, and Houses shiver,
Or crumble into dust like Jericho,
When Joshua's ram's horns were observed to blow.
Yea, the whole Realme will make a doleful cry,
To make an Earthquake for his Elegie.[1]

In M'Skimin's *History of Carrickfergus* there is a very detailed description given of the Chichester monument in the church of that town, and a copy of the epitaphs upon it. One stanza runs thus :—

The wildest rebell, he be power did tame
& by trve jvstice gayned an honored name;
Then now, Though he in heaven with angells be,
Let vs on earth still loue his memorie.

The qualifications required for the canonization of an English Protestant statesman—particularly of one who had served in Ireland—were, apparently, simple enough. Murder, robbery, rapine, fire and sword, the starvation of innocent and unoffending people, self-aggrandisement *per fas et nefas*—these, with a few other similar virtues, seem at all times to have been deemed sufficient. Cromwell, on his death-bed, asked his chaplain if it were possible for a man once in grace to go to perdition. 'No,' replied the chaplain. 'Then,' said Oliver, 'I am safe, for I know I was once in grace.'

Some such soothing nostrum must Spicer have administered to Chichester, since, according to that elegaic writer, the erewhile deputy died in the odour of sanctity. We have no desire of inquiring about Chichester's home beyond the grave, whether or not 'he in heaven with angells be.' It is enough for us to know that he died in London, and was interred in Carrickfergus.

But all that afterwards came to pass;
And whether he finds it dull or pleasant,
Is kept a secret for the present,
At his own particular desire.[2]

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archæology*, vol. ix. [2] Longfellow's *Golden Legend*.

Chichester is a fair sample of the rulers that England has for centuries placed over this country, and though his vices and inhuman atrocities stand out more prominently than those of others, it is because he had a longer tenure of office and more opportunities for evil. From the days of Strongbow to those of Castlereagh, there has scarcely been a lull in the storm of persecution, and the more successful any ruler was in exterminating 'the mere Irish,' by so much the higher did he stand in British estimation. Men such as Docwra, Chichester, Fitz-Williams, Carew, Coote, Bingham, Cromwell, and Castlereagh, were the instruments chosen to sustain the throne of England—a throne which has been built out of the ruins of conquered nations, and cemented by the blood of the millions slaughtered to gratify her insatiable ambition. With Chichester in the north, Bingham in the west, and Carew in the south, Ireland, at that time, suffered from a triple 'Scourge of God' worse a hundred times than Attila, who first claimed that unenviable title for himself.

We have deemed it necessary to give in such lengthened detail this sketch of the character of Chichester, inasmuch as he acted so prominent a part in banishing the earls, and still more so on account of his effecting the ruin of the young chieftain of Inishowen for sake of the peninsula which for ages had belonged to the Clan O'Doherty, but which the deputy had resolved to make his own.

IV

SIR CAHIR'S RISING

We have seen how Sir Cahir was surrounded by spies, who were noting his every movement, and putting on his every action the most sinister construction; how Chichester had got him bound—himself under a bond for £1,000 English, and Lord Gormanstown and Sir Thomas Fitz-Williams in 50 marks Irish, each, that he would not leave the kingdom without a licence to do so; and that, when summoned at any time, he should appear before the deputy in Dublin upon twenty days' warning, etc. He had reduced him to

much the same condition as a modern ticket-of-leave prisoner, who, seeming to be at liberty, is still in the hands of the government as securely as if in his prison cell. We have also seen that the man who succeeded Docwra as governor of Derry was no friend of Sir Cahir. Sir George Paulett was a man of the most insolent nature, of an ungovernable temper, and of a brutal and truculent disposition. This is the character which he bore even amongst the English themselves. Thus, in the answer of Sir W. Cole to the informations of Sir W. Hamilton, addressed to the lords of the committees of both kingdoms, dated 11th January, 1644, he says that—

> His passionate demeanour in his office was not only the occasion of the loss of his own life, but of the loss also of the lives of many of this nation there, and the burning of that town, with the kindling of a violent, though, as it happened, but short rebellion, in the country thereabouts, which did put the State there to much unnecessary expenses in the suppressing of it.

The lords of the council, writing to Chichester on 20th May, 1608, and complaining of 'the foul and shameful loss of the places taken of late by O'Dogherty,' say:—

> This misfortune proceeded from the fault and want of courage of those that had the charge of them, and especially of Paulett himself. Had not the rebels taken away his life, it could not, in justice, have been left him by the State.[1]

Writing to the Privy Council, Chichester says:—

> It is reported likewise that he [Paulett] was so odious to the soldiers, and to the rest of the inhabitants of the town besides, that they would have done him a mischief in the tumult if he had escaped the rebels and come in amongst them.[2]

Like every insolent bully, he was a coward, as is shown by the foregoing from the *State Papers*, by his conduct in going to attack Burt castle in the absence of its master, and desisting from the attack when he found it was guarded; and particularly did he display his cowardice at the time Sir Cahir sacked Derry, when, instead of defending the city, he fled and hid himself. In his letter to Sir Cahir, already

[1] *S. P.*, anno 1608. [2] *Ibid.*, May 4th, 1608.

quoted, we get a fair insight into the brutal nature of the man. Yet this was the man before whom Sir Cahir had to appear on a business transaction in the spring of 1608, and which meeting was the spark destined to kindle the flames of a short-lived, but disastrous insurrection.

Both the Rev. George Hill and Mr. William James Doherty, in his *Inis-Owen and Tyrconnell*, seem to confound dates about the sending of Paulett's insulting letter to Sir Cahir, and the personal attack made on the latter in Paulett's office in Derry. The letter, as we see by its date, was sent in November, 1607, whereas the personal attack on Sir Cahir was made in the following spring. It was the receipt of that letter that made it afterwards so hard on Sir Cahir to have to call at Paulett's office. The occasion of his coming to Paulett's office, according to Father Meehan, was that he had sold three thousand acres of land to Sir Richard Hansard, which the latter intended to plant with English settlers, and that the necessary papers for the transfer of the property had to be signed there. If this sale did take place it was not ratified, as Sir Cahir's leaving Paulett's office shows. Cox states that he had sold three thousand acres of land to Captain Harte. Though we have carefully searched for some proof of these statements, we can find none whatever. We do not believe that he had previously sold any of his lands, especially as in the re-grant made by the king (but which came only after his death), *all* his lands were restored to him, except a specified portion near Derry, and three hundred acres around Culmore fort, which were reserved for the benefit and accommodation of the garrison there. In the re-grant it was thus specified that all the territory of Inishowen, which had belonged to his father, was re-granted to Sir Cahir, 'the said quarter of Ballyarnett, the half-quarter of Laharden, on which the said castle of Coolemore is built, together with three hundred acres of land to the said castle allotted and apperteyninge excepted.'[1] And again, when the grant of O'Doherty's country was made to Chichester by formal document bearing date the 22nd February, 1610, the whole terri-

[1] *Ordnance Memoir of Templemore.*

tory of Inishowen was given him, except one thousand three hundred acres, 'reserved for the better maintenance of the city of Londonderry and the fort of Culmore.' In any case he had to call at Paulett's office on some business, and when there an altercation took place between them. Sir Cahir, no doubt, suspected Paulett of having sent in reports against him to Chichester, which occasioned his being summoned to Dublin by the deputy, and being bound in such heavy recognisances; and probably he upraided him of this. The taunt raised the brutal ire of the governor, who struck O'Doherty a violent blow on the face with his clenched fist. Paulett, as O'Sullivan tells us, was surrounded with armed followers or guards, whereas Sir Cahir was unarmed and alone—'Paletum armatis stipatum nudus militibus aggredi non ausus.' He did not return the blow, which he knew would be to him certain death, but rushed out of the office to his friends the MacDevitts, who were in the town. The Four Masters thus relate the incident :—

Great dissensions and strife arose between the Governor of Derry, Sir George Pawlett, and O'Doherty (Cahir, the son of John Oge). The Governor not only offered him insult and abuse by word, but also inflicted chastisement of his body; so that he would rather have suffered death than live to brook such insult and dishonour, or defer or delay to take revenge for it; and he was filled with anger and fury, so that he nearly ran to distraction and madness. What he did was to consult with his friends how he should take revenge for the insult which was inflicted upon him. What they first unanimously resolved, on the 3rd of May, was to invite to him Captain Hart, who was at Cuil-mor (a fort on the margin of Lough Foyle, below the Derry we have mentioned) and to take him prisoner. [This was done] and he obtained the fort on his release. He repaired immediately at daybreak to Derry, and awoke the soldiers of that town with the sword. The Governor was slain by Owen, the son of Niall, son of Gerald O'Doherty, and Lieutenant Corbie by John, the son of Hugh, son of Hugh Duv O'Donnell. Many others were slain besides these. Captain Henry Vaughan and the wife of the Bishop of the town were taken prisoners. They afterwards plundered and burned the town, and carried away immense spoils from thence.[1]

As the MacDevitts were supposed to have instigated the

[1] *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 1608.

burning of the city, they were known afterwards by the soubriquet of 'Burn-derrys.'

Before coming to the calumnies of Cox in narrating this event, we think it well to give the account furnished by more impartial writers. The Rev. George Hill gives a succinct and clear statement of the reasons for Sir Cahir's discontent, and of the motives that urged him into his premature rebellion. After stating that Docwra had engaged to get a re-grant of all his father's estates for Sir Cahir on condition of the latter being placed in his hands by the MacDevitts, he goes on to say:—

But it soon afterwards appeared that the best portion of Inishowen, namely, the island of Inch, with its valuable fishings, had been granted to Sir Ralph Bingley. Although Docwra did his best to have his engagement to Sir Cahir made good, he failed in doing so, from the amount of powerful opposition to him. O'Dogherty, naturally, became discontented; and, in the meantime, Docwra felt so indignant, on account of certain treatment received from the government by himself, that he sold out his property in and around Derry to an Englishman named Pawlett, who was wholly unfitted (even according to the expressed opinion of Chichester himself), both from his arrogance and inexperience, for the duties of deputy-governor of Derry, which he required to discharge during Sir Henry Docwra's absence. Sir Cahir O'Dogherty, having lost his fishings, which were then the readiest and most valuable sources of revenue on his estates, was compelled to sell certain lands to Sir Richard Hansard; and, for this purpose, he required to visit Derry, and even to enter Pawlett's office, to await the arrival of the purchaser, and of Captain Hart, who was to witness the sale. Whilst there, an altercation arose between him and Pawlett, during which the latter struck him with his clenched fist in the face! O'Dogherty not wishing, perhaps, to try conclusions with Pawlett in the same vulgar style, or afraid lest the official bully might summon other equally unscrupulous parties to his aid, rushed from the office, and, unfortunately, before his rage had time to cool, met his two foster-brothers, the MacDavitts, in the street. On hearing the cause of his excitement, they replied in furious terms, that there was only one way of meeting such an insult, pledging themselves that they would be ready to march on Derry at the head of all the fighting men of the clan at a given hour! They but too faithfully kept to their determination, slaying Pawlett, sacking Derry, and summoning sympathisers far and near to arise and avenge their wrongs. The revolt attracted many Irish, especially from the county of Armagh; and its suppression required the services of picked troops,

including such men as Lambert and Wingfield. The struggle lasted only about three months, commencing early in the May of 1608, and going on to the 5th of July, on which day O'Dogherty was slain whilst skirmishing at a place called Duinn, or Doone, in Kilmacrenan. The king had, previously to the commencement of the revolt, written a very decided letter to Chichester, requiring that Sir Cahir should receive an immediate grant of all his family estates, including the island of Inch, with its fishing. There was ample time to have communicated the contents of this letter to Sir Cahir, and thus have prevented the revolt; but, unfortunately, the letter was entrusted to one of Chichester's servants in London, and, *perhaps*, did not reach the deputy until after O'Dogherty had taken the field. At all events, O'Dogherty's body had hardly time to blacken in the sun on the spikes where its severed fragments were exposed, when Chichester's application for the barony of Inishowen reached the council in London, through this same servant, John Strowd, and another named Francis Annesly. Although there were other and powerful applicants for Inishowen, the deputy out-stripped, or out-manœuvred them all, and secured the whole large spoil for himself.[1]

MacGeoghegan, in his *History of Ireland*, thus relates the circumstances of Sir Cahir's rising:—

His [King James] oppressive tyranny at length drove O'Dogherty, chief of Inishowen, to take up arms in defence of the Catholics, A.D. 1608. He was a young nobleman, aged about twenty years, and the most powerful in the north of Ireland, after the Earls of Tyrone, Tyrconnell, and Maguire, had left the country. He raised what forces he was able, and attacked by night the city of Derry, which he took, and put the garrison, together with the governor, George Palet, to the sword, after setting the Catholics at liberty. He then marched against Culmore, which was a strong castle built on the borders of Lough Foyle, adjoining the sea. Of this he also became master, and found in it twelve pieces of cannon—he put a garrison into it, and gave the command to Felim McDavet: after which he ravaged the lands of the English, over whom he gained several battles, and spread terror through the whole province.

We come now to the story of this uprising as told by Cox,[2] whose tale of horrors has been so generally accepted,

[1] *Plantation of Ulster*, pp. 61, 62.

[2] Richard Cox, author of a History of Ireland, was born at Bandon, co. Cork, in 1650. He was first articled to an attorney, afterwards entered Gray's Inn, was called to the Bar, then returned to Ireland, where for a time he turned his attention to farming. He was appointed Recorder of Kinsale in

and, unfortunately, incorporated in the works of so many excellent Irish writers. As Cox's *History* is a work now rarely met with, and consequently unfamiliar to most of our readers, we shall give *in extenso* the extract relating to the account of Sir Cahir's rising and the circumstances which accompanied it.

But [writes Cox], notwithstanding all the care that was taken to keep the kingdom quiet, the hopes and expectations of aid from Spain easily put the rebellious spirit in a ferment; insomuch, that Sir Cahir O'Dogharty, proprietor of Inisowen, a gentleman of great hopes, but of few years, not exceeding one-and-twenty, was (by assurances from the earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell of speedy and effectual aid) persuaded to begin the war; his main design was upon Derry, which he surprised and burned; he also murdered the Governor, Sir George Pawlett, and all the Protestants, except the Bishop's wife that was ransomed; he also surprised Culmore and the magazine there, and burned two thousand heretical books (as he called them) refusing to let them be redeemed for an hundred pounds. And this rebellion became the more formidable, because it was fomented and encouraged by the priests, who affirmed that *all were martyrs who died in the service.*

1680; but the zeal which at all times he exhibited in defence of Protestantism rendered his life unsafe in that place. He withdrew to England, and settled at Bristol, where he wrote his History of Ireland, which was published in 1689. He returned to Ireland as secretary to his friend and patron, Sir Robert Southwell. His services in this capacity were rewarded by a justiceship in the Common Pleas, and by being made military governor of the city and county of Cork. His conduct in this position has been censured on account of the rigour he exercised upon the natives, whom he treated as a conquered and hostile people. In 1703 he was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from which after four years he was dismissed. Afterwards he was appointed to the post of Chief Justice of the Queen's Bench in Ireland, but on the accession of George I. he was removed from the Bench and from his seat in the Privy Council, and fell under censure of the House of Commons for his too great attachment to the power of the Crown. He retired into private life, and died in 1733, aged 83 years. His chief work was 'Hibernia Anglicana; or the History of Ireland, from the Conquest thereof by the English, to the present Time.'—Abridged from *Ree's Cyclopædia.*

As a sample of the anti-Irish and anti-Catholic spirit of Cox we may adduce that famous passage from the second volume of his *History*, p. 206, when writing of the execution of Charles I.:—

'And now how gladly would I draw a Curtain over that Dismal and Unhappy Thirtieth of January wherein the Royal Father of our Country suffered Martyrdom. Oh! that I could say, They were Irish Men that did that Abominable Fact, or that I could justly lay it at the Door of the Papists! But how much soever they might obliquely or designedly Contribute to it, 'tis certain it was actually done by others.'

But for the better understanding this matter, it is necessary to inform the reader, that Queen Elizabeth, finding it convenient to plant a garrison at Lough Foyle, made several attempts to that purpose, but they all miscarried until Sir Henry Dockwra landed at Kilmore or Culmore, and erected a small castle there; and a month after he took Derry without resistance, and built two forts and a good house there; but afterwards, viz., Anno 1617, that place was built by the Londoners, and became a fair and strong city, well known by the name of London-Derry.

This Sir Henry Dockwra also built the castles of Dunalong and Lifford, and afterwards assigned the government of Derry to Sir George Pawlett, a Hampshire gentleman, and the command of Culmore to Captain Hart, a man of great courage.

After Sir John O'Dogharty's death, his son Cahir shewing great inclinations to the English; and being a youth of great hopes was not only graced with knighthood, and made a justice of peace and a commissioner in most of the commissions that came to that country, but was also treated with all due respect upon all occasions, and he on the other side contracted an intimate friendship with the chief of the English, and particularly with Captain Hart, Governor of Culmore, to whose son he was godfather, and to whom he had sold three thousand acres of land for ready money.

Hereupon Sir Cahir invited Captain Hart for dinner, and he came accordingly with his wife and the little child (Sir Cahir's god-child) and were liberally treated; but after dinner Captain Hart was called aside, and plainly told by O'Dogharty, that he had received affronts from the English, and especially from Sir George Pawlett (who, they say, gave him a box on the ear) and was resolved to be revenged, and in order to it, he must have Culmore; which if the Captain would quietly surrender, he should receive no harm, but if not, then the lives of himself, wife and child should pay for his obstinacy; and thereupon several armed men rushed into the room, and kept a swaggering to make those threats more terrible; nevertheless Captain Hart's courage was proof against them all, and thereupon Sir Cahir ordered the armed men to execute him.

But in the nick of time in came both their wives, and Hart's wife immediately fell into a swoon at this dismal spectacle: whereupon the Lady Dogharty was greatly troubled, and dissuaded her husband from this violent course.

Upon this Sir Cahir sent his own lady and Captain Hart into another room, and only kept Hart's wife and some few soldiers with him; and, as soon as she came to herself, he told her that, unless she would go along with his soldiers, and get them a peaceable entrance into Culmore, herself, her husband, and child should be murdered; at which she was so terrified, that she

submitted to the undertaking, and went with the rebels to the castle that night, and told the sentry a formal story that her husband had broke his leg. Whereupon she was, without scruple, admitted in by the soldiers that knew her voice; but the fatal consequence of this folly was the murder of all the garrison (not excepting her own brother, who had come thither to see her), and the plunder of all they had; so that she was utterly undone, although her life and her husband's was saved.

May 1st, 1608. Moreover, being fledged with this success, the rebels, about two o'clock in the morning, attempted the fort and town of Derry so surprisingly that they took them with little or no resistance, and they murdered the garrison and the Governor, Sir George Pawlett, and plundered the town, and burned it to ashes; they also took the Bishop of Derry's wife and children, whom they kept prisoners, and then proceeded to besiege the Castle of Lifford.

Undoubtedly, the government well enough understood that this rebellion was designed to be the most general that had ever been in Ireland, and that the confederates had better assurance, or, at least, a stronger expectation, of foreign aid than in any rebellion heretofore, and that the censures of Salamancha and Valladolid had convinced all the popish clergy of the unlawfulness to assist a heretical power, heretical prince, or people against the Church; and, therefore, it was resolved in council to nip this rebellion in the bud, if possible; and, accordingly, Sir Richard Wingfield was first sent with a detachment to hold the rebels in play, and was followed by the Lord Deputy and the rest of the army. Nevertheless, O'Dogharty held out five months with various success; and, perhaps, had done so much longer, 'succours being coming to him from all parts of the kingdom' (Sullivan, 212), if he had not been slain by an accidental shot, which ended his rebellion with his life. There were some of the rebels taken and executed, who, Mr. Sullivan says, died martyrs for denying the king's supremacy; and yet, he confesses, they were concerned in this rebellion; so gross are the cheats which the Irish historians and priests do put upon their deluded countrymen.

Such is the story told by this veracious historian, who takes care not to give a single authority in support of his statements! He knew his reckless assertions were not likely to be controverted by any Irish writer at that time, and as his so-called *History of Ireland* teemed with the vilest calumnies against the unfortunate people of his native country, he well understood how acceptable it would be to English readers. One Irish writer did, indeed, venture to

refute some of the falsehoods in Cox's book, for which that gentleman threw the writer into prison. Perhaps, this was only a refined method of protecting copyright.

Cox and his copyists charge Sir Cahir with the wanton and cold-blooded murder of the whole garrison at Culmore, and also of that of Mrs. Hart's brother, who was there on a visit at the time; and, secondly, with the murder of all in the city of Derry when he took possession of it; and, lastly, with burning a library at Culmore, consisting of two thousand volumes, to save which, the bishop offered one hundred pounds, or, as others say, a hundred pounds weight of silver. This was said to be the bishop's library, and that it contained some valuable manuscripts. Cox wrote almost a century after the occurrence of the events he narrates, and, apart from his malice and hatred of everything Irish, could not be expected to have the same intimate knowledge of the circumstances as those who took part in them; and in refutation of his calumnies we shall, therefore, adduce the testimony of the principal actors in the scene. If anyone knew anything of the massacre at Culmore, it surely would be Captain Hart, who was governor of the fort. He was in danger of being suspected of being privy to Sir Cahir's rising, and it was a matter of necessity for him to so explain the circumstances that no blame could attach to himself. His story differs widely from the blood-curdling romance of Cox and those who follow him.

After narrating the circumstances of Sir Cahir inviting him and his wife to dine with him and Lady O'Doherty at Buncrana, he tells that after dinner Sir Cahir took him apart to another room, and after complaining how he had been, and was being, treated by the English, of how he had been insulted by Paulett, and more to this effect, declared his intention of defending himself, and demanded of him (Hart) the keys of the fortress of Culmore. Hart refused; Sir Cahir then threatened his life unless he complied with his request. The noise of the argument between them attracted the attention of the ladies, who rushed into the apartment. Mrs. Hart, terrified by the danger of her husband and children being murdered, consented to go with

Sir Cahir to Culmore, accompanied by her husband. When about a quarter of a mile from the fort, Sir Cahir left Hart in charge of six men, and going on with twenty followers, got Mrs. Hart to call on the garrison to come forth to assist Captain Hart who had broken his arm. Knowing her voice, the men rushed forth to assist their captain, and Sir Cahir walked in and took possession of the place.

This [says Hart, in his relation to the Government] the poor men instantly did, not mistrusting any such treachery; and no sooner were they out of the door but they were taken, and the house immediately entered, and the rest that were lodged without were surprised and taken in the beds; and when he had thus possessed the house he sent for him [Hart], and told him they should have no harm; but they were put down into the cellar, and there locked in and kept until that Friday following, at which time O'Doherty came from the Derry and told him that now he should see it was not blood that he sought for, for that he had brought down all those people whom he had taken in the house, with Lieutenant Baker, yielded by composition, and some others whom he had otherwise taken, and there meant to set them over the water to go to Coleraine, telling him that if he listed he should go, and his wife and children with him, along with the rest, which he chose rather to do than to lie in that miserable calamity. His infant son, whom he left at Boncranoche [Buncranagh] the more to terrify his woful mother, he had sent to them two days before; and he told him that the gunner, with the rest of the warders whom he had taken, had run to the Lifford, whilst he and his company were busy in their surprising Derry, which he since hears is true.

This is the just sum of his account, of which he begs his lordship's charitable censure.[1]

A question naturally suggests itself to us here: Is Captain Hart's story about the dinner at Buncrana, and the events that followed it, true? Hart is represented as being the best of the English settlers; but certain circumstances tend to throw a doubt on his narrative. First of all, he had given up his faith for the sake of promotion and favour with the Government;[2] secondly, he was suspected of treachery in this matter by the Government, and was a prisoner in Dublin castle,[3] awaiting his trial by court-

[1] *S. P.*, anno 1608.
[2] Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 325, n. 230.
[3] *S. P.*, p. 496.

martial, at the time he wrote his account of the taking of Culmore, and the lords of the council did not seem to attach much importance to his statement: 'As for Captain Hart,' say they, 'they have nothing but his own report to extenuate the suspicion of his disloyalty; but for any conceit of his being worthy of any trust again, they must say plainly they see little cause, and that for many reasons.'[1] Lastly, his statement is supported by no other authority except his own. Neither his wife nor Lady O'Doherty, who were both present on the occasion, was examined; whilst Sir Cahir and PhelimReaugh were prevented by death from giving their version of the story. Hart was naturally interested in giving to events a colour favourable to himself, and we are, therefore, justified in discounting his statements, and in receiving them with a certain amount of distrust. But, even if we receive fully what he narrates, there is little to the discredit of Sir Cahir. Such, too, is the opinion of an impartial English historian, Gardiner, when writing of this event:—

> The chief obstacle in the way of the conspirators [says he] was the difficulty of obtaining arms. Since Chichester's proclamation for a general disarmament it was almost impossible to procure weapons in quantities sufficient to give a rebellion the chances of even a momentary success. O'Dogharty, however, knew that arms were to be obtained at the fort of Culmore, which guarded the entrance to the Foyle. Such a prize as this could only be obtained by stratagem.[1]

This writer sees no treachery in the business but merely a *stratagem* usual in warfare.

The opinion of this same writer as to the character of Sir Cahir is in strong contrast to that of Cox, Ledwich, and the other Irish calumniators of the hapless young chieftain:—

> He was not [says Gardiner] a mean and treacherous enemy like Neill Garve. Under other circumstances he might have lived a useful, and even a noble life. He had set his life upon the throw; but it is impossible not to feel compunction on reading

[1] *S. P.* 1608, p. 529.
[2] Gardiner's *Hist. of England*, 1603-1616, vol. i., p. 430, ed. 1863.

the Deputy's letter, in which he announces that the body of the man who had spared the prisoners of Derry had been taken, and that he intended to give orders that it should be quartered, and that the fragments should be set up on the walls of the town where he had shown an example of mercy to a conquered enemy.[1]

At p. 432 he writes: 'To his honour it must be said that the prisoners were all released, according to promise. Except in actual conflict no English blood was shed in the whole course of the rebellion.' This testimony from an impartial English writer is valuable, and should put to the blush some of our Irish historiographers.

This sufficiently disposes of Cox's fabricated tale of the slaughter of the garrison at Culmore, of the murder of the brother of Mrs. Hart, who is represented as there on a visit, of the cold-blooded massacre of the inhabitants of Derry, with all the other concomitant horrors. As Sir Cahir told Hart, 'it was not blood he wanted;' it was arms and ammunition he wanted for his men; for some short time before this he had disposed of nearly all the arms he had to the English, which shows how little he then contemplated a rising like the present.

O'Sullivan makes no mention of the slaughter at Culmore, though he narrates the events of the taking of that fortress.[2] But, perhaps, nothing exculpates Sir Cahir more strongly than the inquisitions held by Chichester himself at Lifford, on the 13th of August following. It was the policy of this statesman to blacken the character of all the Irish, but especially of those on whose lands he wanted to seize. He had exultingly announced the young chieftain's death to the council in London, as a direct visitation from heaven, depicted him as a rebel, a traitor, etc., described his rising in rebellion, and his taking of Culmore, but says not a single word of a slaughter there. In the peculiar Latin in which the inquisitions are couched, it is merely stated that after leaving Buncrana, Sir Cahir, Phelim Reagh MacDavid, and their followers went 'abinde usque ad fortilagiū de Culmore in dict' co' Donegall, *modo guerrino*, pgresser,' &

[1] *Ibid.*, pp. 434-5.

[2] *Catholic History*, tom. iv., lib. i., cap. v.

fortilagiũ illud, unacũ divers' peciis bombard' & al' armatur' bellicis ejusdẽ dni Regis in eodẽ existen', in manus & possession' & ceper' & penes se detinuer', &c.' No reference here to a massacre, and assuredly had there been even the shadow of a foundation for such a charge, Chichester and Sir John Davies would have pictured it in the most glowing colours. They merely say that Sir Cahir and his followers went to Culmore in a warlike manner—*modo guerrino*—that they took the fortress, rifled it of its arms and ammunition, and kept possession of the fort. Thus, then, the horrid phantom of murder at Culmore, evoked by the imagination of the mendacious Cox, vanishes into thin air before the light of historical truth.

Having disposed of Cox's story of the murder of the garrison at Culmore, we shall now examine the truth of his statement about the wholesale slaughter of the garrison at Derry. He tells us that Sir Cahir marched from Culmore and came to Derry, which he found unprotected, entered the city with his armed followers, and murdered the garrison together with the governor, Sir George Paulett, etc. Now, it so happened that one of the principal men in the city was Lieutenant Baker, who was taken prisoner on the occasion, and who afterwards wrote for the council a 'Report of the Surprise of the Citie of Derrie.' In that report he says :—

> The fort of Culmore being taken by treachery on Monday at night, the 18th April, 1608, by Sir Cahir O'Doghertie, Kt., Phelime Reaugh McDaved, Donell Og McCalley, and others of that plot, with the O'Gallachors [O'Gallaghers] of Tyrconnell, the said rebels being four score and ten in number, or thereabouts, marched on and came to the citie of Derrie on the next day by two of the clock in the morning, and there, at the bogside, divided themselves into two bodies. The one, where Sir Cahir was, to assault the nether fort, where the store-house was, and the other conducted by Phelime, entered on the backside of the Governor's house, and came into the court and broke open the doors, whereat Sir George Powlett, governor of the place, being somewhat dark, escaped through the company to ancient Corbet's house, where within short space he was killed by the said Phelime. Lieutenant Gordon, lying in his chamber within the higher fort, and hearing the shot, issued forth naked upon the rampier toward the court of guard,

with his rapier and dagger, where, with one soldier in his company, he set upon the enemy, and killed two of them, using most comfortable words of courage to the soldiers to stand to it and fight for their lives; but the enemy being far more in number, one struck him on the forehead with a stone, whereat, being somewhat amazed, they rushed upon him, and killed him and the soldier also. Ancient Corbet meeting with Phelime Reaugh within the said higher fort, fought with and wounded him in the head, and by all likelihood had killed him if one of the rebels had not come behind him and cut off his leg, and so he was killed by the enemy; and thus by the death of the governor, the lieutenant, ancient, two soldiers, and two of the townsmen, the upper fort was taken and presently burned by the said rebels. Sir Cahir, with the other half of the rebels, assaulted the nether fort, and, finding the watchmen asleep, entered without resistance, killed Mr. Harris, under sheriff of Dunegall, and hurt one more. The townsmen, knowing both the forts to be taken and the enemy to be master thereof, run, some one way and some another. Lieutenant Baker, being then present in the city, gathered some sixteen of the town, one of the sheriffs, and four soldiers, went towards the nether fort with resolution to enter and retake the same, and in the gate was wounded by the said Sir Cahir with a pike in the arm, and the sheriff was shot in the shoulder; whereat the said Lieutenant, looking back on the company and encouraging them to stand to it, and seeing but four or five left, and the enemy strong, retired into the town, and there gathered together six or seven score men, women, and children, and manned the house of Sheriff Babbington and kept the same; as likewise manned the house of the Lord Bishop of Derrie with his own men and two or three soldiers, and brought the said Lord Bishop's wife and gentlewomen into the said Babbington's house, thinking them most safe with himself; and the said two houses were kept until the next day about noon, in which time by their own confession they killed of the enemy eight and hurt seven, and lost of their company but one in the Lord Bishop's house, and one hurt. But the rebels being strong, the number still increasing, and the said Lieutenant having many with him, as is aforesaid, and destitute of victuals and munition, and seeing a piece brought by the enemy from Culmore, and ready mounted to batter the said houses, and being out of all hope of relief at that time and wearied with the lamentable outcry of women and children, after much parley and messages to and fro, yielded the said houses upon condition that every man should depart with his sword and clothes, and likewise all women and children with their clothes (except Mrs. Susan Montgomery, the Lord Bishop's wife, who is kept prisoner with the said Cahir,) to such place as the said Lieutenant should deem most fit for the safety of him and his company. And this is as much as the said Lieutenant can say

touching the surprising of the said city and such accidents as fell out during the said two days; and, in witness of truth, he has unto this present relation set his hand the 3rd day of May, 1608.

Signed: JOHN BAKER.[1]

The dire slaughter of the garrison and of the unoffending inhabitants becomes thus 'small by degrees and beautifully less,' and resolves itself—even according to Chichester himself in his account to the council—into eight killed on each side, or sixteen in all. There was no desire on the part of Sir Cahir and his followers to kill any one, and the terms on which the garrison and women were allowed to leave redounds to his immortal credit. He did not, as Wingfield did a few weeks after this when besieging Burt castle, promise to let all the inmates leave in safety, and then, as soon as they had capitulated, put every one to the sword, except those who could purchase their lives with a heavy ransom; and when he, at the suggestion of Nial Garve, detained the wife of Bishop Montgomery as a hostage for the delivery of Nial's son from Dublin castle, he treated her as a lady with all courtesy and respect, and, to secure her immunity from all possible annoyance or inconvenience, sent her to his own wife, Lady O'Doherty, at Burt castle. How this contrasts with the treatment of his own poor sister, the wife of Oghy Oge O'Hanlon, by the English a couple of months after this! As we have already seen, that poor lady, a day or two after her confinement, was obliged to fly into the woods, where she was found by an English soldier, was stripped by him of her garments, and left to die of cold and hunger. Yet this occurrence is related by Davies with the utmost indifference, whilst the lamentations about Mrs. Montgomery's being kept a prisoner are of the most heartrending nature.

The next charge against Sir Cahir is that of having burned the house and valuable library of Bishop Montgomery in Derry. Others say the library was burned at Culmore by Phelim Reagh MacDevitt when he was leaving that place, though what took the library to Culmore is a mystery.

[1] *S. P.* for 1608.

It is said, as we have already mentioned, that the bishop offered a large sum to have the library saved, though his lordship was in Dublin at the time and knew nothing of what was taking place in Derry. We are, moreover, gravely told that this library consisted of several hundred volumes, nay, of two thousand, among which were many valuable printed books as well as manuscripts. This story is too absurd to need refutation. The idea of an avaricious see-grabber troubling his head about books is too preposterous to claim a moment's attention. We grant there may have been manuscripts in his house, but if there were, they were merely his rent-books, or the titles of the lands out of which he had cozened poor O'Caban. That was evidently the only class of literature to which this pious Scotchman was addicted, and the only gospel he studied in his episcopal career. This is clearly one of the many calumnies invented against Sir Cahir for which we have not a single tittle of contemporary evidence.

Another charge preferred against Sir Cahir is his treachery in inviting Captain Hart to dine with him in order to take from him the keys of Culmore fort. In the first place this was not designed by Sir Cahir himself, but was the suggestion of his evil adviser, Nial Garve. In the next place it was merely a leaf taken from the ordinary mode of action of the English themselves. It was a common thing for them to pretend reconciliation with some adversary, invite him to a banquet, and slay him there. Thus—

> Brien MacArt O'Neill, of Clanaboy, was invited by Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, to a banquet in Belfast; and there, in the midst of the festival, two hundred of Brian's retinue were slain before his eyes, and then he and his wife were carried off prisoners to Dublin.[1]

But an example which came home to Sir Cahir more immediately was that of his own grandfather, Shane O'Neill. The writer of the essay from which we have just quoted tells it briefly thus:—

> Almost from the time of her accession, in 1558, Queen Elizabeth had been striving for the destruction of Shane O'Neill

[1] I. E. Record, May, 1900.

the head of all the clans of Tyrconnell [*recte*, Tyrone]; Neill Grey was offered a hundred marks to murder Shane, but could not earn them; one Smythe sent poisoned wine to Shane, who would not drink it. Only in 1567 was Elizabeth's wish gratified, when Piers, an agent of Earl Sussex, persuaded Alister Oge McDonnell with the Antrim Scots to murder Shane with his wife and fifty followers in the camp of North Clanaboy in county Antrim.[1]

Shane had fled to them for protection after being worsted by his enemies, and during a banquet apparently given in his honour the Scots murdered him as recorded. Hundreds of similar instances could be adduced, so that Sir Cahir had English precedent for what he did. Unlike the English, however, he had no intention of murder; for as his after conduct showed, and as he himself assured Hart, 'it was not blood he wanted.' Had he been desirous of bloodshed, he could easily have murdered Hart and his wife at Buncrana, the garrison at Culmore, as well as that of Derry; but he magnanimously spared them, and actually assisted them to cross the ferry at Culmore in order to get to Coleraine where they would be secure. There is not much in this to be ashamed of.

✠ John K. O'Doherty.

To be continued.]

[1] I E. Record, May, 1900.

THE WORK OF THE FEIS CEOIL ASSOCIATION: A HISTORY AND AN APPEAL

A MOVEMENT for the revival, development, and encouragement of Irish music, for the bringing forth and training of Irish musical power, both creative and executive; for the fostering of a healthy national self-consciousness in an art where from time immemorial we have claimed, and justly claimed, that we are capable of standing beside the world's best—surely a movement, professing such purposes, is one to stir the deepest interest of every Irishman who cares to deserve his name. If, furthermore, the lapse of four years has shown that a design so admirable is being carried out with combined zeal and prudence; that difficulties are avoided or overcome; that mistakes and triumphs alike are turned to profit for the future; and that one success is made the parent of another: then such a movement would seem to possess every qualification for attracting to itself the hearty support of every friend of Ireland and every lover of music.

I am convinced that all this may be truthfully said of the 'Feis Ceoil' movement; and it is this conviction which induces me to solicit from the editor of the I.E. RECORD an opportunity of setting before the Irish clergy in general the claims to their sympathy and encouragement which that national organisation and its work possess. I am sure they only require to know it to become its warm friends. No national object, rightly worked out by the right people, has ever failed to look to the clergy as its chief supporters, or has looked in vain. It is with this encouraging thought that I write in these pages of the work, hopes, and intents of the Feis Ceoil Association. The cause is good enough to need no eminent or eloquent advocacy.

I will first briefly state the nature of the organisation; then give some account of its history; then indicate what can be done to further its objects.

The words 'Feis Ceoil' mean 'Musical Festival;' but the Association which takes them for a name must not be understood as restricting itself to the work of organising any particular celebrations in any particular centres. Its scope is far wider; it devotes itself with all the fulness which its resources allow to the following objects :—

(1.) To promote the study and cultivation of Irish music. Here the word Irish is used in a strict but not a narrow sense. It describes all music which is characteristically Irish, whether of the remotest antiquity or of to-day, whether the simplest tune or the elaborate work of an artist, whether Irish from intrinsic peculiarities or from the instrument on which it is meant to be played.

(2.) To promote the general cultivation of music in Ireland. Here opens up a vast and, it must be admitted, a very fallow field. Much has been done, even within a few years past, to promote the cultivation of music in Ireland, but how much still remains to be done! In our schools, in our churches, among all classes in our country towns, what an absence of musical knowledge, what limited powers of performance, what incapacity for original work of any value! And that in a land where there is found the strongest love of music, the greatest natural capacity, and a treasure of traditional national song and tune which the popular music of no land on earth can surpass, and that of few can rival. The Feis Ceoil Committee is eager to do everything that is in the power of a single committee to develop, stimulate, and assist talent in every part of the country; it desires to co-operate for that end with all local effort. It is obvious that in the beginning its influence must chiefly radiate from two or three of the largest centres, the difficulty of finding suitable halls for musical performances (not to mention other obstacles), being even in these centres themselves a serious obstruction to performances or competitions. But, wherever local committees are formed to promote musical interests of any kind, they will find the Feis Committee eager to co-operate with them; its desire is to 'spread

the light' unrestrictedly. Vocal and instrumental music of every kind, whether solo or in combination, the efforts of the solitary *virtuoso*, or the brotherly fulness of the brass band, all, but especially what is characteristic and national, will be welcomed at the Feis competitions, and are objects of the zeal of the Feis Committee; and in all it will be ready to assist local committees.

To make suggestions as to what form local effort should take would lie beyond the scope of this article. Valuable light might be derived from the records and other literature published by the Committee, and these they are always ready to diffuse.

(3.) To hold an annual musical festival, Feis Ceoil, consisting of prize competitions and concerts, similar to that held in 1897. The concerts are usually four or five in number, and the competitions embrace music of every kind cultivated in the country. This festival may be held in any important centre where a local committee shall be formed to carry out the work in conjunction with the central committee. So far only Dublin and Belfast have found it feasible to make themselves the scene of the annual celebration.

(4.) To collect and preserve by publication the old airs of Ireland. It is sad to think how much must have perished during the ages when no such effort as this was made. And even when a better time dawned, the good work done by men like Bunting, Moore, and Petrie, was seriously lessened in value by the prevalence of ignorance, prejudice, and narrow views, which were not without damaging influence upon their patriotic labours. They rejected, modified and adapted in accordance with a supposed standard of musical perfection, instead of valuing and jealously preserving those antique and national peculiarities which belong to the true perfection of all music, whether popular or classical. The Feis Ceoil Association have, therefore, set themselves to encourage the collection and secure the preservation, ere they perish, of the beautiful and characteristic old airs which, never yet transcribed, wrongly transcribed, or spoiled by alteration, linger in their genuine form in many a remote corner and many a

faithful memory, whence foreign importations have not yet quite driven them out. To be quite driven out, to die and be forgotten, seems to be the fate awaiting them all. For great indeed must be the energy, the enthusiasm and the prudence that would successfully labour to arrest the progress of a lamentable denationalization in this as in all other musical matters. It is amazing how completely, even in many remote villages and country districts, the London music-hall ditty and the melodeon have taken the place of anything national in tune or instrument. I am not in the least an exclusionist in musical matters; it would be, I consider, an interesting theme of discussion (not now, however, to be entered upon) how far one should tolerate or welcome foreign elements as calculated to enrich a native art store and quicken native art-capacity. But here the excess and the danger are manifest. Every low and unworthy influence, including especially that snobbishness which is ashamed of being Irish, is arrayed against our national music. An earnest effort must be made, if the admirable legacy of centuries of Irish passion and sentiment, if the beautiful tunes that cheered or soothed or roused a sensitive and naturally artistic race, our own forefathers, are not to perish irrevocably. Much has been done during the past four years. Armed with the phonograph and with the enthusiasm of one or two collectors like Mr. P. J. M'Call or Mrs. Houston of Coleraine, the Irish Feis Ceoil Committee has already rescued some dozens of genuinely Irish melodies from the oblivion or corruption to which they were hastening. These have been subjected to a careful process of verification and comparison with collections already printed, and those that have survived all tests are at present under the care of Mr. Brendan Rogers, approaching the final term of publication. The Committee will be able to continue and augment this good work in the future only if the public will enable them to reward the labours of the collector, to remunerate the services of the musicians who have so far acted gratuitously as arrangers for publication, and to bear the expenses of printing in suitable and attractive form.

On the details of the organization of the Feis Ceoil

Association I may be very brief. There are the usual officials, an executive committee, sub-committees (musical and financial), and a body of members. The executive committee will include representatives of all local committees. The annual subscription, entitling to membership, is one guinea. Every member shall have a vote at a general meeting. He (or she) shall be entitled to free admission to all public lectures, performances, concerts, and competitions held during the festival week. On this arrangement we may remark that it notably diminishes the merit of subscription for one who can give full attendance during these functions ; he very largely gets present value for his money.

In the foregoing account of the duties undertaken by the Feis Ceoil Committee, I have almost unavoidably touched upon the sketch of its history, which was the second portion of my subject. It shall now be briefly unfolded.

The first Feis Ceoil was held in May, 1897—the first fruits of a scheme which had been long maturing and developing. It may be said to have first appeared above ground in a correspondence published so far back as 1894, in the Dublin *Evening Telegraph*, between Mr. T. O'Neill Russell, Miss Annie Patterson, Mus.D., and some others. On April 4th, 1895, a public meeting was held in the Mansion House, Dublin, under the presidency of the Lord Mayor, Alderman Dillon. The speakers included the Earl of Mayo, the Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, the Rev. T. A. Finlay, Dr. Sigerson, Mr. George Coffey, and some leading musicians. A second public meeting took place on 15th June, 1896, under the presidency of Sir Robert Sexton. Some twelve thousand circulars were issued, asking for public support in the form of guarantees or subscriptions. The result was that a guarantee fund of £2,000 was obtained, the Dublin Corporation allowing a certain portion of its grant for music to be administered by the Committee in co-operation with the Royal Irish Academy of Music. The Royal Irish Academy and the National Literary Society gave the use of rooms. The clergy, Catholic and Protestant, the press of all shades of opinion, and many eminent public

men warmly encouraged the movement. Among those who actively interested themselves were Sir Christopher Nixon, Mr. W.R. J. Molloy, The O'Donoghue, Mr. D. J. O'Donoghue, Count and Countess Plunkett, Mr. Alfred P. Graves, besides others already alluded to. Miss Edith Oldham, becoming one of the hon. secretaries, commenced a career of unfaltering and judicious activity on behalf of the good work, which has happily continued up to the present day, and remains one of the chief factors and promises of further successes. Belfast was brought to interest itself practically in the scheme; we shall see with what good results. Cork, however,—it is sad to have to say it, but candour is best,—Cork hung back, and has continued to hang back, from this national movement. It has sent to the competitions a couple of good bands, a piper, an euphonium player, and one solitary soprano singer. At least that is all I can find in the prize-lists; no choirs, no violinists, no 'cellists, no composers, no singers but that solitary young lady! And then—hardly any subscribers! When, in 1897, the promoters of the movement arranged for a meeting in Cork, similar to those which were held in Dublin and Belfast, barely a dozen persons responded to the summons. No doubt there are one or two regrettable hindrances to musical effort at Cork, such as the want of a suitable hall for large musical performances. Still it is impossible to regard without great surprise as well as regret, the indifference displayed towards the Feis Ceoil movement by a city which has always laid claim to more than ordinary musical taste and capacity, and which unquestionably possesses musicians capable of developing in every sense the talent which lies around them.

One of the great problems, or rather a whole nest of problems, which had to be faced was this—how far purely Irish help was to be sought, and purely Irish talent to be utilised and encouraged. Some did not believe in relying upon native orchestral resources in their actual undeveloped condition. Dr. Villiers Stanford, the first President of the Association, insisted that the best foreign band available, the Hallé Orchestra, should be engaged over from

Manchester for the festival concerts, and should perform not only Irish music, but also works by representative composers of other nationalities. To the great majority this seemed a needless incurring of expense, a needless slur upon the resources of the country, and too wide a departure from the main purposes of the festival. Not long before so competent an authority as Sir Arthur Sullivan had spoken warmly of the orchestral resources possessed by Dublin. The dispute ended with the resignation of Dr. Stanford, and the final resolution to draw upon native talent only for concert performances.

The next question was: Who are to be eligible to compete? Here it was decided to throw open the gates pretty widely. For the performers' competitions, a residence of three months in Ireland was declared sufficient qualification. The term 'Irish composer' was allowed to include (1) those of Irish birth or parentage, whether resident in Ireland or elsewhere; and (2) those of British or foreign parentage resident in Ireland for over three years. It has been found, as was expected, that stricter limits would have resulted in much barrenness in the composition competitions; native talent has been too little stimulated and cultivated to afford us a large harvest of creative work. It is to be hoped that, as time goes on, competitors with names racy of the soil will arise to produce even better work than has yet appeared from the pens, mainly foreign, of some of the prize-winners. It is obvious that there is no ground on which the Feis Association has more reason to appeal earnestly to the Irish public for pecuniary support than the necessity of offering large prizes which will educe the latent powers of our composers. Only large prizes will induce musicians, often hard-worked and struggling, to undertake the fatigue and trouble of an extensive and complex composition such as a cantata or a longish orchestral composition, nay, even of a smaller and simpler work, while having to face the uncertainty of success, the certainty of the labour and of the entrance-fee. Again, it is only large prizes which will have any effect in stimulating musical study, in inducing the young to qualify themselves to produce art works of

real value. Instead, therefore, of grumbling that gifted residents among us like Signor Esposito and Dr. Koeller have secured well-earned prizes, let us endeavour to supply the Association with the means it requires for stimulating more effectively the creative powers, the diligence, and the competitive instincts of our own rising musicians.

A third question was: Who are to judge? Here it was very properly decided to seek help only from musicians wholly unconnected with the Feis, and as independent as possible of local and personal influences which could excite any suspicion of injustice. The judges, therefore, in the more important competitions have usually been fetched from over-seas. An elaborate system of safeguards has been provided to secure unbiassed justice in the various awards; and so far there has been, it would seem, a complete and remarkable absence of ground of complaint on the score of partiality.

Many details, by no means devoid of interest, might be given as to the four Feisanna which have already taken place, the competitors, and the performances; but they would overflow my present limits of space. The number of entries was, from the beginning, quite a surprise, and in everything except the solo competitions the number has, happily, gone up each year. The first and third annual festivals have been held in Dublin; the second and fourth in Belfast. In general the North of Ireland has thrown itself into the movement with a vigour which contrasts with the apathy displayed, unhappily, so far by the South and West. There are small Ulster towns which number more subscribers to the Feis than whole counties of Munster and Connaught. The successful competitors, also, have very largely represented the North. In the Feis held in Dublin in 1899, out of *seventy-four* prizes of all kinds offered or awarded, absolutely *only two* went to natives of Munster and Connaught, and one of these was a third prize! Evidently the West is not at all awake in this matter, nor the South either. In no other way can this monstrous inequality be accounted for.

There is another respect, also, in which one would like to

see the balance struck somewhat more fairly. So far the pecuniary support of the movement has come far more largely from those who profess the religion of the minority than from Catholic pastors or people. Of course, I need not be reminded in what proportion the wealth of the country is divided among Protestants and Catholics. Yet I think the discrepancy I am at present noticing is much larger than it ought to be. It is easy enough, only too easy, to enumerate the subscribers of distinguished generosity on the Catholic side. Mr. Edward Martyn stands far ahead, then we have The O'Donoghue, Mr. P. J. M'Call, Dr. Sigerson, and two or three occasional donors. Among the very few Catholic clergymen we find his Eminence Cardinal Logue, the Most Rev. Drs. Henry, Sheehan, and Brown (Bishop of Cloyne), Very Rev. Francis O'Neill (Dunshaughlin), Very Rev. Canon O'Hanlon, M.R.I.A., the Very Rev. Arthur Canon Ryan, and the Rev. W. Delany, S.J. No doubt the chief reason for the extreme brevity of the list is to be found in the fact that no sufficiently direct appeal was made, and no sufficiently clear case made out, to a class of men who are sure to be found prominent in every movement by which they have once come to see that Irish moral or intellectual interests can be powerfully served. It is hoped that this article, imperfect though it be, will go far to supply this defect, and by attracting the friendly attention of our clergy, higher and lower, to the objects and working of the Feis Ceoil Association, will secure generous and necessary help for unselfish efforts of unquestionable national importance.

So far the Feis has been worked at a pecuniary loss, though an ever-decreasing loss. The deficit on the first season was about £400, that on the last about £47.

In what way can the work of the Association be helped? Speaking most generally, in three ways: the first is co-operation with its aims by local or personal effort for the preservation or cultivation of Irish music, for the development of musical talent, especially on the lines of choral or orchestral or theoretical work, for the cultivation of skill on peculiarly Irish instruments, such as the harp and the

bagpipes.[1] I have already said that the Central Committee are eager to encourage in every way such local or personal enterprise.

Secondly, you can help the work of the Feis Ceoil by becoming an annual subscriber. And the assurance is well worth repeating that the payment of one guinea not only confers membership of the Association (with right of suffrage) for the year, but also entitles to free admission to all concerts and competitions organized by the Committee.

Thirdly, you can powerfully aid by donations to the prize fund. The donation may be given for the general purpose of prize-money, or for the encouragement of some particular branch. Some benefactors display their preference for an instrumental solo, others for a full-voiced chorus; some will encourage the simple song with Irish words and tune, others some elaborate modern combination; some will think of the rank and file of the bands, others of the poor perspiring conductors. You can found a new special prize, taking care that the amount supplied covers the expenses of adjudication. It cannot be too clearly realized that the fruitful working of the whole Feis Ceoil enterprise depends mainly upon the Committee being able to offer substantial and attractive prizes. So far they have been compelled to change rather in the direction of curtailment than of increase; let us hope that an upward movement may now begin.

I end by indicating who are the persons at present carrying on the work of the Feis Ceoil. During the present month President and Vice-Presidents will be elected; for last year, when the annual festival took place in Belfast, the Lord Mayor of that city was President; the Vice-Presidents were—for Leinster, Lord Ashbourne and Count Plunkett; for Munster, Lord Castletown and Mr. A. W. Shaw; for Ulster, Lord O'Neill and Mr. James Musgrave; for

[1] As the mention of this instrument may excite prejudice in some minds, it is well to remark that the capabilities of the Irish pipes are not to be fairly judged from the performances nearly always (till, at least, quite recently) heard upon it. These performances were the result of the degradation into which the instrument had fallen, owing to its utter neglect by musicians of any cultivation.

Connaught, O'Conor Don and Mr. Edward Martyn. The Hon. Secretaries are Miss Edith Oldham and Mr. George Coffey. The offices are at 19, Lincoln-place, Dublin, to which all communications should be addressed. The Central Executive Committee consists of some thirty musicians and others, whom the actual working of four years has shown to be willing and able to devote time and trouble to practical business which is often of a dull and troublesome character. Musicians and also Irishmen have sometimes been accused of a quarrelsome disposition; the charge is, of course, in both cases, quite unfair; nevertheless, it will be readily understood that those who undertake to manage a competitive arena on which Irish musicians are to contend must not look for a life of wholly unruffled peace. No one of the Committee derives any profit from his pains except whatever credit with his countrymen his efforts may happen to gain him. All is most economically worked; at present not the slightest paid help is employed. Nor can the Committee reward their own services by showing favour to friends; as already explained, they leave to outsiders the office of judging.

From whatever point of view, then, the claims to public support of the Irish Feis Ceoil Committee be regarded, it would seem that these claims are such as may be respectfully and very warmly urged upon the attention of all patriotic Irishmen, and particularly of the Irish clergy. The Committee will endeavour to acknowledge the support they receive by striving more zealously towards realizing the best ideals of such friends; by more carefully cherishing all the roots and cultivating all the branches of Irish musical art—a tree whose bells ought to chime more sympathetically to the Irish soul than any that made melody from the fairy willows of bardic fable.

GEORGE O'NEILL, S.J.

THE OFFICE AND MASS FOR THE DEAD[1]

WHEN Ireland was known throughout the world as the 'Island of Saints and Scholars,' the liturgical music of the Church resounded from end to end of the land. In cathedrals and monasteries the holy Sacrifice of the Mass was daily offered with all that solemn grandeur with which the Liturgy has surrounded it. Day and night the Divine Office was rendered by priests and monks and sacred virgins to the magnificent melodies which the genius of early Christianity had evolved. A sad period followed, when priests and nuns were hunted from the country, and religious functions could be performed only stealthily and in hidden places. After a long night the dawn of a second day came at last. Once more the Catholic Church in Ireland is free to exist and to thrive, and the number of magnificent cathedrals and fine parish and regular churches that have been erected by a poor people are a splendid proof that the old faith could not be extinguished in Ireland.

But though splendid structures have been erected as worthy places where worship should be offered to the Almighty, though in most cases they have been beautifully furnished and decorated,—in the forms of the worship itself we have not yet gone back to the ancient models. A little music at Low Mass, even in cathedral churches, takes the place of the grand ceremonies of High Mass, and a tiny Benediction service is the only substitute for the solemn forms for the Church's own prayer.

Only in one instance the imposing liturgical forms have generally been restored, namely, at the Office and Mass for the Dead. It seems that that peculiar regard for the dear departed, which appears to be characteristic of the Irish race, prompted them to use in this one instance all that

[1] 'Officium Defunctorum et Ordo Exsequiarum pro Adultis et Parvulis una cum Missa et Absolutione Defunctorum.' Cura Gulielmi J. Walsh, Archiepiscopi Dublinensis, Hiberniae Primatis. Editio tertia novis curis expolita et aucta.

the ceremonial of the Church provides. The Office and Mass for the Dead, then, being the only relics of the solemn Liturgy of former times, there is a strong reason why we should cherish them in a special manner, and make every effort to have them always worthily carried out.

But there is another reason still stronger which, with reluctance, I must touch. A great change is taking place in our times. There is, thank God, still amongst the vast majority of Irish Catholics a strong and living faith. But that simplicity of faith which took everything for good that came from the priests, that implicit trust which never doubted their action, is dying away. A spirit of doubt and suspicion is gradually permeating the country, a disposition to criticise the actions of the priests and to distrust their intentions is finding its way from the continent into this island. Under these circumstances it is a sacred duty of the clergy to avoid anything that could impair the piety or faith of the people. But it must be confessed that the Office and Mass of the Dead are, in many places, gone through in a manner that is not calculated to edify the people. These sacred ceremonies are carried out in a way that savours of irreverence, and might produce the impression that the priests themselves do not believe in the supernatural reality of what they are doing. Is not this careless manner apt to induce the faithful to say their own prayers carelessly? Is not this apparent want of reverence a grave danger to their faith? These are strong expressions, and, as I said already, I use them reluctantly. But years of observation and reflection have convinced me that there is a really grave danger here.

On the other hand, I have the greatest confidence that to have this abuse eradicated, it is sufficient to bring it clearly under the notice of the priests of Ireland; that to remedy the evil, they have but to be made fully conscious of its existence. With this confidence I venture to make a few suggestions, which I hope will tend to give back to those religious ceremonies that beauty of form which makes them a worthy offering to God and an incentive to the piety of the faithful.

The two principal evils I perceive in the rendering of the Office and Mass for the Dead are shouting and hurrying. While perceptible in both the functions mentioned, they are particularly observable in the recitation of the Office. First, as to shouting; it is difficult to understand how this bad habit sprang up. It is severe on the voice and painful to the ear. It is, moreover, quite meaningless. No doubt, a strong tone is sometimes wanted in music to express strong emotion, but how could one's feelings remain at the highest pitch of intensity during the singing of several psalms? Moreover the form of the rendering of the Office, the recitation on a monotone, insinuates nothing of passionateness. Even a more elaborate form, the singing of the psalms to the psalm-tones, suggests calm meditation rather than excited emotion. All the more the simple recitation, being devoid of all musical modulation, seems clearly to point out that nothing but the simplest and most unaffected declamation of the verses is the proper method of rendering them. When thus performed, even this plain recitation, which appears to have put off every adornment of art, may be supremely beautiful. A sweet tone resultant from a number of well produced voices, striking the ear with that medium strength that can be endured for a long time, varied in its quality by the different vowels of the text, rhythmically enlivened by the accentuation of the words and regulated by the parallelism of the Hebrew poetry, can produce a highly artistic effect. I have frequently listened to the simple recitation of the Office by some pious monks, and felt enchanted by the musical effect of their choral prayer. But what do we hear at many of our Dead Offices? The chanters start at the top of their voices, and the choir falls in with a deafening noise. The two choir sides seem to compete as to which of them can produce the biggest sound. The man with the most powerful voice is the hero. He who cannot make his voice heard beside him is despised as useless.

This kind of recitation always reminds me of an incident told in the Book of Kings. The prophet Elias one day challenged the priests of Baal to show by a miracle who was the true God. The priests of Baal 'called

on the name of Baal from morning even till noon, saying: O Baal, hear us. But there was no voice, no one that answered: and they leaped over the altar that they had made. And when it was now noon, Elias jested at them, saying: Try with a louder voice: for he is a god, and perhaps he is talking, or is in an inn, or on a journey, or perhaps he is asleep, and must be awaked. So they cried with a loud voice, and cut themselves after their manner with knives and lancets till they were all covered with blood.' Surely we do not believe that the efficacy of our prayers is in proportion to its loudness. Let the chanters, therefore, intone in a medium pitch of voice, say on *f* or *g*, with a strength of tone just sufficient to be easily heard in the whole choir, aiming rather at beauty and distinctness of sound than at imposing volume. The choir then should join in a similar manner, each man listening to his neighbours, and trying to blend his voice with theirs. This, indeed, means a certain self-denial, and a constant self-control. But let us do it with a good intention, and our sacrifice will add to the efficacy of our prayer for the departed.

The second fault that interferes with the dignity of our Offices is hurrying. On this subject I find it still more inconvenient to write. I am sure this fault does not arise from any conscious desire to get through the Office in the shortest possible time. I have far too high an opinion of the priesthood of Ireland to entertain such a thought. But the fact remains that the recitation of the Office in many places is spoiled of any appearance of devotion by an undue rapidity of utterance. To remedy this it is necessary that all concerned should make a conscious effort to keep the pace within reasonable limits. The surest way, however, to suppress any tendency to hurrying is, I think, the due observance of the pause at the asterisk. I have already alluded to the specific poetic form of the psalms, the parallelism of sentences. This parallelism is brought out in the choral rendering of the psalms by a pause between the corresponding members. Thus a sensible rhythm is constituted, which forms one of the greatest charms of psalmody. In the singing of the psalms this pause is emphasized by a

melodic inflection at the end of the first half of the verse. In the simple recitation the moment of silence between the two halves is the only means of externating the poetic form of the psalms. By the law of the Church the observance of this pause is made obligatory even in the mere recitation of the psalms. I will not discuss the question here, whether this law binds in the case of the Dead Offices, such as we have in this country. But I should like to point out clearly that the pause at the asterisk is a most essential element of the dignity and beauty of psalm recitation. As to the duration of this pause, opinion may be divided. It appears that in the middle ages, in the singing of psalms, it was made very long. But it is essential, and probably sufficient for the mere recitation, that there should be a perceptible moment of absolute silence in the middle of each verse.

There is one other point of a general character to be touched on, namely, the question of unity of version in the melodies to be sung. This, naturally, is of more importance in the Mass than in the Office; but there it is of great consequence. The state of the question, as everybody knows, is this: When the solemn celebration of Catholic worship was first resumed in this country, choir-books were introduced from France, containing what in that country, at that time, was considered as Gregorian Chant. Then, in the year 1868, the Sacred Congregation of Rites, being anxious to have an official or 'authentic' version of the Gregorian Chant, commissioned Pustet of Ratisbon to issue a reprint of the Gradual published, with the authority of that same Congregation, by the Medicean printing establishment in Rome in 1614 and 1615, and hence called *Editio Medicea*. This edition of the Gradual, together with an edition of the Antiphonarium, was recommended by the Holy See to all the bishops of the Church, and, in accordance with this recommendation, prescribed for this country by the National Synod of Maynooth in 1875. Since that time all the young priests have been trained in the 'new' chant, while many of the older priests still adhere to the 'old' form. The inconveniences of this are manifest, and it is equally manifest that there is only one remedy for this, namely, the

universal adoption of the 'new' form. The difficulties that are against this I can fully appreciate. It is very hard to give up what one has learned and cherished since the days of youth, to throw away the books dear from their use on so many solemn occasions, and to go to the trouble of unlearning the familiar, and learning the strange. I also admit that there may be a question as to which version is the more beautiful; in fact, I am inclined myself to believe that the old version is preferable in many ways to the new one. But what are all these considerations when there is question of obedience and unity? The Roman books have been introduced by legitimate authority, and there is no way of having our Dead Offices rendered properly except by the general adoption of the authentic version.

This adoption is made all the more easy, as the new edition of the Manual under review places at our disposal a book which for convenience, completeness, and reliability could scarcely be surpassed. The *Ordo Exsequiarum*, edited by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin, even in its earlier editions, has been justly admired as a most useful compilation. The present (third) edition has been completely recast in its arrangements, and most carefully revised and supplemented. In this little book the whole ceremony of the burial of the dead, including the Office, the Mass, and the Absolution, is presented in such a manner that each portion of this varied function is given completely and in the proper order, under whatever circumstances the ceremony, or any part of it, may take place; so that at no point does any necessity arise of referring to an earlier part of the book. Moreover, very full directions, with quotations from approved authors or decisions of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, are given, so that almost any doubtful point can be cleared up on the spot, and without reference to any other book. Amongst the decrees of the S.R.C. quoted, we notice several of the year 1899, so that the book is well up to date. The completeness of the publication is exemplified by the insertion, in the Collection of Prayers for the Dead, of several Collects from the Missal not usually found in that collection. The only thing that might, perhaps, be desired as an addition

to the book would be the Epistles and Gospels of the Mass. There is a particular reason for having the Epistles, as, in cases where the singing choir have to get ready for the rendering of the Gradual, this should be done towards the end of the Epistle, so as to avoid unnecessary delay. But it must be admitted that in the vast majority of cases no need for this will be felt. Notwithstanding its completeness, however, the book is by no means unhandy, its one hundred and ninety-one pages of clear print, on strong paper, forming a volume of only five-sixteenths of an inch in thickness.

Through the book we find a number of useful indications as to the rendering of the chants alternately by chanters and choir. We propose to deal with this subject at some length, especially as some strange customs with regard to this prevail. It may be well, by way of introduction, to say a few words of a general character about the two principal forms of alternate singing in the Liturgy, the *responsorial* and *antiphonal*.

The responsorial method of singing psalms, which appears to have been the common one in the Western Church during the first few centuries, may best be illustrated by the *Responsorium breve* of Compline. The chanters sing the verse *In manus tuas, Domine, commendo spiritum meum.* This the choir repeat as a kind of answer, and it thus is their *Responsorium.* Then the chanters sing a second verse, *Redemisti nos, Domine Deus veritatis*, and the choir repeat part of their Response, *commendo spiritum meum.* Then the chanters sing a third verse, the Doxology, *Gloria Patri, et Filio, et Spiritui sancto,* and the choir again repeat their Responsorium. This, the true form of the responsorial singing, obtains, in the present Liturgy, only at the *Responsoria brevia* of the minor hours. At the *Responsoria prolixa* of Matins and similar Responses the first repetition of the Response is dispensed with. The chanters then only intone the Response, and the choir take it up at once. Again, in other Responses, such as the Gradual of the Mass, all repetitions have disappeared, and the fact that a certain chant is a Responsorium can be ascertained only by historical investigation.

In antiphonal singing, which had its origin in the Eastern Church, the choir is divided into two parts, which sing the psalm verses alternately. The two choir sides then sing *against* each other as it were; hence the name Antiphone. St. Ambrose is said to have introduced the singing of Antiphones into the Western Church. By this we have probably to understand that he introduced the antiphonal method of chanting. For in the early centuries the word *antiphona* means antiphonal singing. At a later period—it is not quite certain when this happened—in conjunction with antiphonal singing, a kind of refrain was introduced, a short verse with a melody different in style from the psalmodic form of both antiphonal and responsorial singing. This verse, which we now know by the name of Antiphon, was formerly frequently repeated during the singing of the psalm. At a later period it was sung three times, before and after the psalm, and after the Doxology. Nowadays it is sung only before the psalm and after the Doxology.

A good example of the responsorial style we meet in the first chant given in the book under review, the *Subvenite, Sancti Dei.* The expression in the rubric preceding it, *Clero alternatim respondente*, means, of course, 'the choir singing their response alternately with the chanters singing their verses.' This Responsorium has two verses—the *Suscipiat te Christus*, and the *Requiem aeternam*, which latter, of course, takes the place of the Doxology.

The next chant in the book, the *Invitatorium*, is an example of the older style of antiphonal singing. The Antiphon *Regem, cui omnia vivunt, venite, adoremus* is repeated, either entirely or partially, after every two verses of the invitatorial psalm *Venite exsultemus Domino.* But according to the present rite the psalm verses are not sung antiphonally by the two choir sides, but rendered by the chanters, the choir singing only the antiphon. Thus the chant has all the appearance of responsorial singing. The division of the last repetition of the antiphon between chanters and choir is particularly strange.

The psalms of the Nocturns and Lauds being sung antiphonally, the antiphons, properly speaking, ought to be

chanted by the two choir sides combined. The prevailing custom in this country is to have them recited by one of the chanters only, and for convenience sake this custom may be retained. It is to be observed, however, that, as the first verse of the first psalm is to be rendered by the senior side, either the junior chanter must recite the first antiphon, or the senior chanter both recite the first antiphon and intone the first verse, and similarly with the following psalms. I would mention here also that the proper place for changing the tone, when the choir has fallen in pitch, is the beginning of the new antiphon.

The lessons of the Matins in a properly constituted choir should be sung by lectors, that is, persons who have received the order of lectorate. Where there are no clerics in minor orders, but only priests, as is usual at our Offices, the junior curates would seem to be the proper persons to be selected for this office. As to the rendering of the lessons, when they are not sung, it would seem to me that they ought not to be spoken, but chanted on one tone, like the psalms. The unity of style, which it is desirable to maintain throughout the Office, seems to demand this.

With reference to the chanting of the Responses after the lessons, his Grace has the following footnote. *In libris liturgicis Responsorio cuique adsignatur cantus suus proprius, Psalmorum cantibus omnino solemnior. Quando igitur officium, omisso cantu, recto tono recitatur, cavendum est ne Responsoria, ut nonnunquam fit, minus solemniter quam Psalmi recitentur: quapropter expedit ut Responsoria singula incipiant Cantores, Clero prosequente a signo ||, usque ad Versiculum: Versiculos recitent Cantores, Clero respondente.* This note, with admirable brevity, explains an inappropriate usage with many of our choirs, gives the reason for its inappropriateness, and points out the remedy. Two things, then, ought to be observed: first, each response ought to be intoned by a chanter, who is thus to indicate the pitch to be taken up by the choir, and, secondly, the verse or verses of the Responsoria ought to be recited also by the chanter, not by the lector. It would seem proper that

the two chanters should alternate in this office, just as the lectors are taken alternately from the senior side and the junior side. The pitch should be about the same as for the psalms.

We are glad to observe that after the ninth lesson the response *Libera me, Domine, de morte aeterna* is placed first, the one *Libera me, Domine, de viis inferni*, which in this country is rarely said, being relegated to the second place.

At the Benedictus Antiphon we notice the direction that the choir should join in at the word *resurrectio*. This is as it ought to be. For the intonation comprises only the words *Ego sum*. The chant of the *Benedictus* is printed in full, as is also that of the *Magnificat* at Vespers. We should like to call attention to the pointing of the words *qui oderunt nos* in the fourth verse, where the accented syllable of *oderunt* is placed not on the third last note, but on the second last note, as it ought to be.

The *Introit* of the Mass is an antiphonal chant. Formerly, while the celebrant proceeded to the altar, a whole psalm, or as much of it as was required, was chanted. According to the present Liturgy only one psalm verse, generally the first, and the Doxology are chanted, the antiphon being added before and after. The antiphon, then, after being intoned by the chanters, should be sung right through by the choir, without any further alternation. The psalm verse, according to the present regulations, is divided between chanters and choir, the latter joining, in the Requiem Mass, at the words *exaudi orationem*. In the Requiem Mass the Doxology is omitted, of course, nor is, in this place, the *Requiem aeternam* substituted for it, evidently because the Introit Antiphon consists of these words. After the psalm verse, then, the Antiphon is immediately repeated, and better, as before, with intonation by the chanters.

The *Kyrie* is a kind of antiphonal chant. The present book directs it to be sung by the two choir sides alternately, both joining at the last *Kyrie*. It is allowable, though, to have this alternation replaced by one of the chanters and

choir, the reasons for this method being that sometimes the two choir sides, if divided, might be too weak, and that a little more variety is secured by having the few voices of the chanters changing with the many of the choir. In this arrangement the last *Kyrie* would best be divided, the chanters singing *Kyrie*, and the choir joining at *eleison*.

The *Gradual* is a response, but all the repetitions are omitted in our present Liturgy. The first part, then, the response proper, after being intoned by the chanters, is to be sung by the choir. The verse belongs to the chanters.

The *Tract* is said to have its name from the expression used in mediæval Latin *tractim canere*, which means to sing without any interruption of either antiphon or response. The three verses of the Tract in the Requiem Mass may then either all be sung by the choir, or, preferably, the middle one may be assigned to the chanters, as suggested by his Grace.

The *Sequence* should be sung alternately, either by the two choir sides, or by chanters and choir, or by the select voices performing a harmonized setting and the rest of the choir.

The *Offertory* is an antiphonal chant, formerly consisting of an antiphon and a number of verses. Now generally we have only the antiphon remaining. In the Requiem Mass, however, one verse is left, which is to be assigned to the chanters, all the rest, after the intonation, falling to the choir.

The *Sanctus* again requires some alternation, best of chanters and choir. As it is desirable that the choir should sing the two *Hosanna*, the two verses immediately preceding them, *Pleni sunt coeli* and *Benedictus*, would fall to the chanters. Then as the first *Sanctus* naturally serves as intonation, the choir would further have the words *Sanctus, Sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth*, which is the arrangement suggested by the Archbishop. According to the regulation of the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* the *Benedictus* is to be sung after the Elevation. It is quite clear, however, that the whole *Sanctus*, including the *Benedictus*, originally formed one piece of music. This explains why, in the

melody of the Requiem Mass, the first *Hosanna* has no proper cadence, ending, as it does, on the third of the mode. It may not be out of place to point out here that the words *in nomine Domini* in the *Benedictus*, are to be connected not with *qui venit* ('He that comes in the name of the Lord'), but with *Benedictus* ('Blessed be in the name of the Lord').

The *Communio* again is an antiphonal chant, the psalm that used to be sung during the communion of the faithful being now generally omitted and only its antiphon left. In the Requiem Mass alone we have a trace of the former custom, there being the verse *Requiem aeternam*, after which part of the antiphon is repeated. This verse, according to the present regulations, is to be sung by the chanters.

The responses at the various absolutions are mostly taken from the Matins, and are to be chanted like the responses of Matins. The *In paradisum* is an antiphon, as indicated in the rubric, and, after intonation, should be sung right through by the choir.

In an appendix his Grace gives, first, the Vespers of the Dead, which may, sometimes, be wanted; secondly, a simplified version of the *Libera*, approved of by the Sacred Congregation of Rites; thirdly, a setting of the words of the Gradual, Tract, and Offertory to psalm tones. As these chants are rather difficult and may often be found to be beyond the reach of the choirs, this arrangement will be welcome. In this method, of course, all trace of the former construction of these chants is effaced. It does not matter, therefore, what way any alternation may take place.

Lastly, the appendix contains several settings in four parts of the alternate verses of the *Dies irae* and the Canticle *Benedictus*. The first of the settings of the *Dies irae* is the well-known one also contained in the two former editions of the book. There used to be some difficulty about the arrangement of the parts in this setting. In the edition of 1884 the four parts were printed in a form suitable for mixed voices, but altogether impossible for male voices. In the second edition a different form was printed, which is

manageable by male voices, but is not the form generally adopted. To do away with all uncertainty his Grace has, in the third edition, printed the chant in three forms: first, in the way in which, for male voices, it produces the best effect; secondly, in the form more frequently adopted, in which the total range of the voices is less extended, some changes being made that are necessitated by the inversion of parts; and thirdly, in a form suitable for mixed voices. He has, moreover, set it out in the modern clefs and the proper transposition, so as to indicate what pitch is most suitable for each of the three arrangements. A second harmony for the same Sequence, having for its author the Rev. Dr. Haberl of Ratisbon, and the two settings of the Canticle *Benedictus* already contained in the former editions, conclude this admirable compilation In the second setting of the *Benedictus,* however, each verse to be harmonized is written out in full, so as to leave no doubt as to the proper method of arranging the syllables to the various melodies of the four parts.

From all we have said it should appear, we think, that there is now at the disposal of the Irish priests, for the celebration of the various functions for our dead, a manual as perfect as could be desired. Let us hope that this little book may be a means to an improved rendering of these solemn functions, for the greater honour of God, the benefit of the departed, and the edification of the living. We also hope that through the adequate rendering of these liturgical services a taste may be created for the other portions of that solemn Liturgy which forms one of the grandest adornments of our Church.

H. Bewerunge.

CORRESPONDENCE

A FORGOTTEN CHANTRY

Rev. ! Dear Sir,—In the gracefully-written paper on the above heading, from the pen of Mr. J. B. Cullen, which appears in the current issue of the I. E. Record, we are given an account of St. Saviour's Chapelry, New Ross. Mr. Cullen is careful to inform us that numerous 'worthy scribes' have written most erroneously on the various religious houses of New Ross, and he deprecates the 'hopeless confusion' which has been perpetuated by Stanihurst, Holinshed, Hanmer, Ware, &c.

Mr. Cullen tells us that the Dominican Friars established a *locus* or branch house at New Ross in 1267, which is the origin, he says, of the Chapel of St. Saviour's.

Now, first of all, St. Saviour's—in the patronage of the Sovereign and burgesses of Ross—was in existence before the year 1245; and, secondly, the Dominican Friars had no house at Ross.

The Dominicans were given a foundation at Rosbercon, county Kilkenny, in 1267, and Friar Clyn, under date of 1328, tells us that William FitzJohn Roche and others were slain, 'after having been dragged from the *locus* or place *of the Friars Preachers at Ros Bargun*,' or Rosbercon. This *locus* of the Dominican Friars at Rosbercon was founded by the Graces and Walshes in 1267, and was dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin.

We next read: 'Some time after the year 1384 the Dominicans of Rosbercon got possession of the Priory of Clonmines, county Wexford, previously held by the Regular Canons of St. Augustine.'

There are two mis-statements in this statement by Mr. Cullen. 1st. The Dominicans did not get possession of the Priory of Clonmines; they merely acquired for a time a *locus* at Clonmines, *cir.* 1400-1450. 2nd. Clonmines was not previously held by the Regular Canons of St. Augustine. It was founded by Art Mac Murrogh, in 1384, for the Eremites of St. Augustine, or Augustinian Friars, and was re-established, about the year 1720, at Grantstown, opposite Clonmines, where it still flourishes.

The Churches of St. Mary and St. Evin, New Ross, were impropriate to St. John's, Kilkenny, although claimed for a long time by the Prior and Convent of Christ Church, Canterbury. I may add that Luke Blake, March 3rd, 1574, granted Rosbercon Friary in fee to William Keogh and Father William Kearns, chaplain.—Yours faithfully,

WM. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

Enniscorthy,
September 10*th*, 1900.

DOCUMENTS

BEATIFICATION OF THE VENERABLE MARY MAGDALEN MARTINENGO DI BARCA

EX ACTIS LEONIS XIII ET E SECRETAR. BREVIUM
LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE SUPER BEATIFICATIONE V. S. D. MARIAE
MAGDALENAE MARTINENGO A BARCO

LEO PAPA XIII

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Nulla unquam aetate Ecclesiae Christi Sanctorum gloria defuit. Haec enim non viris tantum sed etiam feminis virtute praeclaris laetatur, quae coelestis Sponsi vestigiis insistentes per arduum quodque virtutis iter vitam constantissime egerunt. Ipsa puellas martyrio insignes primis potissimum temporibus excitavit, ipsa spectandas virginum cohortes protulit, quae posthabita rerum mortalium cura spretisque illecebris ac deliciis mundi sese Deo totas manciparunt. Hae abditae in Christo solitariam et umbratilem vitam agentes, pauperes, omnibus abstinentes supra quam credibile est, contra naturae infirmitatem fortes coelestis Agni qui inter lilia pascitur nuptias inhiarunt, immortalia ab ipso praemia praestolantes. Inter has emicuit Venerabilis Dei Famula Maria Magdalena Martinengo a Barco, quae die quinta mensis Octobris anno reparatae salutis MDCLXXXVII e vetusta ac praenobili inter Italos gente Martinengo Brixiae nata avitum familiae decus longe auxit splendore virtutum, Margaritae nomine in Baptismate appellata a teneris unguiculis pietatis laude floruit vitaeque innocentia. Silentio enim potius ac solitudini quam nugis puerilibus solebat va care, diu orare, precesque ad plures horas producere, pauperum simul inopiam industrio charitatis studio levare egregiae indolis puella, unice cupiebat. Prima illa aetate magnum vitae discrimen subiit, nam ruri cum forte currenti cisio veheretur, humi lapsa et a praepete rota in pulverem provoluta non nisi praesenti Dei ope tanto e periculo omnio incolumis evasit. In Monasteriis Angelorum ac Spiritus Sancti institutionis causa recepta, sociis ac magistris virtutum omnium se praebuit exemplar. Ibi primum coelesti Sponso florem virginitatis vovit, ibi poenitentiae ac vitae interioris spiritu adducta in religiosam Monialium

Capulatarum familiam coepit cogitare. Quare contempto saeculi fastu, neglectis praedivitis familiae commodis spretisque mundanis nuptiis ac fortiter devictis a patre et consanguineis obiectis difficultatibus, die octava Septembris mensis anno MDCCVI in asceterium Brixiense Monialium Capulatarum in optatum veluti portum laeta confugit, et in ipso iuventutis flore insignis fama et nobilitate virgo miserum induta S. Francis cisagum et aspera fune lumbos praecincta, Mariae Magdalenae nomine assumpto, solemnia religionis vota nuncupavit. Quibus quidem nuncupatis videri coepit ad religiosae vitae perfectionem concitato cursu contendere. Mira quippe in ipsa elucebat humilitas, singularis et in obtemperando alacritas et in quibusvis molestiis perferendis patientia, accuratissima legum vel minimarum observantia, nunquam intermissum precationis studium cui dies noctesque quum instaret alienato saepe a sensibus animo divinae gratiae donis uberrime perfundebatur. In recolendis autem Christi Domini cruciatibus tanto afficiebatur doloris sensu tantaque inardescebat amoris flamma, ut prope exanimis plerumque languesceret. In afflictando autem corpore assidua illi austeritas, nam puritatis lilium quod a primis annis Deo dicaverat, aspera praecinctum poenitentiae sepe servavit et innocens corpus ieiuniis, flagellis, ciliciis aliisque exquisitis cruciatibus compescuit. Virtutibus enim omnibus heroice perfuncta poenitentiae exempla reliquit admiranda magis quam imitabilia. Ferro etiam atque igne in carnem saeviit: saepe ferreis acubus membras transverberavit cruentaque vulnera ardenti sulphure perstrinxit. Nullis in monasterio pepercit laboribus nec abiectissima quaeque munia detrectavit: vestes sordidiores, cellam angustiorem, lectulum equuleo magis quam strato similem in deliciis habuit. Sed cum ob virtutum praestantiam omnium admirationem sibi conciliasset, eam licet invitam ad potiora officia sodales vocarunt. Et primum puellis quae in tyrocinio versarentur ad religiosam vitam exercendis informandisque praeposita fuit commissasque suae fidei et magisterio virgines ab ingrediendum atque excurrendum naviter perfectionis iter exemplo suo confirmavit. Dein munus obiit Rotae Custodis atque hoc in officio vel extra monasterii claustra plures Deo animas salutaribus monitis lucrifecit, brevique universam urbem sanctimoniae suae fama complevit ita ut innumeri fideles ad asceterii crates accederent ut solam Venerabilis Dei famulae vocem audirent. Tandem plenis suffragiis in Abbatissam electa amplum et grave munus tam sancte gessit, ut ipsae moniales testatae sint regimen illius

divinum potius fuisse quam humanum. Triennio ingravescentibus in dies conflictata infirmitatibus, quas hilari semper constantique animo pertulit, dissolvi cupiens ut ad coelestes Agni nuptias quas tantopere deperibat advolaret, anno MDCCXXXVII sexto Kalendas Augustas, laboribus magis ac poenitentiis quam aetate confecta, Brixiae, qua in Urbe ante annos quinquaginta lucem hauserat, exitu placidissimo animam efflavit Quae de Venerabilis Dei famulae Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco sanctimonia invaluerat opinio, percrebuit magis postquam ipsa e vivis excessit, accedente praesertim prodigiorum celebritate quae ipsa Dei famula deprecante contigisse ferebantur Haec providentiae divinae illius tumulum illustrantis praeclara documenta, multi enim ex Mariae Magdalenae sepulchro praesentem opem sensere, novos Franciscalibus Capulatis nec non Clero populoque Brixiensi subiicere stimulos ut Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo causa apud Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem ageretur. Probationibus iuridice sumptis riteque perpensis Pius PP. VI re. me. Praedecessor Noster tertio Nonas Maias anno MDCCLXXVIII Mariae Magdalenae virtutes heroicum attigisse fastigium solemni sanxit decreto. Inita est dein actio de miraculis quae ea deprecante divinitus patrata tradebantur, omnibusque de iure absolutis idem Praedecessor Noster Pius PP. VI per decretum quinto Nonas Martias anno MDCCXCIII datum de uno miraculo constare solemniter edixit; Nosque per decretum quinto Nonas Iul. a. MDCCCXCVIII editum de altero miraculo intercessione Venerabilis Famulae Mariae Magdalenae a Deo patrato constare similiter suprema auctoritate Nostra declaravimus. Quum igitur de virtutibus ac de duplici miraculo iam esset prolatum iudicium, illud supererat discutiendum num eadem Venerabilis Dei Famula inter Beatos coelites tuto foret recensenda. Quod praestitit dilectus filius Noster Caietanus S. R. E. Presbyter Cardinalis Aloisi-Masella causae relator in generali Conventu coram Nobis in vaticanis aedibus tertio Kalendas Decembres anni MDCCCXCVIII habito, omnesque tum Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, tum qui aderant patres consultores unanimi suffragio affirmative responderunt. Nos vero iterandas esse Deo preces censuimus, ut ad sententiam in tam gravi negotio ferendam coeleste auxilium Nobis compararemus. Dominica vero in Septuagesima superioris anni; Eucharistico litato Sacrificio, adstantibus Cardinalibus Camillo Mazzella Episcopo Praenestino Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi Praefecto,

ac praefato Caietano Aloisi-Masella relatore, et D. Diomede Panici Secretario, nec non R. P. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, decrevimus tuto procedi posse ad solemnem Venerabilis Dei Famulae Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco Beatificationem. Quae cum ita sint, Nos moti precibus universi Ordinis Franciscalium Capulatorum, auctoritate Nostra Apostolica harum litterarum vi facultatem facimus ut Venerabilis Famula Maria Magdalena Martinengo a Barco Monialis professa Capuccina Beatae nomine in posterum nuncupetur, eiusque corpus et lipsana seu reliquiae non tamen in solemnibus supplicationibus deferendae publicae venerationi proponantur atque imagines radiis decorentur. Praeterea eadem auctoritate Nostra Apostolica concedimus ut de illa recitetur officium et Missa celebretur singulis annis de communi Virginum cum orationibus tamen propriis per Nos approbatis. Eiusmodi vero Missae celebrationem et officii recitationem fieri dumtaxat concedimus in Dioecesi Brixiensi atque in templis omnibus atque oratoriis quibus ubique terrarum utitur Franciscalium Capulatorum ordo, ab omnibus fidelibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus qui Horas canonicas recitare teneantur. Denique concedimus ut solemnia Beatificationis Venerabilis Dei Famulae Mariae Magdalenae Martinengo a Barco in dioecesi, ac templis supradictis celebrentur cum officio et Missa duplicis maioris ritus, quod quidem fieri praecipimus diebus per Ordinarium designandis intra annum postquam eadem solemnia in Patriarchali Basilica Vaticana fuerint celebrata. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ac decretis de non-cultu editis caeterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut harum litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, dummodo manu Secretarii dictae Congregationis subscripta et Praefecti sigillo munita sint, eadem prorsus in disceptationibus etiam iudicialibus fides habeatur quae Nostrae voluntatis significationi hisce litteris ostensis haberetur. Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XVIII Aprilis MCM, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Vigesimotertio.

L. ✠ S.

Alois. Card. Macchi.

DECREE RELATING TO RELICS

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE RITUUM

URBIS ET ORBIS DE IIS QUAE INTER INSIGNES RELIQUIAS ADNUMERANDA SUNT

A pluribus locorum Ordinariis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi sequentia dubia diluenda proposita sunt; videlicet:

Dubium I. Utrum pars anterior brachii, quae antibrachium dicitur, ab alia parte superiori eiusdem brachii separata, haberi possit uti Reliquia insignis?

Dubium II. Utrum idem sit dicendum de eadem parte superiori brachii, quatenus nempe et ipsa uti insignis Reliquia haberi queat?

Dubium III. Utrum cor, lingua, manus, si ex miraculo intactae conserventur, haberi debeant uti Reliquiae insignes?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, re mature perpensa exquisitoque voto Commissionis Liturgicae, ad tria proposita dubia rescribendum censuit:

'*Affirmative.*' Et ita respondit ac declaravit:

Die 27 Junii 1899.

DOXOLOGY OF THE HYMN VENI CREATOR, &c.

DECRETUM

CIRCA DOXOLOGIAM HYMNI VENI CREATOR, ETC.

Cum Commissio Liturgica quaestionem extendisset super conclusione Hymni *Veni Creator Spiritus*, utrum scilicet consultius esset necne eam semper immutatam dicere; Sacra Rituum Congregatio sententiam suam aperuit momentaque graviora exposuit, quibus innixa suum sentiendi modum amplexata fuerit. Hisce aliisque probe consideratis;

Sacra eadem Rituum Congregatio declaravit:

'Doxologiam *Deo Patri sit gloria,—Et Filio qui a mortuis—Surrexit ac Paraclito—In saeculorum saecula*—ita esse censendam praefati Hymni propriam ut eadem semper sit retinenda ac nunquam, quovis anni tempore vel quocumque occurrente Festo, in aliam mutandam,' Atque ita servari mandavit.

Die 20 Junii 1899.

CONCESSIONS OF THE BULL 'AETERNI PATRIS' EXTENDED TO NUNS WITH SIMPLE VOWS

CONCESSIONES BULLAE 'ÆTERNI PASTORIS' EXTENDUNTUR ETIAM AD MONIALES VOTORUM SIMPLICIUM

Emus. Cardinalis Vicarius Urbis postulavit a S. Poenitentiaria: 'Utrum moniales professae *votorum simplicium* comprehenduntur in Bulla *Aeterni Pastoris:* et utrum durante anno jubilari debeant eligere confessorem inter approbatos *pro Monialibus;* vel possint eum eligere inter illos qui sunt approbati ab Ordinario pro personis saecularibus.'—Et S. Poenitentiaria, die 11 Ianuarii 1900, ita rescripsit: 'S. Poenitentiaria, consideratis expositis, respondet: Ad Moniales quoque simplicia vota professas spectare beneficia Bullae *Aeterni Patris* eisque licere confessarium sibi semel eligere ex simpliciter approbatis ad audiendas confessiones personarum saecularium.'

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE ASSISTANT PRIEST

URGELLEN[1]

Magister Caeremoniarum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Urgellensis summopere desiderans ut in sacris functionibus omnia rite et adamussim peragantur, de sui Emi. ac Rmi. Domini Cardinalis Episcopi consensu atque mandato Sacrae Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur humillime exponit, nimirum:

Ex vigenti consuetudine et speciali privilegio Dignitates et Canonici Cathedralis Ecclesiae Urgellensis, habent Presbyterum assistentem et quidem Beneficiatum, in omnibus Missis conventualibus, tam in duplicibus in quibus Canonici inserviunt pro Diacono et Subdiacono, quam in semiduplicibus et feriis in quibus munus Diaconi et Subdiaconi a Beneficiatis impletur. Hinc quaeritur:

I. Utrum in Missis non pontificalibus ministrari debeant ampullae a Subdiacono, sive Canonico, sive Beneficiato, licet adsit Presbyter assistens?

II. (1°) Quo ordine procedere debeant Celebrans, Presbyter assistens, et ministri dum e Sacristia ad Altare pergunt et vice versa?

(2°) Utrum initio Missae Presbyter assistens collocare se debeat ad dexteram Diaconi stantis a dextris Celebrantis?

III. An servari possit immemorabilis consuetudo, vi cuius

[1] Illud documentum, uti sequens iam in praecedenti fasciculo vulgata, terum proponuntur cum nonnullis mutationibus superadditis. N.D.

Presbyter assistens infra cantum Hymni Angelici et *Credo* sedet ad sinistram Subdiaconi?

IV. An stante immemorabili consuetudine, possit Presbyter assistens se transferre una cum Celebrante ad cornu Epistolae, ibique stare a sinistris ipsius Celebrantis versus Diaconum, dum hic Evangelium cantat?

V. Utrum dum Diaconus ad credentiam accedit ut bursam cum corporali ad altare deferat, surgente Subdiacono, ut moris est, etiam assurgere teneatur Presbyter assistens, donec ipse Diaconus ad scamnum redierit?

VI. (1) Utrum Presbyter assistens incensari debeat ante Subdiaconum, sive hic sit Canonicus, sive non?

(2) An pacem recipere debeat a Subdiacono, postquam hic eam dederit Clero in choro?

(3) An Subdiaconus praesente Episcopo in throno cum pluviali et mitra, vel cappa magna, dare debeat pacem prius Diacono, sit necne Canonicus, et postea Presbytero assistenti?

VII. An continuari possit immemorabilis consuetudo, qua post habitam concionem coram Pontifice in throno assistente, Presbyter assistens se locat in plano cum palmatoria a sinistris Diaconi, dum hic confessionem cantat ex libro?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisito voto Commissionis Liturgicae, omnibusque accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuit:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Quoad primam partem*, semper procedant, in casu, unus post alium, et Presbyter assistens incedat ad sinistram Celebrantis.

Quoad secundam partem, praedictus Presbyter assistat ad dexteram Celebrantis.

Ad III. *Affirmative*, sed in scabello separato.

Ad IV. *Affirmative.*

Ad V. *Negative.*

Ad VI. Quod primum *affirmative*, quoad secundum *negative*, sed a Celebrante, et dabit Diacono; et Presbyter assistens Celebrantis, recipiat pacem a Presbytero assistente Episcopi; quoad tertium servetur Caeremoniale Episcoporum.

Ad VII. *Negative.*

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 15 Aprilis 1899.

L. M. Card. Parocchi.

L. ✠ S.

D. Panici, *S. R. C. Secretarius.*

PRIVILEGES OF THE 'ZELATORES' FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE FAITH

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE INDULGENTIARUM

DUBIUM CIRCA PRIVILEGIA CONCESSA SACERDOTIBUS ZELATORIBUS PII OPERIS A PROPAGATIONE FIDEI

BME. PATER,

Secretarius Consilii Centralis pii Operis quod a Propagatione fidei inscribitur, ad pedes S. V. humiliter provolutus, exponit quod cuique Sacerdoti, qui ad quodcumque Consilium seu Comitatum ipsi pio Operi dirigendo vel promovendo pertinet, nec non sacerdoti qui in anno summam respondentem mille subscriptionibus in capsam pii Operis intulerit undecumque eam acceperit, plures concedentur facultates et privilegia. Verum non in una tantum dioecesi, sed in plerisque Epus loco constituendi ad directionem pii Operis Propagationis Fidei Consilium seu Comitatum virorum ecclesiasticorum, unum tantum designat sacerdotem, puta Vicarium Generalem vel aliquem ex Canonicis, qui omnibus fungiter muneribus, quae forent explenda per Consilium seu Comitatum eiusdem pii Operis. Iam vero quaeritur num hic sacerdos ab Epo ad praefatum munus explendum unice designatus gaudeat necne praedictis facultatibus ac privilegiis. Et quatenus negative, Orator postulat humiliter a S. V., ut eidem sacerdoti petitas facultates et privilegia benigne tribuere digentur.

Et Deus.

SSmus. Dnus. Nr. Leo Papa XIII. in audientia habita die 14 Maii 1899 ab infrascripto Card. Praefecto S. C. Indulg. Sacrisq. Reliquiis praepositae, audita propositae, audita propositi dubii relatione respondit valde commendandam esse constitutionem regularis Comitatus seu Consilii in singulis dioecesibus ad praefatum pium Opus Propagationis Fidei rite promovendum; interim vero si ab aliquo Episcopo tantummodo sit designatus Rector Diocesanus, qui muneribus fungatur in precibus expressis, idem SSmus. benigne declaravit Rectorem diocesanum ita ab Epo designatum gaudere, quoadusque Rectoris munere fungatur, privilegiis et gratiis, quibus fruuntur ex apostolica concessione sacerdotes qui verum Comitatum seu Consilium diocesanum constituunt. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae Ex secria. eiusdem S. C. die 14 Maii 1899.

Fr. Hieronymus M. Card. Gotti, *Praef.*

✠ Antonius Arch. Antinoen, *Secrius.*

INDULGENCED PRAYER TO ST. ANTHONY OF PADUA

INDULG. 100 DIERUM CONCEDITUR RECITANTIBUS PRECEM IN HONOREM S. ANTONII PATAVINI

BMO. PADRE,

Il Cardinale Lucido Maria Parocchi, Vicario della S. V., prostrato al Vostro Trono, umilmente implora per i fedeli che reciteranno la seguente Orazione a S. Antonio di Padova, per impetrare una grazia particolare, l'Indulgenza di *trecento* giorni, da lucrarsi una volta al giorno, applicabile anche alle Anime del Purgatorio.

ORAZIONE

Ammirabile S. Antonio, glorioso per celebrita di miracoli, e per la degnazione di Gesú, venuto in sembianze di bambino a riposare tra le vostre braccia, ottenetemi dalla bontá di Lui la grazia che nell'intimo del mio cuore ardentemente desidero.

Voi, che foste verso i miseri peccatori cosí pietoso, non attendete a' demeriti di chi vi prega, ma alla gloria di Dio, che sará un'altra volta esaltata da Voi, alla salute dell'anima mia, non disgiunta dalla domanda, che ora sollecito con tanta brama.

Della mia gratitudine ne sia pegno il tenue obolo, che io v'offro in soccorso de' poveri, con i quali mi sia dato un giorno, per grazia di Gesú Redentore, e per l'intercessione vostra, di possedere il regno dei cieli. Cosí sia.

Ex Aud. SS. die 6 Maii 1899.

SS. D. N. Leo PP. XIII, retroscriptas preces adprobare easque indulgentia centum dierum semel in die lucranda ditare dignatus est, executione rescripti remissa ad S. Congr. Indulgent.

L. M. Card. VICARIUS.

Ex Audientia SS. die 6 Maii 1899.

SS. D. N. Leo Pp. XIII in Audientia habita ab Emo. Card. Lucido M. Parocchi benigne annuit pro gratia in omnibus iuxta preces, mandavitque expediri Rescriptum a S. Congne. Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Secria. eiusdem S. Congnis. die 15 Maii 1899.

Fr. HIERONYMUS M. Card. GOTTI, *Praef.*

✠ ANTONIUS Archiep. ANTINOEN, *Secrius.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE CATHOLIC TEMPERANCE READER. By the Rev. W. H. Cologan, Hon. Sec. Catholic Truth Society, and Sir Francis Richard Cruise, D.L., M.D., Ex-President Royal College of Physicians of Ireland, &c. London: Catholic Truth Society, 69, Southwark Bridge-road. Second edition, 1900, price One Shilling.

BEYOND all doubt this *Catholic Temperance Reader* deserves the attention of the Irish public, and particularly of the Irish clergy. 'It is not [writes Cardinal Vaughan] one of those sensational and passionate invectives against intemperance which are, by their very nature, evanescent in their effects. It is based on a carefully-marshalled array of facts, and upon testimonies given by all classes of men in public authority. No one will rise from the perusal of this 'Reader' without recognizing that a strong appeal has been made to his reason, to his common sense, to his conscience.'

In the compilation of the 'Reader' Father Cologan has had the invaluable assistance of Sir Francis Cruise, and in the chapters dealing with the evils arising from alcohol, its effect on the strength, its effect on the stomach, its effect on the heart, its effect on the nervous system, we recognize the clear, measured, and convincing style of the medical collaborator. Cardinal Vaughan heartily recommends the 'Reader' to the managers of Catholic schools. Is there less need in Ireland than in England for some such 'Reader'? There are, perhaps, many things in this English 'Reader' not suitable for Irish schools. We should not care, for instance, to have Irish children generally made acquainted with the blood-curdling story of Joseph Tucker, the murderer, who confesses (page 94), that drink was the cause of all his crimes. But a suitable edition of the work could easily be adapted to the needs of Ireland; and, surely, if there be a country anywhere in the world in which the whole machinery of education needs to be put in motion against the evils of alcohol that country is Ireland. If this 'Catholic Temperance Reader' be not adopted for use in our Irish schools most ardently

do we hope that some similar manual may be found to supply its place. Meanwhile we sincerely congratulate both Father Cologan and Sir Francis Cruise on the good work they have performed, convinced, as we are, that its good effects will be felt for many a day, and will be fully shared in by many of our own poor countrymen.

J. F. H.

Our Duties to our Dead and How we Discharge Them. By the Right Rev. Mgr. Hallinan, D.D., P.P., V.G., Newcastle West. Dublin: Catholic Truth Society of Ireland, 2, Lower Abbey-street.

As a practical illustration of what the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland may accomplish for religion, and for the social advancement of the people, we may point with confidence to Mgr. Hallinan's pamphlet. Old habits are not easily eradicated, and although now for many years a veritable campaign has been conducted by the clergy against the abuses connected with wakes and funerals, it is, unfortunately, impossible to say that complete success has attended their efforts. Public opinion must be won over to the side of civilization and religion, and in order to be won it must be educated and convinced. Mgr. Hallinan in the most persuasive form has summed up in this pamphlet all the arguments that religion, patriotism, self-respect, and respect for the dead suggest and proclaim against the practices that in many parts of the country are still, unhappily, associated with wakes and funerals. At the end of the pamphlet there are some very valuable suggestions relating to tombs and graveyards which will be found useful in cases where new graveyards have to be established.

J. F. H.

Ireland and France. From the French of Alfred Duquet. London: R. & T. Washbourne.

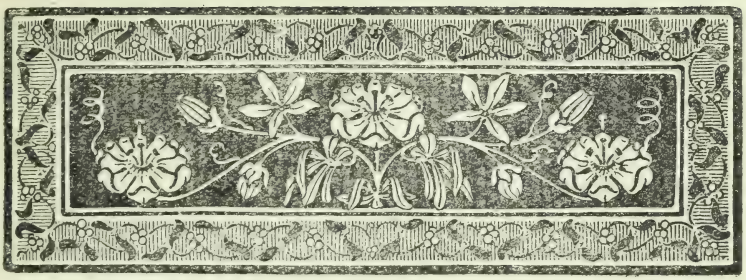
The work is a translation of Mons. Duquet's little book. It describes the visit of the French deputies who came to thank the Irish people for their generous sympathy towards France during the war with Prussia. An Irish Red Cross brigade had been organised and had done splendid service in the cause of the wounded during the progress of the hostilities. The deputies were received enthusiastically in every place they visited during their

stay. The book has all the excellent qualities of French authorship —a light and graceful narrative, that makes even names and dates interesting. There is an appendix, which is a reprint from the *Irish World* of a life of Marshal MacMahon, and which would itself more than repay the purchaser in interest and information. The translator's work has been fairly executed. In all the booklet is a worthy notice of a generous episode of a famous period and must have for us all a large interest.

PURGATORY: its Pains and Consolations. The motives and means to relieve the suffering souls. By the Very Rev. Dean Kinane, P.P., V.G., Cashel. Dublin: M. H. Gill and Son.

As the month of November approaches no book of devotion could be more opportune than this little volume on Purgatory. It is a very valuable addition to the series of devotional works by which the venerated Dean of Cashel has stimulated the piety of Irish Catholics for many years: and it will remain, when the Dean has gone to his reward, as one additional proof that piety and learning have ever gone hand in hand in the venerable church of St. Patrick and St. Brigid.

No encomiums of ours are necessary in the case of a volume which has received such unqualified praise from His Eminence Cardinal Logue, from the illustrious Archbishops of Cashel and Tuam, and from the Bishops of Galway, Waterford, Clonfert, Derry, Kildare, Elphin, Kerry, Cork and Ardagh. We gladly bring it under the notice of the clergy and hope that it will be recommended by them to the faithful, particularly during the month of November.



KINDERGARTEN AND THE CATECHISM

KINDERGARTEN! The very word makes some people shiver; it makes some people smile and shake their heads. The sedate people shiver; the unthinking people smile. I suppose we shall always have these dear sedate folk who shiver at everything seemingly new, thinking it revolutionary; who would rather keep to the ways of 'the good old days' their fathers knew, to whom steam and electric uses, etc., are almost an abomination.[1] But the world will keep going ahead, notwithstanding, and will keep finding new ways, and revolutionising many things. I can, however, comfort the souls of the sedate by showing them that Kindergarten is only, seemingly, a new thing, and that it is not revolutionary.

It is not so easy to deal with the unthinking, to win their hearts and heads; but this, at least, we might fairly hope for, that they would cease to talk about and condemn a thing until they have looked at and understood it somewhat.

What is the truth about Kindergarten? It is a method or system of instructing youth. The name, *Kindergarten*, given to the system is rather new; it is about fifty years old.

[1] The sedate folk have sometimes very respectable representatives. The reader will, perhaps, remember how when railways began to run at twelve miles an hour, the *Quarterly Review* called for the interference of the State to prevent the sacrifice of human life; and how Lord Brougham, when young, declared the proposal to light a city with gas to be the dream of a madman.

The system so designated is, or ought to have been, as old as the hills. The name came happily, as he thought, to the inventor, Froebel. Must we translate it? (*Kinder* = children, *garten* = garden.) But for our clime it is not so welcome, where garden parties are not always practicable nor pleasant, sometimes not even popular!

But if the name is, as some even of the warmest advocates of the thing admit, not happily chosen, the idea it clothes is true and most acceptable. What is the idea conveyed to us somewhat by the term Kindergarten? Let us, please, use the name now throughout this paper, *quid de nomine*, it is—

> but as the guinea's stamp
> The thing's the gold for a' that!

The golden idea is this—for clearness we express it under three heads, and those who have studied Froebel know we have warrant for the division—a system of education that would have:—

1. The *place* for teaching pleasant to the child.
2. The *matter* of teaching pleasant to the child.
3. The *manner* of teaching pleasant to the child.

Is this all? Yes, all. Why, this is only a declaration of first principles. True, it is nothing more. But the marvel is, how few, comparatively few, before Froebel, troubled themselves to search for these principles; how fewer still troubled themselves to apply them; how few, even now, apply them. Now, perhaps, very many will begin to work them out, for the new primary education code, the outcome of the exhaustive and able Report of the late Commission on Manual and Practical Instruction, declares 'school should be made a pleasant place in every possible way.'

This page will meet the eyes of many who, reflecting a little, will know if these first principles were worked out before in all cases. Will anyone deny the wisdom of the three points?

> No profit grows where is no pleasure taken[1]

is surely true here. Harshness never gains a child. Too often has it warped and spoiled for life fine but wayward

[1] 'Taming of the Shrew.'

natures. In our own dreamings o'er the past, dreams that bring wisdom, do we not feel how much, not only brighter, but better, our lives would have been if more sunshine had been let in upon the school days. Oh, the hideousness and the farce of these days. The dingy schoolrooms, the interminable, unpalatable tasks, a dreary, wearying round, the whacking system, all come back like the pleasant memory of a nightmare. And then when the summer came, bringing hope of release for a while, there came, too, the annual show—'Exhibition,' it was called—when the relatives of the pupils came from far and near, and the grandpapas and venerable aunts gaped in wonder and admiration as the youthful brood, trained to expound selected passages, seemed very experts in Horace and Homer and the rest, while vivid clapping closed the farce. Well if it were only a farce, but such things simply trained the youngsters in deceit. Intermediate education may have much blame or praise laid at its door, but one good it can claim: it has killed 'exhibition shows.'

If the full truth is to be said about Kindergarten all the credit for the thing should not be given to Froebel. He gave it a name; but the germ of it was certainly in the mind, at least, of Pestalozzi.

Pestalozzi was, indeed, in many ways, a remarkable character. He may be said to be the pioneer of modern primary education; for he lived well into this century, and, although highly impracticable, as far as the ability to methodise and transmit his power, his ideas were sound and only needed development. Froebel, who survived him by many years, dying only in 1852, caught the inspiration fairly and worked it into daily life, leaving us a system. Pestalozzi was the more lovable character, Froebel the more useful. Germany owned them both, and, certainly, the Fatherland owes them much.

Some one was bold enough to call Pestalozzi the Beethoven of primary teaching. The praise is high, perhaps too high. But there was certainly a resemblance between the masters in one point, in their indifference to, nay carelessness for some of the urbanities, and here, indeed,

Pestalozzi wins the palm. One of his young scholars thus sketches him as he showed in 1806 :—

> Imagine a very ugly man, with rough bristling hair, his face scarred with small-pox and covered with freckles, an untidy beard, no necktie, his clothes hanging loose and unfastened; fancy him panting as he jerked himself along; his eyes now half-shut, then opening with a glance of lightning. Such he looked, yet we all loved him, for he loved us all; we so loved him that if a few days went by and we had not seen him we all felt sad.

Pestalozzi's principles for educating are thoroughly sound. The young human being, he remarks, is an undeveloped organism; education develops it; in the development of all organisms more depends on the earlier than on the later stages. We must insist strongly on attention to early physical and intellectual education, to qualify the human being for a free and full use of all the faculties implanted by the Creator. To the mother it is given by God to be the first and principal agent in the development of the child; her power to work lies in maternal love, but her love must be a 'thinking love.' The ordinary teacher develops the child best by a benevolent superintendence. He must study his pupils, note their capacity, their ways, *e-ducere, i.e.*, lead out what is in them—the evil to kill it, the good to strengthen it. The teacher must have a heart; in fact, intercourse between educator and child, and all school-discipline, must be based on and controlled by love. The knowledge acquired by a child will be precisely what he has made his own by personal observation and experience. The teacher's work does not lie in the path of lecturing or telling. True knowledge will come to the child if it be taught not *what* to think, but *to think*, to exercise the power of observation, to draw a conclusion. Let the teacher simply and in a kindly way furnish material for this exercise: let every new idea be connected with that already known.

All this seems admirable; yet it did not please Froebel. Froebel had heard of Pestalozzi's ways, paid him a short visit at Yverdun, and, after a little, returned and stayed two years watching the working of his plans. They did not quite please him. It does seem true that Pestalozzi's way was too high for his pupils. He would have them earnestly

attentive, but this earnest attention he tried to gain by exciting interest in the matter before them and by showing them affection. He would never allow a joke; he would never tell a story. He had, indeed, a singular power of attaching his pupils to himself; but this personal gift, of course, went with him, and he left no system. Froebel accepted Pestalozzi's principles, and worked them in a form that should live and bear fruit. People too, there are, who find fault with Froebel's plan. They say it is all play, childishness. Is this fair?

In his studies of child nature, Froebel, of course, noticed its restlessness, its eagerness to touch, pull about, and change the condition of things around. We all notice this, and sometimes suffer from it woefully! Children will not only touch and alter, but they will try to imitate by scrawling or modelling the forms that they see. Froebel held that this fidgetiness, this unrest, are merely the struggles of the child's soul to get exercise for its powers. Using these symptoms he would give them *play* through his 'gifts' and 'occupations,' believing the child will be delighted and instructed readily by seeing the results that they themselves have helped to bring about. They see in these results the expression somewhat of their own thought. The thought is strengthened, grows, rather is helped to grow, by a competent teacher; so some knowledge comes, and the power to acquire more is got. This is the foundation laid fairly, pleasantly, begun in play; but leading to mighty results.

I do not try to produce a treatise on the Kindergarten system! I do not even try to tell its history. But I do with pleasure and with hope point to its results.

Early in the century that is fast dying, Fichte caught the attention of Prussia to the matter of education as the only means to make a nation great, and declared that no system of education was sound unless based on the principles of Pestalozzi. Sixty years afterwards, in 1872, at a great educational congress held in Berlin, it was stated that largely to the work of the schools where these principles were carried out, was due the regeneration of the country. Has not Prussia, indeed, gone a-head within the century?

The Kindergarten system has been caught up by the nations, and everywhere with signal results. In America it prevails, and in far Japan ; and who needs to be told how these young nations are advancing. Let us hope and pray that as now, by the action of the late Commission on Education, Kindergarten is made the key-note of the whole system of teaching, the young plant may take deep and firm root amongst us, and may help to make our Ireland also great.

Before passing from this part of the paper and trying to point out how the Kindergarten idea may be made to have a good effect also on catechism teaching, it is interesting to note, briefly, how there have been minds in the far-back, to whom came more or less clearly this, as some will have it called, 'new idea of education.'

Does not the idea seem to prevail—we say it with deepest reverence—in the parables and other instructions of the Great Teacher Himself? We note how He stooped to the capacity of the hearers ; how, making entrance easy for the truths He would impress, He caught up illustrations from surrounding circumstances—now by the lake-side it was from the fisher's work ; now in the fields it was from the seed sowing; now it was from the fuss that a poor woman makes over a lost coin ; and in this familiar way he led the people *to think*.

Plato says :—

The child is not good but may become good, if well looked to. Let his education be pliant yet firm ; pliant, that he be not unduly restrained, yet firm, that he be saved from dangers.

Quintilian would have a youth's studies be made most pleasant, lest the natural disposition to dislike work may be so strengthened that when a young man, he may cast aside all burdensome pursuits.

Plutarch says :—

I know some teachers who are the enemies of youth. Eager to push their scholars on, they overload them with a forced labour, with this result, that the faculties, being almost overwhelmed, are made dull, and learning becomes hateful. The young plants should be developed gently, and not forced.

The Jesuits, of course, did catch and work out the true idea:—

Disciplinam non modo tolerabilem sed etiam amabilem. Sapientum hoc omnium seu veterum seu recentum constans judicum est, institutionem puerilem tum fore optimam cum jucundissima fuerit, inde enim et *ludum* vocari.

What is it all but St. Paul's thought:—

As unto little ones in Christ I gave you milk to drink, not meat, for you were not able as yet.[1]

It is interesting to note how St. Jerome taught the Kindergarten idea. In a letter to Læta, the daughter-in-law of St. Paula, telling how to educate her little daughter, he says:—

Let the child have an alphabet of little letters made of box or ivory, let her *play* with them, for so learning becomes a diversion. When a little older let her form each letter in wax with her finger; then let her be invited by prizes suited to her age to form syllables and to write the names of people. Let her have companions in learning, that she may be spurred on by emulation. She is not to be scolded if slower, but to be encouraged; great care is to be taken that she conceives no aversion to studies, less the bitterness remain in riper years.

II

Now, just to touch the subject of Kindergarten and the Catechism; Kindergarten can be here considered only in reference to the way the truths of the Catechism are to be impressed on the young mind and heart.

Taking as true that Kindergarten, because it forbids all harshness, all forcing or straining, is *omnia omnibus*, would only aid the young mind to develop itself naturally, because it is all this and more, Kindergarten is the soundest, safest, fairest form of educating youth.

If this be granted; let us put the question straight: Do its qualities always attend the way in which the truths of the Catechism are put before the very young? Have the young never to complain—of course they do not complain, but they look their misery!—of what Pestalozzi tells of some secular teaching, the 'indescribable tedium, the weary

[1] 1 Cor. iii. 2.

time spent in occupations that are neither relished nor understood'?

Of course the Catechism has things that are not to be understood; but the Catechism has nothing to which a relish could not be added if the food were laid fitly before the children.

Is it so laid? Are the truths brought to the level of the children's capacity, is the entrance to the child's mind made easy, is the youngster led to grasp the truth and make it his own by some familiar, natural example; or rather too often does not the 'teaching' consist in piling before the child some sesquipedalian words or phrases which the youngster must swallow undiluted and undiminished. Do we say, dogmatic phases and words cannot be changed. No; but may they not be analysed and simplified? Does not a skilled Kindergarten teacher know how to apply 'word-building'?

What wonder, if this be so, that again and again you do meet big boys and girls, who have been often to Holy Communion, and who can repeat to you pat the words of the Catechism; and who will yet tell you they never received a sacrament. That you hear of them coming to manhood and womanhood, going abroad, as many do—a nation's life-blood ebbing out—to an English or American city, not knowing because they never heard, or hearing were not taught to assimilate and make their own, one reason for the faith that is in them, and, having no longer to go to Mass mechanically, will not go, and will get lost to religion and to God. Then will come the cutting remark—who of us has not at times heard it—from some one that, if mayhap it be, has met these lost ones on a death-bed: 'Why do you not teach your people better?'

It is sad, and all the sadder, because the remedy is within reach, and has only to be applied. The difficulty is to get it applied.

Quite true is it, that everywhere now throughout Ireland I believe this subject has been taken up. Diocesan examiners in catechism are at work, and with good results. Much has been done, but, as all know who are often among

the children, much can yet be done. *The teachers must instil the Catechism in the Kindergarten mode.* Does the antiquated phrase yet prevail: 'The children know enough, they will know too much'? This does not seem to be the mind of Leo XIII.

I sometimes wonder, if, catching up the full spirit of the founders of Kindergarten, we dispensed with almost all formulæ in teaching the Catechism to very young children, to infants and First Book certainly, I wonder what effect would come. I do believe a very good effect would follow.

If for instance, instead of whole chapters of catechism there were put on the blank page of the child's mind with the sign of the Cross only the words :—

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost: Glory be to the Father, who created us and all things, Glory be to the Son who redeemed us, Glory be to the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us.

And if for years, certainly up to seventh year, there was no more put before the child, but that the mother first and then the teacher would make the budding mind of the child gently sip the sweetness here contained :—

Glory be to the Father who created us and all things.

That bright colour that catches the child's attention, that sweet it tastes, that singing bird, that flower, that sunshine, that little bed in which it snugly rests and so on, and so on, all were made by the Great Father for love, to win the child's heart and have it His for ever.

'Glory be to the Son who redeemed us,' *i.e.*, bought us back, paid the price beforehand seeing we would go wrong, and what a price; 'not gold or silver,' but His own life. Then, how this was done, and where. Why, no fairy-tale could so catch a child's mind and hold it and impress it unto life eternal as this story if duly told. And would not this indeed be catechism made easy and pleasant, truth sent home, made palatable, not huge thoughts flung at the child and rammed in, burdens laid on, and 'not a finger used to move them.'[1]

'Glory be to the Holy Ghost who sanctifies us,' *i.e.*,

[1] Matt. xxiii.

makes us good and happy, and how; what ways the Holy Ghost uses to come to us, to stay with us: all this drawn out as the capacity of the child and time allow would mean much religious truth really conveyed. Would it not? It would not mean, nor could it at all result in the apparent fruit of the present style of teaching; children gaping at you if you take them at all off the beaten track, the words they have got by rote, and never understood. Not likely then you would have big ones, knowing the formulæ to perfection, telling you, God the Son was nowhere before He became man, that He became man in Heaven, etc. If any reader of this thinks it exaggerates, let him for his own enlightenment go with his young folk a little off the beaten track, and see what grip they have of the phrases that they have been repeating for years.

How different it will be, if, please God, we get the mothers and the teachers to instil the essence of holy truth from the very first. How awful it is in infant schools to hear the endless repetition style by which youngsters are now 'taught'! I do ardently hope the new code will extinguish this uproarious system. For hours together they yell, 'c a t, c a t'—how it must disturb even the shade of Froebel!—and when catechism time comes the work goes on with similar din. And even the trained teacher will tell you it is thus only the youthful brain can be developed! It seems wonderfully like to watering a flower garden with a fire-engine.

Who that is much among children does not know that they catch up readily, and remember well, what interests them. They never forget a nursery rhyme or a story. If then you do not begin by interesting them, you labour in vain to teach them, you build on sand. Has not Locke well said, that a teacher's main work is to fit the child's mind to receive knowledge; and the Great Master, the Fount of Knowledge, does He not convey that His yoke, while ever a yoke, is ever 'sweet,' to be sweetly laid and ever sweetly borne?

F. Canon Ryan, p.p.

CARDINAL MAZARIN

FRENCH history during the seventeenth century presents few more interesting personages than that of Cardinal Mazarin. An utter stranger to France, being by birth and education an Italian, this remarkable man raised himself and his connections to places of eminence in the country of his adoption. From playing an insignificant *rôle* in the political strife of petty states he entered into and became chief actor in the European drama of his day, much as some professional actors leave the playhouses of country towns to win distinction on the metropolitan stage. On the incidents of his eventful life historians have taken sides. The romantic aspect of some of them has commended itself to writers of fiction; his times have been not unfrequently availed of as a setting for tales of adventure. His name has been rendered familiar to many readers of periodical literature, both serious and recreative,[1] where he has appeared sometimes to advantage, but at times quite otherwise. It may be useful therefore to glance at his career, and examine somewhat the accusations made against him.

The amount of criticism evoked by the story of his life may perhaps be accounted for by the fact, that he wore the cardinal's robes. Strangely enough, he is not usually censured as an ecclesiastic, though of course for a Catholic, this would be the great point of attack. If ever there was a case of *habitus non facit monachum*, it was Mazarin's. Though he received minor orders—and he was not ordained subdeacon—his motive in entering the ecclesiastical state was not high, as we shall see. He clearly had not a divine vocation, and his connection with the Church was a misfortune. But as a practical man of the world, which he was from first to last, a politician, and above all as a diplomatist, he is one of the great figures of his century; while as a patron of literature and the fine arts he has some claim to

[1] *Harper's Magazine*, *Edinburgh Review*, and many others.

be mentioned among the founders of the national taste of France.

Jules Mazarin,[1] or (to give him his Italian patronymic) Giulio Mazarini, was born July 14th, 1602, at Piscina a small village in the Abruzzi. His parents were humble, his father being an *homme d'affaires* at Rome to Don Philippo Colonna Grand Constable of Naples, and his mother, Hortense Bufalini, a woman of singular beauty and spotless reputation, a ward and god-daughter of Colonna's. The youth is said to have come into the world *coiffé*, and with two teeth—an ominous circumstance, to which the cardinal was fond of referring in subsequent years. The Jesuit college at Rome, whither he was sent at the age of seven, was the place of his early training; and here his exceptional talent soon became apparent, as well as his remarkable vivacity. He was found to be so advanced in his studies at sixteen that he was chosen by the Jesuit astronomer, Father Grassi, to sustain a thesis regarding a celebrated comet that appeared in 1618. Cardinals, princes and *litterati* assembled in the college hall to witness the first great intellectual effort of the future celebrity. Showing a decided talent for acting—a characteristic in which the child was surely father of the man—he appeared some time later at the same college, in a dramatic representation held to celebrate the canonisation of St. Ignatius. In this piece he is said to have played the *rôle* of St. Ignatius with great effect. The fathers it appears were not without hopes that young Mazarin would devote his talents to the service of God in the Society of Jesus; but he evinced no desire whatever to become a priest; much less was he anxious to embrace a life of self-abnegation involved in religious obedience. On the contrary, he was eager to enter the world, and to advance in all the graces that would give him the *entrée* into good society, and in his design he was a child of fortune. By his fine appearance, and the *finesse* that was ever a second nature to him, he seems to have quite won the heart of the Grand Constable. Anyhow he

[1] *La Jeunesse du Card. Mazarin*, Cousin.

was brought up with the children of Colonna at Naples, and in the Colonna palace he quickly learned the manners, and the vices too of good society. Gambling was the passion of the age, and soon Mazarin made astounding progress in his knowledge of and success in all games of chance. He united in himself the qualities best suited to help in such dangerous practices—courage bordering on rashness, together with a perfectly imperturbable temper. He could look on at a game where he had much at stake without betraying the slightest indication of anxiety or excitement, and he kept his tongue in perfect control, so as not to offend anyone by the unseemly language common at such amusements. The money which he won he expended on dress, and the maintenance of a huge retinue of servants. He had of course his days of ill-luck, and one eventful day saw him reduced to such straits that he was forced to pawn his wardrobe and jewel-case. But he was not to be outdone. With a few *livres* raised on a pair of silk stockings—the only pair left—he played so well that he was able to redeem his pledge.

To check these evil propensities this ardent gambler was sent to Spain. And here an event was on the point of happening which might have changed the whole aspect of subsequent European history. Mazarin was offered the hand of a certain Spanish notary's daughter. However his guardian's consent, which was necessary, was not to be had; and to divert him summarily from any such alliance he was instantly sent back to Rome with despatches from the notary. His sojourn in Spain was not without fruit; for there he acquired the Spanish manners which afterwards helped to win him favour with the Queen Regent of France.

Once again back in Rome, and secure for the present from any serious distraction, he devoted the energies of his active mind to the study of law, giving himself so heartily to his work that he was able at twenty years of age to take his doctor's degree *in utroque jure*. For want of something more lucrative probably, he was now glad to accept a captaincy in the Papal army then in the Valtelline. This was one of the hinges on which his whole future turned.

In the Valtelline he became something of a strategist, while during the six years of negotiations which followed the withdrawal of the Pontiff's forces, he began to evince and rapidly develop his own peculiar talents for diplomacy. Observant, ever studying the situation, ever instinctively as it were divining the proper course and following it, he is described as an agent of quite Protean possibilities, constantly changing and adapting his schemes to men and times, ever hurrying from post to post, indefatigable, adroit, subtle, cunning, the very embodiment of all that was required for the most delicate political crisis.

With a view to preferment[1] he entered the ecclesiastical state and received minor orders some time before 1629. Urban VIII. recognised in Mazarin a most suitable person to entrust with the ending of the War of the Mantuan Succession. His complete success in this affair was most liberally rewarded by the Pope. This was in 1629. In 1632 he was attached to the legation which was sent from Rome to mediate between France and Savoy. This was the occasion of his introduction to, and first interview with Richelieu. The prime minister was profoundly impressed with the practical sagacity of the young Italian, and remarked of him 'I have just been speaking to the greatest statesman I have ever seen.' Nor was he slow in giving the court intimation of his appreciation of Mazarin; he availed of the first opportunity that offered of putting so apt a disciple in state-craft in a position where he might exercise his genius. Mazarin was recommended as nuncio to the court of France in 1630. The request, however, was not complied with till 1634. Meantime Richelieu lavished his attentions on him; kept him at his palace at Ruel; had him specially nursed there during an illness that threatened to end fatally; and left nothing undone to win over this foreigner to French ideas, and especially to secure his appreciation of his own policy. Through the cardinal's influence he was gradually becoming a *persona grata* at court. He assisted at the baptism of the dauphin. Every day he was becoming more

[1] Cantu, *Histoire Universelle*, tome xvi.

of a Frenchman. In 1640 Richelieu sent him to Savoy, where the regency of Christine, Duchess of Savoy, and sister of Louis XIII., was disputed by the Princes Maurice and Thomas of Savoy. The mission was eminently successful; the question of the regency was satisfactorily settled, and moreover the princes were won over to France.

I cannot tell you [Richelieu wrote] my contentment that your negotiations with Prince Thomas have been successful. God has allowed you to show in this matter what you can accomplish in *greater and more important treaties in which you will take part* . . . You may be sure that in all times and places I shall be, not uselessly, your servant.

On receiving these words of congratulation Mazarin wrote to a friend, 'the Cardinal has sent me a letter that would rouse me if I were dead.'[1]

As a consequence of this mission the cardinal's hat came to him in 1641, and was placed on his head by Louis XIII. himself. Having entered the service of the king he was retained in office on Richelieu's death, which took place in 1642. It was evident at the time that Louis XIII. would not live long, so that arrangements had to be made regarding the regency of Anne of Austria. In these regulations Mazarin took part, and as a *protégé* of Richelieu's acted in stout opposition to the queen-mother. He was instrumental in founding the famous council of conscience which was to help the queen in her state affairs. On the king's death in 1643 it was a matter of universal surprise to find the queen appointing Mazarin, whom all believed her enemy, to be her first minister. It is stated she was captivated by the cardinal's Spanish manners. Be that as it may, a thorough understanding arose between the queen and her minister. She placed implicit trust in him, and he, while being most assiduous in his obsequious attention on her majesty, was not without suspicions of the nobles and great lords in and around the court. He was quite equal to his delicate position. From the first he gained complete ascendancy over the queen, so much so that the belief became general that the sole pilot of the political bark was M. le Cardinal.

[1] Perkins's *Richelieu and the Growth of French Power*. New York: 1900.

Richelieu's political programme had been a large one. To break the power of Austria; to push the French frontier to the Rhine; to maintain a counterpoise of German states against Austria; to secure alliances with Sweden and the Netherlands—these were some of his most cherished designs. The accomplishment of these he left to Mazarin, and apparently, his political foresight almost amounted to prophecy. The treaties of Westphalia in 1648, and of the Pyrenees in 1659, extending the limits of France north-eastward, bringing within the French frontier several strong fortresses, and flourishing towns of Artois, Hainault, of Flanders and the country between the Meuse and the Sambre,[1] prove that a master-mind had been entrusted with the mighty enterprise. Some would maintain that it is to the generals at Mazarin's disposal, the famous Condé especially, and Turenne, that we are to attribute this marvellously rapid aggrandisement. Mazarin's[2] letters, however, are sufficient evidence of the fact that he was the mainspring of the energies of France, and that the councils of Europe had good reason to see in him a statesman endowed with some of Richelieu's best qualities.

Foreign politics, for which Mazarin was eminently suited, were not to be the only theatre of his activity. In 1648 commenced the civil war known in history as 'La Fronde.' This was the last effort of feudalism in France. The cardinal incurred the odium of the nobility on account of the immense taxes which he was constantly asking the *parlement* to impose; his absolute ascendancy over the queen was a continual source of the bitterest jealousy, and the ill-feeling against him was heightened by the fact that he was a foreigner. De Retz, a virulent anti-Mazarin, was fond of alluding to the minister's ignorance of France. The *parlement* and many prominent nobles were agreed on one point, that Mazarin was the enemy of France, and that his removal was the one thing to be desired. With a view to his speedy expulsion, the formidable faction of the Fronde

[1] Philips' *Historical Atlas* (art. vii., France in xvii. cen.). London: 1876.

[2] *Les Lettres du Card. Mazarin pendant son ministère. Documents inédits sur l'histoire de France.* Paris: 1896.

was formed. Cardinal de Retz,[1] the life and soul of the anti-Mazarin party, explains the origin of the term 'La Fronde':—

Bachoumont said the *parlement* was like schoolboys in the Paris ditches who flung stones (*fronde*, a sling), and ran away when they saw the constable (alluding, probably, to their weak-mindedness in dealing with the court party), but meet again as soon as he turns his back. This was thought a very pretty comparison. It came to be a subject for ballads, and upon peace between the King and the *parlement* it was revived and applied to those who were of an opposite party to the court.

It became quite a fashionable term; everything was spoken of as being adopted by the Fronde. 'Bread, hats, gloves, handkerchiefs, fans, ornaments were all *à la mode de la Fronde*.'[2] The ringleaders of this faction were arrested, and immediately barricades were erected in the streets of Paris. Shouts of '*à bas Mazarin*' re-echoed through the city. The queen applied to the great soldier Condé who consented to stand by her. This was followed by the retirement of the queen, her son, and Mazarin to Saint Germain *en-laye* and the blockade of the city. It was during this siege that St. Vincent de Paul made his famous journey from Paris through the lines of Condé, and threw himself at the feet of the queen-mother in the hopes of relieving the condition of the humbler classes in Paris, rendered wretched and intolerable by the horrors of war and famine. It was then he approached Mazarin, having found the queen powerless to help him, and addressed him in language of which the cardinal said: 'This is a bold speech, and language which no one has hitherto presumed to use.'[3] Nothing, however, came of the saint's endeavours except that his charity was misconstrued, and himself and his spiritual family persecuted. Things remained as they were till Paris, worn out by famine, opened its gates and the royal party, accompanied by Mazarin and Condé, made their solemn entry August 18. Condé had never been a friend of Mazarin and now he began to manifest his antipathy and to show a tendency to sympathise with the Fronde party. Immediately

[1] *Memoirs of Card. de Retz*, translated from the French. London: 1896.
[2] *Memoirs of Card. de Retz*, chap. iii.
[3] *The History of St. Vincent de Paul*, Bougaud (translation). London: 1899.

the cardinal grasped the situation, and threw the prince into the dungeons of Vincennes. The indignation of the Parisians knew no bounds. That a prince of the blood, and such a renowned general too, the victor of Rocroi, should be thus so summarily dealt with was enough to fan the flame of fury to the utmost frenzy. The *parlement* ordered Mazarin to be banished and the prisoner set free. But Mazarin knew the queen was too helpless to listen to any but his own counsels, and so he set himself to brave the storm of rage that burst upon him. He held out until he saw that his only hope of personal safety lay in flight. He was compelled to leave Paris in 1649. He went straightway to Havre, whither he had removed his political prisoners, and released Condé. The general treated Mazarin with disdain, so that the cardinal felt he must leave France. He retired to Cologne. All his effects were sold and his celebrated library would have been disposed of, save only the books did not realise enough money to make it worth while selling them. He was not long in Cologne when a secret correspondence opened between him and the queen. Anne was eager to have her minister back. Let the people rage as they might, the genius of Mazarin, she thought, was her truest support in the present crisis. Accordingly Mazarin, at his own expense, got together an army of 8,000 men, and availing himself of the experience of earlier years marched against Condé and succeeded in uniting his army with the royal forces under Turenne. The opposing armies met before the gates of the Faubourg St. Antoine.

Condé having effected an entrance into Paris, through a manœuvre directed by the Duchess of Montpensier, the most dreadful scenes ensued. The abject wretchedness of France at this juncture is vividly protrayed by the pen of St. Vincent [1] in a letter which he addressed to the Pope in the hope of securing a reconciliation between the parties :—

The royal house is divided and the people split up into factions. The cities and provinces are burned and devastated

[1] *Lettres de S. Vincent de Paul*, vol. i.

by civil war. The harvest has not been reaped or sown for next year. Everybody and everything are at the mercy of the soldiery, who inflict terrible tortures from which even if the people escape, it is only to die of famine. Maidens and virgins consecrated to God are being dishonoured and their chapels burned. . . . The misery cannot be realised save by those who witness it.

If Mazarin was the cause of this trouble it was he also who brought it to an end, and this in a manner quite his own. He advised the queen to proclaim a general pardon to all concerned in the Fronde. This was a *coup* worthy of her favourite. It was, as Mgr. Bougaud says, 'the death-warrant of the Fronde.' No sooner was the proclamation made than deputations came from all parts tendering their allegiance to the court. 'The young king, Louis XIV. (Mazarin's pupil in *affaires d'état*) received them with that courtesy which was natural to him, and which lent a charm as well as weight to what he said.'[1]

One of the gravest accusations made against Mazarin is grounded on his relations with Anne of Austria. The French historians, Chautelauze, Michelet, and others assert boldly that he was secretly married to the queen. The evidence against Mazarin is certainly strong, yet not of a nature to put the matter quite out of the region of doubt, to say the least. During the period of the Fronde Mazarin was as we have said the object of the fiercest hatred on the part of the faction opposed to the court party. Never probably was more shameless vituperation poured out upon a minister. One would imagine that his ecclesiastical profession would have screened him from the indecent language of the *Mazarinades*, as the pamphlets were called, which were circulated about him. It was however the fashion in France, and in England, too during the seventeenth century, for political partisans to rail at each other in the most revolting language.[2] An endless[3] stream of lampoons flowed from a press unchecked by decency, having

[1] Cousin, *Études sur les femmes illustres et la societé du xvii. siècle*, Madame de Longueville, vol. ii., p. 171, quoted by Mgr. Bougaud, *Histoire de S. Vincent*.

[2] Laborde, *Le Palais-Mazarin et les grandes habitations de ville et de campagne au dixseptième siècle*. Paris: 1846.

[3] They are said to have numbered six thousand. Moreau, *Bibliographie des Mazarinades*.

for their subjects attacks on the character and private life of persons who had become odious, in language which would bring a blush to Billingsgate. Unfortunately the scandalous life of the infamous de Retz left the people of Paris free to vent their bile on persons of his profession, and impute to them in doggerel and carricature crimes, the very mention of which excites our horror and disgust. Of the *Mazarinades*, M. Laborde says:—'*Je ne sais rien de plus violent sans raison, de plus ordurier sans esprit.*' Such a collection of pamphlets establishes the fact of close intimacy existing between the minister and his sovereign, but nothing more than this. Probably the worst possible source from which to derive information about a man's private life would be the pages of a political pamphlet. The estimate of a noble foe is one thing, the scurrilous invective from the pen of a partisan of an unsuccessful clique, quite another. And hence the *Mazarinades*, emanating as they did from the Fronde press, are not sufficiently reliable premises from which to draw conclusions about Mazarin.

M. Laborde has other testimony more reliable than this, that namely, of Elizabeth Charlotte, Duchess of Orleans, which he says is all the more weighty as it was given when the period of intentional misrepresentation was over. 'The queen-mother, widow of Louis XIII., not content with loving Mazarin, had ended by marrying him.' The internal evidence on this affair consists of a collection of letters written in the year 1651-52. 'There is in the National Library (Paris) a collection of letters enclosed in a chest, called the Chest de Saint Esprit, numbered upon the back 117,826, containing divers papers relative to Mazarin, among which are some under the title: '*Lettres originales de la propre main de la Reyne Anne, Mère du Roi Louis XIV., au Card. Mazarin.*' The authenticity of these is rendered certain by amongst other signs the bad writing and worse orthography of the queen. They are written it appears in some peculiar jargon evidently meant to be intelligible to the recipient alone. The key to this jargon is said to have been found by a M. Ravenal, and the letters thus deciphered are taken to indicate more than mere

gallantry on the part of the persons concerned. And yet despite this apparently irrefragable testimony, both external and internal, Mgr. Bougaud maintains that there is evidence enough to satisfactorily refute this charge, and to establish the queen's innocence. And if this be so, Mazarin must be exonerated too. But before giving M. Bougaud's statement it may be said in reference to memoirs by contemporaries, that as materials for history they are both good and bad : good in so far as they give an insight into manners and customs of a period such as can scarcely be had from other documents ; bad in that they are not unfrequently coloured by the prejudices of the writers, and reflect the party feeling of factions, with which the writers may sympathise. Nor again does the fact that a number of French historians have made up their minds on the point quite end the cause. Some curious instances of how modern French historians take for facts what is merely conjectural, may be found in Hayward's essay on the 'Pearls and Mock Pearls of History.'[1] It is not a little remarkable that, notwithstanding all that has been laid down on this matter as quite certain by writers both French and English, and by the Italian historian, M. Cantu,[2] who says, speaking of the marriage question, '*C'est ce dont il n'est plus possible de douter*,' that the writer of the article 'Mazarin,' in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*,[3] admits that the 'Queen's marriage is doubtful.' This prepares us for what M. Bougaud has to bring forward. Of the queen he writes :—

Her Spanish character gave her freer manners than were customary in France, and her enthusiastic admiration of Mazarin may have led her to write and speak less discreetly than was desirable. But her heart was always pure. Of this we have excellent testimony in the memoirs of Madame de Brienne, one of the ladies of honour[4] :—

'It may be, I shall not dispute it, that the Queen imprudently manifested her esteem for Mazarin. Although she was absolutely

[1] *Hayward's Essays*, Critical and Historical. London: 1876.
[2] *Histoire Universelle.*
[3] Ninth Edition. London : 1896.
[4] Cousin, Mme. de Hautfort.

innocent the world, ever inclined to misjudge, eagerly believed what was untrue. The Queen's gallantry, if such it should be called, was altogether elevated and passing. She was Spanish in her manner, which attracted all by its charm, but she never received a stain. This my mother led me to believe. The Queen, who loved her tenderly, was even approached one day by her on this delicate question. . . . My mother with exquisite tact, but with perfect candour, disclosed the state of public feeling and opinion (as to the intimacy with Mazarin). As she did so the Queen blushed deeply, and in the end exclaimed: "Why, my dear Madame de Brienne, did you not tell me this sooner? I acknowledge I am attached to him, I may say tenderly so, but I am not in love with him. If I am my senses have no share in it, my mind merely is charmed with the beauty of his mind. Is that criminal? Do not deceive me; if even in that there is the shadow of a stain, this moment before God, and the relics of His saints here, I renounce it. I will never speak with him save on *affaires d'état*, and should he introduce others I will depart." My mother, still on her knees, caught the Queen's hand, and placing it on the altar said: "Swear, madame, to act as you have said." "I swear," replied the Queen, at the same time resting her hand on the altar, "and may God punish me if I am in the least guilty."'

When Mazarin came to reside in Paris, in 1646, he lived in the house of M. de Chavigny, at the hotel St. Paul. He afterwards secured apartments in the Palais-Royal, and the Louvre. The premier however should have a *palais* in order to have things *comme il faut*, and the building and decoration of the Palais-Mazarin is an interesting chapter in his life. It was to be situated in the fashionable quarter of the city, and so a site occupied now by the *Bibliothéque Nationale*, was chosen in 1646. Great endeavours were made to secure the famous Italian architect Berinni to plan the projected building. The Pope however refused to allow him to leave Rome, and the matter was placed in the hands of a French architect named Mansard. The decorations were elaborately executed by two famous Roman artists, Romanelli and Grimaldi. Mazarin being a lover of art, had special arrangements made for the erection of galleries or pictures and statuary. There was large provision made for a library, while the stabling is said to have been so extensive as to exceed anything hitherto erected. 'Anon the fabric huge rose like an exhalation,' and the decorations began in the

interior. These were most elaborate. Exquisite frescoes adorned the walls and ceilings ; and where the brush of the painter would not be effective in delighting the beholder the best productions of the loom were employed. Gorgeous pieces of tapestry, with figures life-size, giving Scriptural histories—scenes that admitted of bold conception and brilliant colouring—hung from the walls of these princely apartments. The galleries gradually became filled with great pictures, fine statues, and curios of all kinds. Richelieu taught his successor more than diplomacy. 'Mazarin often combined with diplomatic duties the execution of commissions in the purchase of works of art,'[1] and thus in securing good purchases for the Palais-Cardinal[2] he was acquiring knowledge such as would be useful in procuring the adornment of his own galleries later on. A detailed account of his great collection is to be found in the *Inventaire de tous les Meubles de Card. Mazarin.*[3] The cardinal sent agents all over the world to get pictures, statues, jewels, curios, rare books, everything, in fact, that may be found in a modern museum. Thus when Charles the First's effects were being disposed of after his execution in 1649, Mazarin, according to Clarendon—

> Sent to be admitted as a merchant to traffic in the purchase of rich goods and jewels of the rifled crown, of which he purchased the rich beds, hangings, and carpets which furnished his palace at Paris.

He made one mistake as a collector, which sounds almost incredible. He is said to have refused an offer of Raphael's cartoons at three hundred pounds. An interesting anecdote is told in reference to his acquisition of the famous 'Sponsalia' of Correggio. This work was at the time in the possession of the Barberini family, who were unwilling to part with it. The queen was induced to ask for it. At her request the picture was reluctantly given up, and then to the utter disgust of its former possessors, it was transferred to the Palais-Mazarin. Twenty pictures from the Palais-

[1] Perkins, *Richelieu.*
[2] The name of Richelieu's palace.
[3] *Inventaire de tous les Meubles de Card. Mazarin.* Londres: 1861.

Mazarin occupy prominent places in the Louvre, and this, in itself, is great praise of the collection and no small tribute to the judgment of the man that made it. Mazarin personally inspected and held serious discussion on each addition to the galleries. No work of art entered there without its merits having been previously admitted by persons capable of forming sound judgment on such matters. Rare and precious as were the pictures and statues, the most striking feature of the *palais* was its tapestry. Any one who has seen the few specimens of the Louis-Quatorze period in the *Gobelins* in Paris may form some idea of the richness and beauty of Mazarin's apartments :—

> History, sacred and profane ; lives drawn from Old and New Testaments and Aprocrypha ; mythological fable and classic legend and Roman story : the arts that adorn and the pursuits that enliven life : designs from Titian and Albert Dürer, all looked down grandly from the walls on the throng that filled the Palais-Mazarin.

The cardinal's wardrobe seems to have consisted of quite colossal stores filled with an endless variety of articles of dress. The contents of these are given with minute accuracy in the *Inventaire.* 'Two hundred and seven yards, one-third and half-a-quarter of crimson velvet.' This is one of the items and may serve as a sample. Five and twenty complete suits, of every rich material then in vogue, from the heaviest scarlet velvet to the finest ruby lawn, are mentioned in this long record. This wardrobe was of course restricted in its magnificence, by the ecclesiastical character of its possessor. No wonder such a man should be charged with being vain and fond of show. He seems to have been filled with the idea that the prime minister of France should omit nothing that could add to external pomp, and that this latter was necessary to give people a great notion of the majesty of authority. His fondness of dress became apparent to the members of the council of conscience, when one day he objected to the shabbiness of St. Vincent's soutane. The saint had been invited to the council by Anne of Austria. Probably Mazarin had objected to the presence of such a determined man on deeper

grounds; but he made his humble mien the point of his raillery.

Another class of treasure found in the Palais-Mazarin included curios in various precious metals and stones :—

Shrines, monstrances, reliquaries, chalices, jewels buried for years in the treasuries of distant monasteries; masterpieces of the goldsmith's art, on which rich imagination had lavished all that was quaint in fancy or elegant in form, in a day when artists of high rank worked in the precious metals, and when the intrinsic worth of the material was but a fraction of the value imparted to it by chasing and sculpture and enamel, were there in profusion. Twenty pages of the *Inventaire* are devoted to an enumeration of articles in rock-crystal, amber, coral and other precious materials *enchassés dans de l'argent vermeil doré.* There are forty pages of *litz et emeublementz*, twenty more for a catalogue of the plate in mansion and chapel.

The display was so exceedingly lavish, that a pamphleteer of the day wrote, and not without reason—

Who could have believed that one insignificant stranger, sprung from the dregs of the people, born a subject to the King of Spain, should have mounted in six years on the shoulders of the King of France, have laid down the law to all princes, imprisoned some, driven others into exile, and built in Paris a palace which puts that of the King to shame, and where luxury is carried to the highest point, even in the horses' mangers.[1]

Now as to how he managed to furnish materials for all this grandeur the Parisians were not in doubt. This was where the taxes went, they said of the Palais-Mazarin, as they said before of the Palais-Cardinal.[2] But there are other ways of accounting for his immense wealth. Mazarin's influence was so telling in the various courts of Europe, that his ire was, we suspect, propitiated from time to time by magnificent bounty on the part of persons whom he held in his power.

The vast museum, for it was nothing else, was not merely intended to gratify the owner's taste. Oftentimes exquisite things are shut up in courts and palaces to be seen by the courtiers only—men and women generally too occupied

[1] *Lettre d'un Religieux.* [2] Perkins, *Richelieu.*

with politics or gambling to allow their minds to be diverted with innocent trifles. Mazarin seems to have had liberal ideas on the culture of the people, and to have been anxious that the intellectual pleasure derivable from such a unique collection should not be confined to a few. And hence he is said to have given an impetus to the artistic tendency of the Louis-Quatorze period, and to have formed the taste of the king himself.

Perhaps the best, if not the most expensive part of the Palais-Mazarin, was its great library. Mazarin like the great Spanish Ximenes, was a lover of books. The library of the Palais-Mazarin was quite a remarkable achievement, inasmuch as it contained forty thousand volumes at a time, when ten thousand volumes were seldom found, save in the palaces of kings. And in this connection, also, we must admire the cardinal's eagerness in the cause of general culture. For it was his wish that students and savants should frequent his halls, and have in his library a means of satisfying their requirements in all branches of learned research. This project of Mazarin's may be regarded as the origin of public libraries in Paris. He secured the services of a man named Naudé, and in him he found the most energetic and enthusiastic of librarians. In a dialogue with Naudé under feigned names, the advantages of the library are set forth :—

Mascurat. It will be open to all the world, no living soul excepted, from eight in the morning till five in the evening. There will be chairs for those who wish to read, and tables furnished with pens, ink, and paper for those who want to write, and the librarian and his attendants will be under strict orders to give the students all the books they can ask for in every language and branch of science, and to take them back and restore them to their places when they have done with them.

Saint Ange. I do not suppose there will be any great crowd, for most persons will prefer to pass by this library rather than be exposed to the caprice of the Swiss or the insolence of pages and lackeys.

Mascurat. Were I to admit that the Swiss and porters of great houses were such as you have just portrayed, even were they Cerberuses, since men of letters, like Orpheuses, know how to charm them, you need not fear the *entrée* into the cardinal's

library will not always be open to those who wish to visit the library. And as a proof that it is so, I remember having seen every day when it was open, eighty or one hundred who all studied there at once. But since literary men are easily rebuffed by the slightest noise or bustle, all their difficulties have been met by arranging a private entrance, open on the Rue Richelieu, over which will be engraved in letters of gold on a slab of black marble: *Entrez tous qui voulez lire, entrez.*

The contents of the shelves, and the marvellous trouble and expense with which the books were collected, is given by Naudé.

Its forty thousand volumes have been collected by the care of several kings and princes in Europe, by all the ambassadors that have set out from France these ten years, into the most remote parts. To tell you that I have made voyages into Flanders, Italy, England, and Germany, to bring hither whatever is rare and excellent, is little in comparison of the care which so many crowned heads have taken to forward the laudable designs of his Eminence.

He then gives some details of the collection :—

Two hundred Bibles translated into all sorts of languages; a history the most complete and universal ever yet seen; three thousand five hundred volumes of pure mathematics; all the old and new editions of the classics, the fathers and the school-men; the lawyers of one hundred and fifty provinces, most of them foreigners; the synods of more than three hundred bishoprics; for rituals and offices of the Church, an infinite number; the laws and foundations of all religious houses, hospitals, communities, and confraternities; the rules and practical secrets of all arts, both liberal and mechanic; and manuscripts in all languages and all sciences.

At the bare thought of such untold literary and scientific lore being ruthlessly scattered, on Mazarin's property being confiscated in 1650, Naudé's paroxysms of grief knew no bounds. He did not confine himself, like Scott's 'Dominie Sampson,' to some customary exclamation, but calling forth his classic recollections graphically contrasted the forcible disturbance of the library with the destruction of the *Aeneid* or the sack of Constantinople! And driven almost beside himself, 'his poet's eye in a fine phrenzy rolling,' saw in this attempted vandalism on the part of the *parlement*

something worse than the destruction of the *parlement* itself; and so he sings:—

> Frangatur potius legum veneranda potestas
> Quam tot congestos noctesque diesque labores
> Hauserit una dies supremaque jussa senatus!

But, as we said, he was spared the anguish of seeing his folios removed, as the sale of some of them proved a very barren speculation. The institution of a public library is, however, but a part of what Mazarin did for the progress of the literary movement of his century. Passionately fond of the drama, he extended a liberal patronage to Corneille; Descartes, Voiture, and Balzac also received pensions from him. The opera, which was considered a novelty in England as late as 1726,[1] was introduced by Mazarin to Parisian audiences sometime before 1660. A pastoral[2] piece was performed at Issy and at Vincennes, in 1659, composed by the poet Perrin. Nearly all the people responsible for this representation were ecclesiastics. The poet himself was an ecclesiastic; so also was Lambert, who put the words to music; the singers were musicians from the cathedral; the stage manager (*machiniste*), the Marquis of Sourdeac, and Beaucamp, *l'auteur des ballets*. He established the *Collége des Quatre Nations*, so called from the four provinces, Alsace, Artois, Roussillon, and Pignerol, united to France by his instrumentality. The students of the four provinces were to receive somewhat of a university course in this college.

The means whereby Mazarin amassed his enormous wealth are considered by his critics as indefensible. His shameless rapacity is often insisted upon, and not a few anecdotes are told as instances of his petty meannesses. He let young Louis XIV. grow out of his clothes; the youth could never visit his sentries, as he had so few *pistoles* in his pocket. On the occasion of a visit paid to the *palais* by the queen and Mme. de Motteville, the latter mentions

[1] Date of John Gay's 'Beggars' Opera.'
[2] Cantu, *Histoire Univer.*, tome xvi., p. 45.

as an extraordinary circumstance, that she was allowed to partake of cake. Such parsimony however would never adequately account for his vast wealth, nor would it in the least justify the serious charges made against him. It is rather his handling of the public money that leaves his conduct censurable. Yet we must bear in mind the maxim that 'to understand a man aright, you must understand his age.' 'Shameless rapacity and unblushing bribery were amongst its marked characteristics, and no rank was too exalted to stoop to the practice of them. Queen, princes, peers, prelates, generals—everyone in short—begged without reserve, and accepted without gratitude.' Thus the services of the renowned Condé were bought for 500,000 crowns; those of Mme. de Chevreuse at 200,000 livres, quite an extraordinary sum; and several other instances are given in the cardinal's note-book. If Mazarin could secure people's goodwill and service by liberal donations, he was not improbably the recipient of lordly sums himself, and it is hard to explain such leaps and bounds from almost penury to affluence otherwise than by saying that he accommodated himself to the practices of his age, set a good price on his time and labour, and got what he asked. An extenuating consideration is contained in the fact that it was not unfrequent for the credit of the minister to be pledged for the service of the state, when the treasury became bankrupt. The result of this was that public and private money became confused, and ministers who had run risks for the state thought themselves justified in helping themselves liberally when opportunities arose for doing so. Modern financiers have not been slow to profit by the necessities of an eastern despot for instance, or the exigencies of a South American republic, and yet their conduct is not considered so blameworthy.

Mazarin gave the charge of his temporal affairs to Colbert. The letters of this financier give us the idea that the cardinal had great vicissitudes of fortune. Indeed it is quite problematical to read his complaints of the desperate state of Mazarin's domestic accounts and then to reckon up the huge sums left to heirs. Some of Colbert's details of

domestic economy are curious; he writes to the cardinal one time:—

We have in the stables of your Eminence two large greyhounds which consume fourpence a day each. If your Eminence intends to give them away or return them it would be well to be rid of them as soon as possible.

At another time:—

We have three calves which are fed by six cows besides plenty of fresh eggs: the first would be excellent immediately. We have six dozen Indian fowls—as many pullets as cockerels which have been well kept and are excellent.

But notwithstanding this close attention to such homely matters the cardinal's expenditure seemed too difficult to cope with:—

I believe all you say [he remarks to Colbert] and I see that I spend more in a day than you can manage to economise in a couple of years, but I cannot *me refaire*.

These letters may refer to a fund specially reserved for certain domestic expenditure: anyhow, they show what manner of man Colbert was, and it may be that it was to his management of the cardinal's monies that the fine legacies of the Mancini and Martinozzi were due.

And who were the Mancini and the Martinozzi? These were the ladies of fashion and the gallant young gentlemen who could call his Eminence '*mon oncle Mazarin*.' Never were people more fortunate from a worldly point of view than Mazarin's nieces. When we find the kings of France, England and Portugal seeking the hand of one or other of them, we see at a glance Mazarin's position in European court society; for surely their own attractiveness, were it much greater than it is reported to have been, could scarcely account for this. The uncle's solicitude for them met with scant gratitude; indeed the conduct of the nieces was a source of the greatest anxiety to him. One incident related of their sojourn at the *palais*, must have annoyed him beyond measure. They are said to have amused themselves one evening by throwing out of a window 300 *louis*, just for the sport of seeing the lackeys scramble for them below—*a petit*

jeu which reveals the frivolous character of these ladies, especially when we remember that this happened during the Fronde period when all Paris was howling at Mazarin, and his nieces, too, and calling the latter fish-hags, herring-girls and worse. They evidently knew and felt that under the wing of '*mon oncle*' they might laugh at the sneers of an angry populace. Their utter indifference to the cardinal's trouble about them is evinced by the statement of one of them, Hortense, who says quite heartlessly:—

> You could not believe how much he was grieved at our want of religion. He argued every reason imaginable to inspire us with regard for it. If you will not go to Mass for your own sakes, he said, at least do so to gain the world's good opinion.

One would expect a little more sternness in his dealings with persons whose lives were to perpetuate his memory; but there was no such quality in his disposition. He was in this respect quite a contrast to the iron cardinal, his illustrious predecessor.

The arrangement of Louis XIV.'s marriage was, according to Mazarin himself, 'the most delicate affair he ever had to do with in his life.'[1] The Queen Regent was bent on Louis XIV. marrying the Infanta of Spain, and thus cementing an alliance which would be fraught with countless blessings; which would, in fact, make France the first power in Europe. Louis himself was equally determined on having no other than Marie Mancini for his wife. The suggestion of such a *mésalliance* was enough to make the queen's Spanish blood boil.

> I do not believe, Sir Cardinal [she said to her minister] that the King is capable of such baseness; but if it were possible that the King should entertain the thought of it, I warn you that all France would rise in revolt against you and him, and that I would place myself at the head of the rebels.

Whether Mazarin was anxious for the match or not he held out against it with noble firmness; and it needed a strong hand to resist the repeated entreaties of the king made even on bended knee. The cardinal had declared the marriage was not to be, and forthwith Marie was compelled to leave

[1] *Lettres de Colbert.*

Paris. Yet this drastic remedy did not mend matters, so that the cardinal's anxiety grew daily lest the Spanish Court might get news of the affair and take umbrage thereat. He wrote most sensible and dignified letters to his sovereign, making him aware, in clear and outspoken sentences, of his responsibility as King of France ; while he scolded his niece in most emphatic language. His tact and patience were well-nigh drained to the dregs when Marie herself relieved her uncle's perplexity by renouncing once for all the alliance with Louis. The cardinal immediately started for the ceremonies of the king's nuptials, having sent Marie a letter extolling to the skies her prudent determination. The splendour of his retinue was, according to himself, a matter of astonishment to the Spaniards. On the entry of the bride and bridegroom into Paris, August 26th, 1660, Mazarin accompanied them, and his suite is said to have surpassed the royal household in magnificence. Numerous engravings commemorate this royal procession in which Mazarin's carriage, a sumptuous vehicle encrusted with goldsmith's work in silver gilt, is represented as empty. In fact it was so, as the minister was too ill to drive, being crippled with gout which he contracted in Spain during the negotiations previous to the treaty of the Pyrenees. During the three months immediately preceding Louis's marriage, he had felt the malarial district near Bidassoa, where he lived, telling severely on him. A complication of disorders set in and quite changed his habitual manner. The polished and eloquent courtier became a testy grumbler, and felt his best friends a burden to him.

Even the closing scenes of his life are held up to obloquy. An engraving represents his death-chamber as filled with gallants and gamblers, and on his bed an extemporized card-table ; and some would maintain that this was a just judgment on, and a most natural conclusion of a life so addicted to pastimes quite beneath the dignity he had assumed. We have no means of proving that cards were not played at his bedside, and that he was not visited by persons whom he had every right to wish far away. Yet it is unfair to conclude that religion had no part in the scenes that brought his life to a close. Nor is Mme. de Motteville's

testimony *qu'il faisait bonne mien à mort*, the only ground for taking a favourable view of his death.

When he heard that the end was approaching, he adopted a suggestion made by one of his physicians, that the quiet of the chateau of Vincennes would be better for him than the bustle and noise of the Palais-Mazarin; and so he bade adieu to his treasures, but not without many a long-drawn sigh. Robed in a great gown, the cardinal, now bereft of the beauty of his awe-inspiring figure, ashy pale, and wasted almost to emaciation, walked falteringly from his sleeping apartment. Gazing round on his treasures, he cried mournfully: '*Il faut quitter tout cela.*' He went on, and observing the Count de Brienne, who happened to be in the gallery through which he intended passing to the library, he called him over, and said to him: 'Give me your hand; I am very weak, and quite helpless.' Leaning on the count's arm, he pointed to his favourite old masters. 'See that beautiful Correggio, and this Titian, and this incomparable "Deluge" of Antonio Caracci. Ah! I must leave all this. Adieu, my pictures, which I have loved so well.' An unpublished manuscript[1] gives further particulars. According to this document the Duc de Gramont summoned, at his request, the curé of St. Nicholas des Champs six weeks before he died. On being admitted to see the cardinal the latter is said to have remarked to him: 'Father, you see here a terrible sufferer. God alone can put him in a state of salvation. Pray for me, that the sufferings which He sends may be useful to me.' And later he said: 'I rejoice that God has been pleased to preserve my senses, that I may feel my pains, and do a little penance.' He had the curé, M. Joly, called a second time, and expressed a wish that he would stay with him, and that he would die under his charge. And thus he passed away in his fifty-ninth year. He bequeathed great fortunes to his nieces; to the Pope he left 60,000 *livres* for the war against the Turks; to the king he willed twenty-eight diamonds, which continued to be called *Mazarins*, his pictures, and his tapestry; his *Collége de*

[1] Discovered by M. Clement in the library of St. Geneviève.

Quatre Nations received 800,000 crown pieces and his rich library. 'The king renounced this splendid inheritance, satisfied with a legacy more important for him—*la plenitude du pouvoir royal.*'[1]

Mazarin's home policy was a failure. The Fronde, with its attendant miseries, was in a great measure due to him; and this revolt, in ruining the nobility, paved the way for the despotism of the 'Grand Monarque,' in virtue of which the latter could boast: '*L'état, c'est moi!*' And the result of Louis' grasping policy, the consequence of Mazarin's training, plunged Europe into the protracted and useless war of the Spanish Succession. Mazarin had not grand schemes for the internal government of France, as Richelieu had; he had none of his predecessor's originality. But yet his foreign policy was great. He could not be expected to foresee how France would progress after his death, when other hands took the helm of the state. In his own lifetime he made the name of France respected in the most powerful courts of Europe. He secured Cromwell as an ally, though at the expense of Dunkirk; he recovered the north-western cities of France; by the treaty of Oliva he established his country's influence in Sweden, Poland, and Brandenburg; in Germany, through Lionne, he formed the league of the Rhine against Austria; Spain was induced to make the treaty of the Pyrenees, as we saw. Hence, though flattery of the most transparent kind was in vogue in his time, Corneille could, with some truth, apply to him, adroitly alluding to his Italian birth, Virgil's celebrated line:—

Tu regere imperio populos Romane memento.

He cannot be taxed with ingratitude—a failing of many successful men. His rule was bloodless, and in this respect compares favourably with the gibbets of Richelieu. 'Rulers,' he said, 'have neither love nor hatred; their interests are the rule of their affections. With the same hand they strike and embrace in turn.'

E. J. CULLEN, C.M.

[1] M. Cantu, *Histoire Univer.*, tome xvi.

SIR CAHIR O'DOHERTY'S REBELLION: ITS CAUSES AND ITS CONSEQUENCES

V

SIR NEALE GARVE O'DONNELL

BEFORE proceeding to follow Sir Cahir in his raid upon the English, we must stop for a little to consider briefly the character of a man who more than any other had influenced his life, and at whose suggestion he had entered on his present ill-starred revolt. This man was Sir Neale or Niall Garve O'Donnell. Fired with ambition to be The O'Donnell, and to hold the place occupied by his kinsman and brother-in-law, Hugh Roe, this wretched man at an early stage in his career seemed to have sold himself body and soul to the English, with the hope that they would further his views and make him lord of Tyrconnell. He it was that urged the MacDevitts to steal away young Cahir O'Doherty from Red Hugh and hand him over to Docwra. He it was that during his almost constant intercourse with Cahir at Derry filled his mind with prejudices against the earls, and kept him as far as he could from associating with any of the Irish ; and he it was, even more than Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, who urged on the present occasion the premature rebellion that ended in the early death of the young lord of Inishowen. Almost equal in duplicity to Chichester, whilst plotting with Sir Cahir the particulars of his rising and bargaining for his half of all the spoils of Derry and elsewhere, he at the same time was negotiating with the deputy for a grant of Inishowen on condition of bringing to him Sir Cahir's head. Thus when Sir Cahir was striking terror to the English ranks, we find these two consummate hypocrites engaged in the following Christian correspondence. In a letter dated from Castle Fynne, 25th April, 1608, Neale, after asking the deputy to have Tyrconnell handed over to him, and asking many other

favours besides, concludes by requesting that there would be given him—

Some command for himself and his brothers, such and so many as shall please his Lordship, to-gether with some good store of arms for his people; and that he will procure a grant from his Majesty of O'Dogherty's country to him and his heirs. He to-gether with his brothers, with such command as his Lordship shall bestow upon them, will undertake to bring in O'Dogherty's head or banish him the country for ever, without any hope of coming to the same again.

Chichester's reply is characteristic. A greater master of duplicity than even Neale Garve, he uses that base tool for his own selfish purposes, and holds out to him vague promises of reward which, of course, he had no intention of ever fulfilling. He thus writes:—

Sir, I have heard that Sir Cahir O'Dogherty is displeased with you for not joining with him. I had rather he should be so still, than that you should favour him or temporise with him. This State has long known you both, and I myself am no stranger to you. We ever held Sir Neale O'Donnell a greater and more powerful man than O'Dogherty; and therefore call unto you such of your friends as affect the King's service and country's welfare, and do some act upon him that may confirm the opinion held of you, and give good passage to the desires I have to do you good; and, if you merit it by your actions, you shall not propound for matters concerning your profit more liberally than I shall be ready to give you furtherance. Let the fact of O'Dogherty beget in you no other disposition than to hold him a damned and perjured creature, who has betrayed his gossip, broken the oath which he took voluntarily when he was made a member of that corporation which he has consumed, and transgressed the rules of duty and common honesty in being ungrateful to the King our master, who dealt graciously with him; besides he declares himself a beast in detaining the gentlewomen and suffering them to be stript of their apparel and disgracefully used,[1] a thing odious and damnable among the barbarous savages; all which and many the like considerations ought to make you disdain his fellowship, and to endeavour, by all the strength and means you can, to cut him off, as being an intolerable burthen for the earth. I spend too much time in dissuading you from a matter which no man of honour or ordinary capacity would once admit, and in

[1] How utterly false this was we see from the preceding statement of Lieutenant Baker.

deciphering such a desperate monster. I pray you endeavour the liberal usage and release of Mrs. Montgomery, the Lady Paulett, and the rest of the gentlewomen, the effecting whereof will beget you both commendation and friends, as it has purchased more enemies and shame unto O'Dogherty.—Dublin, 1 May, 1608.[1]

The fate of Niall Garve was one worthy of such a Judas. Though seeming to trust him, the English were always upon their guard of him, justly considering that a man who had been so false to his own could not be true to them. During Sir Cahir's insurrection suspicion fell upon Niall, and he was taken prisoner on June 24th, 1608, on the charge of being implicated in that movement. The evidence against him was overwhelming. In the charge to be laid before the jury at his trial we find it stated :—

That he was a traitor before his protection there is no doubt. That he stirred O'Dogherty; put him into jealousy with the State that he should lose his head, willed him to go into rebellion; to sack and burn Derry, to spare no man; advised him to dispose of his men in both the forts, in the market places; to have the arms, to have half the share of the spoil, to have Birt Castle, &c.

Perhaps strongest of all in proving the complicity of Niall Garve in Sir Cahir's rising was the testimony of Ineen Dubh—the 'Black Maid,' or the 'Dark Daughter,' as she is called. Ineen Dubh was daughter of James McDonnell of Scotland, and mother of Red Hugh O'Donnell. She was a violent and vindictive woman, and was particularly bitter against Niall Garve (though her own son-in-law), inasmuch as she justly regarded him as a traitor to his clan, and as a principal cause of the ruin of her son. Her evidence before Bishop Montgomery, and her statement written in Irish and translated into English for that prelate's information, are fully given in the *State Papers* for that period. She was rewarded by the government, who made her a grant of land in her husband's territory of Tyrconnell.

Lady O'Doherty in her *Confession* bore testimony against him. 'She verily believes that Sir Neale joined with her husband in the whole plot of rebellion, and says, that after the burning of the Derry, messengers were daily

[1] *State Papers*, anno 1608.

sent between them.'[1] Neale was removed for trial to Dublin, as we learn from the following statement of the lord deputy and council to the lords of the Privy Council.

> The King's 'Tramontane' returned from the north with Sir Neale O'Donnell and his two brothers, who are committed to safe custody in Dublin Castle, intending to proceed against them for breach of their protection. In the same ship was Mr. Treasurer (Sir Thomas Ridgeway), having seen the taking of Bert Castle, which was yielded up on sight of the cannon after some two or three shots with a demi-culverin, and all have submitted to the King's mercy. He has brought with him Lady O'Dogherty and her daughter, a sister of the traitor, her husband, the constable of that castle, and some few others.[2]

Later on we shall see the motives that induced Ridgeway to bring Neale Garve and Lady O'Doherty in the same vessel together to Dublin.

Neale was tried and, of course, convicted, but whilst others were executed, his life was spared in consideration of services he had rendered. He and his son were condemned, however, to be imprisoned for life in the Tower of London. Neale died in 1626, having lived a prisoner for eighteen years, vainly repining and eating his heart away, unpitied by his jailors, cursed at home by his clansmen, while his very name became a byword of reproach in future years as a traitor to his country. He was not without many good qualities, particularly affection for the members of his own family, and like all his race he was a man of courage; but an insane ambition for power blinded his understanding, and led him into the devious ways of political chichanery. Chichester used him as long as he served his purpose, and then flung him aside to rot in a prison cell of London Tower.

VI

SIR CAHIR TAKES THE FIELD

After Derry had been taken and plundered, the town was burned, with the exception of the church, which through reverence for St. Columba, was spared. Sir Cahir then returned to Culmore, taking with him nearly all those he had

[1] *S. P.* for 1608.

[2] *S. P.* July 2nd, 1608.

made prisoners, and generously proposing to them and to Captain Hart to place them on the opposite side of the Foyle, in order that they might proceed to Coleraine; a proposition which they gladly availed of. What a contrast here again between his conduct and that of Wingfield at Burt castle, a few weeks afterwards. Wingfield, notwithstanding his plighted word to spare the inmates on condition of peaceable surrender, put them, every one, to the sword, except they were able to pay a ransom for their lives.[1] Sir Cahir then garrisoned the place with a small number of men, and placed Phelim Reagh MacDevitt in charge of the fort. He had, in the meantime, sent messengers to several of the leading northern septs, inviting them to join him, but the heads of the families regarded the movement with suspicion, and kept aloof. His brother-in-law, however, young O'Hanlon of Orier, collected a band of about a hundred men to aid him, and from Tyrconnell a considerable number flocked to his standard, so that at the time he encountered the English at Kilmacrenan, in July, he had an army of more than eight hundred men. From Derry he set out towards Lifford, attacking the castle of Magainlyne on the way. The ruins of this castle, which is now called Mongavlin, are still standing on the western bank of the Foyle, about seven miles south of Derry. King James II. slept a night in this castle on his way to the siege of Derry. From Mongavlin he proceeded to Lifford, but that place was strongly fortified against him. On the news of the taking and burning of Derry spreading abroad, the English of the district had all fled to Lifford for safety.

Sir Josias Bodley thus describes their action :—

> Captain John Vaughan, with his ten warders, upon the first alarm, quitted Donnalong, a weak and open place, six miles from the Derry, and as far from the Liffer, and got him to the Liffer. The Scots who dwelt at Strabane fired their own habitations, and took the Liffer for their refuge, where Sir Richard Hansard lies with his company. There is a small sconse, well ditched and watered, and in good repair, which is held by the soldiers; another, somewhat ruined, is about a bow-shot off, which is manned and

[1] MacGeoghegan's *History of Ireland.*

made defensible by the Scots and such as fled thither. The town lies between both. Sir Neale Garve, who plays yet at fast and loose, has swept away all our cows to keep them, as he pretends, from O'Dogherty, who, by letters yesterday received from Sir Richard Hansard, was four days past within three miles' march of the town, with two pieces of artillery and five hundred men, speaking big words. But there seems little danger in his attempt there, the defendants being six or seven score foot, and forty or fifty horse, sufficiently provided of victuals and munition.[1]

The characteristic courage of Englishmen is here well-exemplified in the speedy flight of Captain John Vaughan and his warders from Dunalong on the first sound of danger.

Sir Cahir, finding that with his then small force he could not take Lifford, marched southward. He took and burned the town of Kynard, some distance from Dungannon, and would have attacked this latter town only through respect for its owner. His forces were augmented by those of his brother-in-law, O'Hanlon, and others, and, as Chichester, in his letter to the council describing these events, tells us—

With that conceit and pride he came into Tyrone, and joined with the rest, who had revolted in that country and Armagh, and so advanced towards the Pale, where he did some small hurt to the well-affected, and threatened much more to those in Tyrone and Armagh, where he made his stay some eight or ten days, fondly thinking that he [Chichester] would withdraw the forces out of Tyrconnell to prosecute him in Tyrone. . . . When they understood the course he [Chichester] had taken, and that he meant to come down in person, they withdrew themselves somewhat before the horse came to Armagh, and returned again into Tyrconnell.[2]

Sir Cahir appears to have then retired to Doe castle, which he had previously secured, in order to recruit his forces. It was when there that he heard of the taking of Burt castle by Wingfield, and from there, or from Glenveagh, that he wrote to O'Gallagher, the head of a powerful Donegal sept. The letter was intercepted by the English, and has thus been preserved for us. It was written in

[1] *S. P.* for 1608.
[2] Sir Arthur Chichester to the Lords of the Council, *S. P.*, 1608.

Irish, but was faithfully translated into English, and runs thus :—

The commendation of O'Doghertie unto O'Galchure [O'Gallagher]. I would have you understand that if you have any hope here or hereafter of your foster-son[1] and your earthly lord,[2] or the good of O'Doghertie, then cause your sept and yourself to aid O'Doghertie. You may the easier perform this, because the churls [meaning the English] have no courage, but what encouragement Neal Art Oge's sons and Tyrconnell have given them. Now that we have given them over, we make no reckoning of them. Let no man imagine we are any weaker for losing Birte castle, unless we may take thought of the inconstantness of such as he trusted of his own people whom now he little regards. Be it known to you, O'Galchure, O'Doghertie desires you should possess anything which the Earl makes account of, rather than any man else of Tyrconnell, because the Earl so desires it. What answer you make to these matters and concerning Lough Easke, send it in writing, or by word of mouth, betwixt this and the next morning.—From Bally-Aghtranyll.

CAHIR O'DOHERTIE.

Truly translated out of Irish. This letter was written the 28th of June, about which time Sir Henry Folliot had Lough Easke delivered to him by O'Galchure, chief of his name.[3]

In the meantime, the lord deputy and the government were thoroughly alarmed. They believed, or pretended to believe, that this movement of Sir Cahir was but part of a preconcerted conspiracy entered into between him and the fugitive earls, and Chichester industriously spread this report so as to lend a greater importance to his own efforts in suppressing the rebellion. No person knew better than Chichester the falsity of the charge of complicity between the lord of Inishowen and O'Neill and O'Donnell, first, because O'Doherty had been reared in hostility to the earls both by Dowcra and Neale Garve; secondly, because a short time before he had been foreman of the jury at Lifford which had brought in a *primâ facie* charge of treason against these same earls; and, lastly, because, as Father Meehan remarks, the earls

Were on their way to Rome when it [Cahir's outbreak] commenced, and that soon after their arrival there, when O'Dogherty was in

[1] Tyrconnell's child. [2] Tyrconnell. [3] *S. P.* for 1608.

arms, O'Donel and his brother were hopelessly ill of fever, which ultimately carried them off. In the presence of such awful circumstances, it is not at all likely that O'Neill would have concerned himself with the misdoings of Sir Cahir or Niall Garve, for neither of whom he could have entertained any feeling but contempt and abhorrence. Nevertheless, Chichester pretended to believe that the rising in Inishowen was only the prelude to a general insurrection throughout the whole island, where, when the first act was played out, O'Neill would be sure to debark with aids obtained from the King of Spain, at the urgent instance of Paul V.[1]

Accordingly he sent a force of four thousand soldiers under Sir Richard Wingfield and a number of other generals to harass O'Doherty's territory of Innishowen. These came to Culmore where Phelim Reagh MacDevitt had been placed in charge. MacGeoghegan thus narrates the event:—

In the meantime [Wingfield], an English field-marshal, appeared with four thousand men before Culmor, to lay siege to it; MacDavet, the commander, seeing his own inferiority in numbers, and that the place was defenceless, and being without any hope of aid from O'Dogherty, set fire to the castle. He then sailed with his little garrison on board two transport vessels, which he loaded with corn and other provisions for Derry. He also carried off some of the cannon of Culmor castle, and had the rest thrown into the sea.

Winkel finding the castle of Culmor demolished [continues MacGeoghegan], marched against the castle of Beart, with the intention of besieging it. Mary Preston, the wife of O'Dogherty, and daughter of Viscount Gormanstown, was in the place. A monk who had the command of it, either from distrust in its strength, or to save the lady from the frightful effects of a siege, surrendered the castle, on the condition of the garrison being spared, and suffered to retire; but the English, regardless of the treaty, put every soul to the sword, except those that had means of purchasing their liberty. The wife of O'Dogherty was sent to her brother the Viscount, who belonged to the English faction. The taking of this place was of importance to Winkel; it served him for a retreat, from which he made occasional incursions upon the district of Inishowen, spreading desolation everywhere as he passed.

The account of the English proceedings as given by the cynical and heartless Sir Thomas Ridgeway, the treasurer,

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

in his letter to the lord deputy, is much more explicit than the story given by MacGeoghegan. Having described their coming to Derry, which they found in ruins, and having told how they re-edified it, brought back the people and made them much more comfortable than they had been before, he proceeds:—

Hence they went to the traitor's castle and town of Elough, which, though strong by situation and by the extraordinary thickness of the wall and bank about it, they found (contrary to their expectations) evacuated; where not staying an hour, they slipped out presently to Kilmore, under the custody and constableship of Phelimagh Reagh; and yet (notwithstanding the like strength of the castle itself, as also of the fort which was flanked and fortified more than before, his brags to keep and maintain it or to leave his bones there, and the help of nine pieces of ordnance in it), within twenty-four hours after their approach, he set the timber work on fire, and ran away by the light in boats (to their great grief, who would have had their heads or lost their own);—a course which could not be prevented, as no boats or shipping of theirs were there to withstand them. . . . From Elough they sent out a party by Phelimagh Reagh's town to Donnagh and Malyn, the one sixteen and the other twenty-four miles from Elough, to scour the country and their Creaghts. From their being advertised by letters that Phelimagh Reagh was lurking about, and that O'Dogherty himself meant to set on them to rescue their prey, if they did not presently second and relieve them, they posted thither, leaving a sufficient number behind to defend the munition, carriages, &c., and to make good the place; where, after they had increased the prey to one thousand cows, between two thousand and three thousand sheep, and three-hundred or four hundred garrans, they returned, killing some seven or eight swordsmen of the enemy, the rest not being to be found for love or money, no, not so much as in the threatened fastness itself, the next day, in their return back again.

The next day twelve or thirteen of them rode to another town and castle of his, named Boncranough [Buncrana], eight miles from Elough; from whence the inhabitants immediately flying, save a few old galliats [calliaghs][1] and b—s, and because it was the place of betraying Captain Hart, and in consequence of this trouble, they could not abstain from burning it, as well from anger as example's sake. Howbeit the walls of the castle stand firm, and will soon be made a good receptacle for such as the King shall send there.

Having cleared all Inishowen, as well the towns and castles

[1] Old hags.

before mentioned, as also the White Castle, Red Castle, and Green Castle (reserving only Beart Castle to his proper time, which they invested often, both to secure the safety of their men, who are prisoners there, and to keep the rebels in it from running away), they passed at Kilmacrenagh into Tyrconnell, and went into McSwyne O'Fannet and McSwyne O'Doe's country in chase of O'Dogherty, etc.

He then describes their return to Burt castle, the refusal of the garrison to yield to them, the terms of surrender proposed by those inside the castle, and at last the unconditional surrender of the inmates, who only asked not to be disturbed for the night. This Ridgeway concedes, taking care, however, to place his men in the ditches around the castle that no one might escape from it during the night.

And in the morning accordingly [he says], at break of day, they entered by the iron gate and received out of the said castle, besides four score old galliats [calliaghs],[1] young queans, and infant b——s (this it seems being the receptacle for the remains of Inishowen), the constable of the castle, who is of the same name and sept as Reagh, one Phelim O'Dogherty, a monk, fourteen warders, three churls, a servant of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's, the Lady O'Dogherty, her only daughter, a sister of Sir Cahir O'Dogherty's, their nurse, a waiting gentlewoman; and of their own (taken at the Derry) the poor Lord Bishop's captive wife and Captain Brooke's son. The two last they returned unto their owners. The Lady O'Dogherty, her child, her sister-in-law, and gentlewoman, the constable of the castle, and Sir Cahir's servant, and a boy, he [Ridgeway] brought home with him, taking their several examinations on the ship as he came.

Ridgeway then explains his reasons for bringing all these persons by sea instead of sending them under convoy by land, but one prime motive was 'to observe the passages, and the ferocious invectives of the Lady O'Dogherty against Sir Neale Garvey O'Donnell, for the persuading of her husband to his treacherous revolt,' etc. We observe here the refinement of cruelty practised by the treasurer in bringing the prisoner, Neale Garve, in the same vessel with Lady O'Doherty and her sister-in-law; and the pleasure he derived from listening to the 'ferocious invectives,' as he terms them, of this deeply-injured lady against the man

[1] Old hags.

who had brought ruin on the ancient and honoured house of O'Doherty. It was no doubt for his conduct in this raiding of Inishowen, and especially for his treatment of Lady O'Doherty and her fellow-prisoners on board the 'Tramontane,' that he was soon afterwards honoured with an earldom. For meanness and utter heartlessness Ridgeway stands on a par with Sir John Davies.

VII

THE DEATH OF SIR CAHIR

Hearing of the devastation of Inishowen by the forces of Wingfield, and of the merciless robbery and slaughter of its inhabitants by Ridgeway, as well as of the taking of Burt castle by the latter, Sir Cahir resolved to go to the assistance of his people in the old peninsula, and to clear the English marauders out of it. With this intent he set out from Glenveagh, and had gone as far as Kilmacrenan, when he came across the English forces sent by the deputy to crush him. That the government thought more seriously than did Chichester of the danger to the state caused by Sir Cahir's rebellion is evident from the number of forces they sent to meet him, as well as from their sending their ablest generals to conduct those forces. And there is no doubt there was extreme danger had the life of the hapless youth been spared. The movement in his favour was spreading throughout the provinces, and soon his little army would have swollen to large proportions. The down-trodden and oppressed people in the south and west but waited the opportunity to cast off the yoke of English domination; and all that was wanting was the leader to marshal them for battle. In the lord of Inishowen they saw the man they required. Young, chivalrous, well trained under Docwra to the use of arms, fearless of danger, he was just the general to lead them to victory, and to free their country of their hated rulers. He had shown his strategical tact and prowess at the very outset in the taking of Culmore and Derry, and above all, he had mainfested a clemency and magnanimity in dealing with the conquered that it would

have been well his enemies had imitated. Placed, unfortunately, in his early boyhood under the care of Docwra, surrounded by English officials at the time his mind was most susceptible of impressions, honoured with knighthood while yet a mere youth, it is no wonder that he did not display any early feelings of patriotism. He still, it is true, kept on affectionate terms with his clansmen, who looked up to him as their liege lord; but from his training there was not that friendship that there should have been between him and the neighbouring chieftains. All too soon, however, he learned his fatal mistake. He saw those false friends, whom he had foolishly trusted, deprive him of his lands, grossly insult him, treat him as a traitor; and he found, moreover, that he could get no redress for his many wrongs. The warlike spirit of his father was roused within him; the dauntless courage of Shane O'Neill, his grandfather, was revivified in the grandson, and he determined to strike a blow not only for his own rights, but for the rights of his country as well. His quondam friends were now his revilers, and no terms of abuse were spared to characterize his ingratitude and his cruelty. But what was written of his grandfather might, with equal truth, have been written of him:—

> He was 'turbulent' with traitors—he was 'haughty' with the foe—
> He was 'cruel,' say ye Saxons? Ay, he dealt ye blow for blow!
> He was 'rough' and 'wild,' and who's not wild, to see his hearthstone razed?
> He was 'merciless' as fire—ah, ye kindled him, he blazed!
> He was 'proud': yes, proud of birthright, and because he flung away
> Your Saxon stars of princedom, as the rock does mocking spray.
> He was wild, insane for vengeance, ay! and preached it till Tyrone
> Was ruddy, ready, wild, too, with 'Red Hands' to clutch their own.[1]

We hear it repeated, *usque ad nauseam*, that his uprising was a rash, impetuous act; that his rebellion was premature

[1] *Shane's Head*, by John Savage.

and without preparation; and that it indicated a want of prudence, since he might have known that he could not cope with the forces of England. We admit it was rash and premature; but it must be remembered that Sir Cahir was a hot-blooded youth of only one-and-twenty, that he had been purposely goaded into rebellion by the wily Chichester and his myrmidons for their own selfish ends; that he had been robbed of his lands, and had, moreover, been grossly insulted, so that had he not risen to defend himself, and to assert his rights, he must have either been less than a man or more than human.

When carefully examined by the light of contemporary documents his character stands out in bold relief. He was honourable, high-minded, and humane; his faith and spotless morals have never been questioned, even by his enemies; whilst his skill as a general, and his courage as a soldier, have been ever admitted alike by friend and foe. Had his life been spared, he would have staggered British power in Ireland, for, with the disaffected from every part of the country flocking to his standard, he would soon have commanded an army more powerful than any that James could send against him. It is evident that the deputy foresaw this, for he determined to come down in person to the north in order to direct the fortunes of the war.

In a letter to the lords of the Council he tells us:—

> When they understood the course he [Chichester] had taken, and that he meant to come down in person, they withdrew themselves somewhat before the horses came to Armagh, and returned again into Tyrconnell.
>
> This day he took a review of the forces which were to attend him in this journey upon the Lurgan, a place three miles from this place [Dundalk] as well of the risings out of the five shires of the Pale, as of those in the King's pay; before he had fully ended that business, which was about four o'clock in the afternoon, Captain Henry Vaghan [Vaughan] came to him with letters from Sir Richard Wingfield, the Marshal, and Sir Oliver Lambert, signifying that at Kilmacrenan they had some days preceding attended the arrival of the hoy from Loughswylly with the demi-cannon, with which they meant to attempt the regaining of the Castle of Doe, and that yesterday (being Tuesday and the 5th of the month) the traitor drew near to them with all the forces he could make, and made show of himself upon the

side of a strong fastnage (*sic*), the ways being impossible for horse to serve upon them. They beheld him awhile, but after a little time they drew out some three hundred foot (whereof the greater part were of this country by birth); and taking their horses to give countenance to the business, they entertained a hot skirmish on both sides for half an hour, but more bloody to them than to his [Chichester's] men, far short of theirs in number; by which the traitor was beaten, and himself and his ensign, and good store of his crew slain, and others taken prisoners. His body was discovered by their men (albeit his trusty follower put fair to carry it away) which shall be divided, and his quarters put up for signs at the Derry; his head shall be brought unto him [Chichester], and further disposed of as they [the Council] shall direct. Captain Vaghan can say no more, for he came thence as soon as he had knowledge of this much, and left their men in pursuit of the traitor's crew, which was about seven hundred when they began their flight. Hopes to give them a good account of the rest in a few days, for they shall hardly escape him, whatever shift they make.

Sir John Davies, writing to Salisbury the joyful tidings of Sir Cahir's death, in the style of a true astrologer thus narrates the event:—

The day after they [*i.e.*, the lord deputy and his party] began this journey, they received news of O'Doghertie's death, which happened not only on the 5th day of the month, but on a Tuesday;[1] but the Tuesday eleven weeks, that is seventy-seven days after the burning of the Derry, which is an ominous number, being seven elevens, and eleven sevens; besides, it happened at the very hour, if not at the same instant, that the Lord Deputy took horse to go against him.[2]

It is in this same letter that Davies' mentions an occurrence that took place at Dungannon:—

In this place [says he] a monk, who was a principal counsellor to O'Dogherty, and was taken in Birt Castle, voluntarily, in the sight of all the people, cast off his religious habit and renounced his obedience to the Pope; whereupon the Deputy gave him his life and liberty.

A sentence or so after he writes:—

In the county of Colerane they held their third session, where, after they had indicted such as are now in rebellion, they found

[1] Geraldus Cambrensis notes that Tuesday was ever a fortunate day for the English in the conquest of Ireland.—Note by Editors of *S. P.*

[2] *S. P.* From the camp near Coleraine, 5th August, 1608.

no extraordinary business, but that O'Cahane's priest and ghostly father, being taken in action of rebellion with Shane Carragh O'Cahane, was indicted, tried, and executed for treason, and so taught the people better doctrine by the example of his death, than he had ever done in all his life before. He excepted to their jurisdiction, affirming that the secular power could not condemn a priest for any offence whatsoever; but the country saw that point of judgment falsified, both by his judgment and execution.

The Four Masters state that Sir Cahir was slain on the 18th July, and moreover that 'he was cut into quarters between Derry and Cuil-mor, and his head was sent to Dublin to be exhibited.' Neither statement is correct. The 5th not the 18th of July was the date of his death; and it would have been unmeaning to take his body all the way from Doon, where he fell, to a spot between Derry and Culmore in order to cut it into quarters. It is not at all likely that they troubled themselves about his body when they got his head, for which a reward of £500 was offered and paid, at the same time as was offered a reward of £200 for the head of Phelim Reagh MacDevitt, which was also paid. It is more probable that Sir Cahir's body, as Father Meehan asserts, was buried by his followers after the conflict was over in the spot where he fell. O'Sullivan says that he lived two hours after he was wounded, and received the last sacraments. This is most improbable; but as Father O'Mullarky accompanied him in this expedition, it is quite likely that he had time to absolve the dying warrior before he expired. MacDevitt, who had followed his fortunes so faithfully during life, clung to him with equal fidelity in death.

In the scuffle for his corpse [writes Father Meehan] it is recorded to the honour of his foster-brother, by an eye-witness, that Phelim Reagh 'bestrid it,' and never abandoned it till the instinct of self-preservation urged him to provide for his own safety. Sir Cahir's head was immediately struck off, and sent to Dublin, where it was 'set on a pole on the east gate of the city, called Newgate.'[1]

On receipt of the news of O'Doherty's death, Chichester

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell.*

lost no time in issuing a proclamation, which like many another precious document is carefully embalmed in the pages of the *State Papers*. It runs as follows :—

Copy of the Proclamation published by the Lord Deputy upon the killing of the traitor O'Dogherty.

By the Lord Deputy.

Whereas it hath pleased Almighty God so to bless the King's army in pursuit of that rebel O'Doghertie, that on Tuesday last, being the 5th of this present month of July, the said O'Doghertie was happily slain at a place called Kilmacrenan in the county of Tyrconnell, wherein God hath not only shown His just judgment upon this treacherous creature, but doth plainly declare to this nation and to all the world, that shame and confusion is the certain and infallible end of all traitors and rebels.

We have, therefore, thought fit not only to notify and publish the killing of the said traitor to all the King's good and loyal subjects, but also (in regard the adherents and followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late rebellion are now broken and scattered, and are like to put themselves and their goods under the wing and protection of such as have continued in their obedience) we do forewarn all good subjects that none of them presume to relieve, entertain, receive, or protect any person or persons whatsoever who have been actors, counsellors, or followers of the said O'Doghertie in his late action of rebellion, upon pain to be reputed and adjudged traitors in as high a degree as the said O'Doghertie himself or any his adherents. Notwithstanding, we hereby promise that whosoever shall deliver, or bring unto us, the lord deputy, or any of the King's principal commanders or officers of his army, the body or bodies of such person or persons, or owners of such goods or creaghtes, shall have for his reward not only the King's pardon, but also all the goods of such person or persons whom he shall so deliver or bring unto us, Phelim Reaugh McDavid only excepted, who must expect no pardon; but whosoever shall bring in his head, or deliver his body alive, shall have the full benefit of our former proclamation in that behalf.—Dundalk, 7th July, 1608.

Scarcely had the news of Sir Cahir's death reached Chichester when he despatched, through his trusty servants, a petition to London asking for the grant of Inishowen to be made to him. At the same time, to expedite matters, Sir Thomas Ridgeway (he who had taken Burt castle and perpetrated such iniquities in Inishowen, and who, in reward of his many crimes, was created Earl Londonderry) was deputed to take down a commission under the Great Seal to

inquire *super visum corporis* of O'Doherty as to whether he had died in rebellion, because in Ireland so to die was an attainder in law. 'And thus were avoided all the delays in entitling the King to O'Dogherty's lands and goods that occurred in the Earl of Tyrone's and Tyrconnell's cases, which took up almost the whole time till O'Dogherty's revolt.'[1]

Thus, then, died this hapless chieftain in the very dawn of opening manhood, and when hope held out to him the prospect of many and glorious years in the future. Like a noble barque sweeping majestically over the waves with the hope of soon entering port after a prosperous voyage, but which, striking unexpectedly on a hidden rock, goes down with all her crew into the seething abyss of ocean; so sank the noble lord of Inishowen in the pride and beauty of youth, and with him the glory of his clan was swept away for ever. The banner which had waved triumphantly over the Clan-Fiamuin for twelve hundred years fell at last, bathed in his heart's blood, from the nerveless hand of Sir Cahir; and the broad lands which for ages had owned the sway of O'Doherty were transferred to one of the vilest of the many vile creatures with which British rule has cursed our country.

VIII

IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES OF SIR CAHIR'S DEATH

Though Sir Cahir was slain, and consequently the greatest obstacle in Chichester's way removed, still the latter could not rest satisfied till every vestige, as far as possible, of the clan and their allies was utterly destroyed. Orders were given by the deputy to pursue the scattered remains of O'Doherty's forces, and to root them out of the land. This led to a massacre little known or spoken of, but one of the most atrocious with which Chichester is associated. In their preface to the *Calendar of State Papers* for the period from 1608 to 1610, the learned editors — Dr. Russell of Maynooth, and Mr. Prendergast—relate the ghastly story, and as no words could convey it in clearer language, we

[1] Preface to *S. P.*, p. lxi.

shall transcribe their narrative in its entirety. They thus write :—

There is one episode of this miserable struggle, however, of which nothing seems to have been known hitherto, and which is related in a most characteristic despatch of Sir Henry Folliott to Chichester; the capture and destruction of the last remnant of the followers of O'Dogherty, who had taken refuge in Torry, an island in the open Atlantic, about ten miles from the north coast of Donegal. The principal of these was Shane Manus Oge O'Donnell, who was the most prominent of the sept after the departure of the fugitives, and who is represented by Chichester as 'ambitious to be created O'Donnell, if means and occasions were answerable to the design.' On the dispersion of the main body, Shane MacManus Oge, with about two hundred and forty followers well armed, betook himself to 'the islands of Claudie,' hoping there to be safe and difficult to come at, and to increase in number and reputation after their departure. Chichester drew his forces around so as to invest them completely; and MacManus, finding himself hardly beset, retired with a party of some sixty armed men, into the island of Torraghe (Torry), where he had a well victualled and furnished castle. This island stands some two or three leagues from the main shore, and contains about four quarters of land. It is strongly situated by nature, and has such a current of tides about it, that ships very seldom can cast anchor near it. The castle stands separate from the great island, 'upon a lesser islet, a steep rock, containing, likewise, a small circuit of land.' Having first broken their boats, Chichester left Sir Henry Folliott, Sir Ralph Bingley, and Captain Paul Gore, with several parties of soldiers, about two hundred in all, 'to watch their opportunities upon the main land, and to prevent the rebels' escape by currockes (corrachs), or boats made of hides, which they use.' They then 'searched and harrowed' the island of Claudie, and in his return Chichester 'took in Loughveagh, where were twenty rebels that kept it, and ruined their island and fort.' He states that the principal man that held the fort—one of the O'Gallaghers—killed three or four of his best associates after he yielded up the island; for which service Chichester took him into protection. And he adds with characteristic *sang froid*, that 'he held this practice with these rebels in all places where he came, and found it moresuccessful than any force; such is their levity and great fear when they are prosecuted with effect.'[1]

But the consummation of the tragedy was reserved for the island of Torry, to which the main body had withdrawn, and which Chichester had surrounded with parties of surveillance. The story is told by Folliott, and we shall give the chief incidents in

[1] *Calendar*, vol. iii., p. 27.

his own words. The readers of Mr. Froude's *History of England* will remember the terrible picture which he draws of the massacre in Rathlin island, under Essex, in July, 1575.[1] The tragedy of Torry differs in the number of victims, which was comparatively small; but, if we regard the hideous condition attached to the offer of pardon—disgraceful alike to the butchers who imposed it, and to the wretches by whom it was carried into effect—which condition, as may be inferred from Chichester's despatch just quoted, was offered under his direction, the transaction is hardly surpassed in atrocity by the more wholesale enormities of the older story.

Folliott, having explained and apologised to Chichester for suffering the escape of the principal body of the fugitives from the island, proceeds with his narrative. A constable and warders remained in the castle after the flight of the rest.

'The next day, after his coming and viewing the castle and grounds about it, the constable called to Sir Mallmory McSwyne [then in Sir Henry Folliott's force], and entreated him to procure him leave to speak to him, promising to perform good service; on which he suffered him to come; and at his coming, he asked him what he would do to save his life and the rest that were with him; after many excuses of Shane M'Manus Oge's innocency, and his being forced to remain there, he offered the castle, with all that was in it, for safety of their lives. But of this he [Sir Henry] made small account, considering it as the King's already. But he made him this proffer: if he would undertake the bringing to him Shane M'Manus Oge's head, and give him good security for the performance of it, he would undertake they should have their pardons. He [the constable] protested he could by no means perform it, but promised to do the best he could in that or anything else for the King's service.'

Folliott then ordered him to go back, but for a long time he refused to go—

'Still entreating for mercy, urging his unfortunate stay there, and his innocency, with his forwardness to do anything that lay in his power.'

In the end Folliott promised the constable his life, on condition of his delivering up the castle and the warders:—

'He spoke of the difficulty of this in respect of the numbers; but withal promised him seven of their heads, with the castle and all that was in it, within two hours.'

And here occurs one of the most shocking incidents of this shocking tragedy. Before Sir Henry dealt with the constable for the heads of all his men, Captain Gore had dealt with McSwyne (another of the garrison), and had fixed the same terms. This McSwyne came with the constable to the camp.

'So they departed,' continues Sir Henry, 'each of them being

[1] Froude's *History of England*, vol. xi., p. 185.

well assured and resolved to cut the other's throat; by ill-hap to McSwyne, it was the constable's fortune to get the start of the others, and he killed two of them; instantly the rest of them fled into the island, hiding themselves among the rocks and cliffs; and at break of day he caused them to look for them, giving them two hours for the bringing in of their heads without the assistance of any of the soldiers, otherwise their own were like to make up the number promised by them. After a little search they found three of them in a rock, the passage to which was so dangerous that he had well hoped it would have cost the most of their lives; but the constable, with the first shot he made, killed the principal; the other two men ran towards Sir Henry's men. One of them promising some service, but of little moment, he delivered him again to the constable to be hanged; and as he was being led to execution, the desparate villain, with a skione [skeane] he had secretly about him, stabbed the constable to the heart, who never spake a word, and was afterwards himself, with the other three, cut into pieces by the other; and so there was but five that escaped; three of them churls, and the other two young boys.'[1]

The foregoing is a fair sample of the merciful and honourable mode of dealing with the Irish pursued by Chichester and his myrmidons! Not satisfied with the slaughter of the hapless young chieftain, 'like the ghoul of the east, with quick scent for the dead' he would 'come to feed at his grave' by destroying, if possible, every remnant of his clan and adherents. Treachery and deceit, cruelty of the most revolting nature, and a policy dictated by the most thorough selfishness, were the weapons he employed to exterminate the natives. If these evil qualities of his were kept slightly in abeyance whilst the earls were still at home and Sir Cahir was alive, their removal from the scene gave free scope to the indulgence of his fiendish malignity. His persecution of Catholics, and especially of priests, became intolerable after Sir Cahir's death. Writing to Salisbury, he thus expresses himself:—

If I have observed anything during my stay in this kingdom, I may say it is not lenity and good works that will reclaim the Irish, but *an iron rod*, and severity of justice for the restraint and punishment of those firebrands of sedition, the priests; nor can we think of other remedy but to proclaim them, and their relievers and harbourers, traitors.

[1] *Calendar*, vol. iii., pp. 35-6.

In the midst of all his deeds of murder and heartless cruelty, he never for a moment lost sight of the darling object of his ambition—the acquisition of the lands of the ill-fated Sir Cahir. Thus we find that when the commissioners appointed for the surveying and dividing of the escheated counties met at Derry, and when, unable to agree on certain points, they adjourned to 'the Liffer,' instead of accompanying them immediately, he remained behind to feast his eyes on this land of promise after which his heart for years had so anxiously yearned.

Chichester [says Hill] went on Saturday, the 2nd of September, to look about him in the barony of Inishowen, where he seems to have spent three days, not appearing at the Liffer till Tuesday, the 5th. He was naturally anxious to take a good look at that vast and romantic region now destined to become his own, and, although a very pious man, it is doubtful whether he did not spend that intervening Sunday galloping hither and thither through the accessible portions of Inis-Eoghan.[1]

We saw that immediately on the news of Sir Cahir's death Chichester had despatched messengers to the king asking for the territories of O'Doherty, but the request was not granted at once. Another claimant, not for Inishowen, but for justice for the territories taken from him, came before the king, and his majesty determined to compensate him by giving him the lands of Inishowen. In his *Colville Family in Ulster*, Mr. John M. Dickson thus narrates the circumstance:—

MacQuillin of Antrim had been deprived of his estates though he had never taken any part in the rebellion. Finding that, in case of wrongful seizure, no Irish landowner had any legal remedy in his own country, MacQuillin (being then 102 years of age, and quite blind) made his way to London, in 1605, to seek for justice from the king himself, who must have been moved by his pathetic figure, as he gave him promises of some compensation, which the old man did not live to see carried out. However, in 1608, King James commissioned his deputy, Sir Arthur Chichester, to inform his grandson, Rory Oge MacQuillin, that the territory of Inishowen, in Donegal (confiscated from Sir Cahir O'Dogherty), should be transferred to him. It seems the idea of entering on the patrimony of his friend and fellow-sufferer,

[1] Hill's *Plantation of Ulster*, p. 173.

O'Dogherty, was repulsive to MacQuillin's sense of honour, This sentimental reluctance was very convenient for the wily Chichester, who doubtless warmly encouraged it, as he had already determined to have Inishowen to himself. Having already, among other pickings, got the lands of Clanaghertie assigned to himself, he induced MacQuillin to take it in exchange for the much more valuable Inishowen.[1]

Some years after Chichester induced the king to take back these lands from MacQuillin and bestow them on Sir Faithful Fortescue, the deputy's own nephew.

At last, as we find recorded in a 'Minute to the Lord Deputy,' given in the *State Papers* under date April 5th, 1609, 'On consideration, they [the members of the Council] propose to grant to the lord deputy and his heirs, the entire barony of Inishowen, called O'Doghertie's country, Co. Donegal, in the same manner as the late traitor, or his father, Sir John O'Dogherty, held the same.' Chichester took care to secure Inch along with the rest, though it had been leased to Sir Ralph Bingley.

The fate of Phelim Reagh McDevitt was in some respects less deplorable than that of his young friend and chieftain, Sir Cahir. Chichester, as we have already seen, had ordered in his proclamation that MacDevitt was, if possible, to be taken alive, but that no mercy would be extended to him. He desired to have the fiendish satisfaction of torturing to death him whom he regarded as the instigator of Sir Cahir's revolt. The mockery of a trial was given him, after which he was executed at Lifford, on the 27th September, 1608. O'Sullivan tells us that life and wealth were offered him if he would renounce the Catholic faith, but he firmly declined, preferring to die a martyr for his religion rather than purchase life at the cost of eternal reprobation. Let us hope that by his death he expiated the fatal mistake he made in handing over the young Cahir to the care of Docwra, and in giving to that English governor such powerful assistance in subduing the natives. That his attachment to his young lord was most unswerving and unselfish is beyond question; that he safe-guarded the faith

[1] *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. v., new series.

of the boy in his arrangements with Docwra is quite clear; but that the step he took in handing him over to Sir Henry was blind in the extreme and fraught with the worst consequences to his country, the subsequent history of events but too certainly prove.

Were we writing a biography of Sir Cahir, many points omitted here would be introduced, but as it is merely what is connected with his so-called rebellion, and with the vindication of his character from the foul charge of cruelty and murder brought against him, that we are concerned, we, of necessity, have to pass over the many interesting details that go to form a biography.

In the second edition of Father Meehan's *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, p. 298, there is given a copy of a well-authenticated pedigree of the O'Doherty family, beginning with Sir Cahir. This pedigree is preserved in the Office of Arms, Dublin Castle. From it, it appears that John, the youngest brother of Sir Cahir, married Eliza, daughter of Patrick O'Cahan, of Derry, and left three sons. Their descendants ultimately went to Spain, where their lineage is still probably to be found.

After Sir Cahir's death, 'the kinsmen of Sir Cahir's widow,' [as Father Meehan relates on the authority of the *State Papers*], petitioned the Irish government to make provision for her out of the broad lands which by her husband's revolt were declared forfeited to the crown. Chichester supported their prayer, and the lords of the Privy Council, in a letter dated June 15th, 1609, empowered him to confer a pension on her for the following reasons:—'First, because her marriage money, which should have been paid by her brother, Lord Gormanstown, resteth in great part unsatisfied; and secondly, because she had shown good affection for some of his Majesty's subjects when the rebel, her husband, was in rebellion.' 'Although [continued the lords of the Privy Council] by reason of her husband's treason, all titles of Dowry are forfeited to the King, his highness is pleased to bestow upon her forty pounds, sterling, per annum, out of the country of Ennishowen, lately O'Dogherty's country.' She subsequently married Anthony, son of Sir William Warren, and had an additional grant of eighty pounds yearly.

Sir Cahir left no son, nor have we been able to ascertain what was the fate of his infant daughter.[1]

[1] *Fate and Fortunes of Tyrone and Tyrconnell*, Second Edition, p, 297.

One relic of Sir Cahir still remains in the city of Calgach. His sword—a fine Toledo blade—is in possession of the corporation, and is preserved in the *Mayor's Parlour* in the Guildhall. How it came there is hard to say, but, probably, after Sir Cahir's death it was handed over, like the sword of Goliath, as a trophy of victory to the authorities of the city, and has since been preserved as such. It is in itself a tribute to the greatness of the power of its former owner, that the corporation of this ancient city have deemed it worthy to preserve with such care this relic of the brave but unfortunate young lord of Inishowen. We hope no future David may be called upon to take it from its resting-place to wield against the enemies of his country.

Thus, then, passed away the last of the Irish chieftains, as the banner on which the light of glory had shone from the days of Niall of the Nine Hostages fell from his nerveless hand at the rock of Doon. Buncrana, Elagh, Burt, and Inch knew their rightful lord no more. The fishful rivers, the fertile valleys, the giant mountains, and verdant plains of Inishowen passed to one who had waded through rivers of innocent blood to gain possession of them. The ambition of years was gratified—the cravings of his covetous and cruel heart at last were satiated. *Cui bono?* The lands of Inishowen were his; the regions around Carrickfergus and Belfast acknowledged him as their lord; large grants of O'Neill's territories were given him; and there he reigned—a childless sovereign, without a son to inherit his ill-gotten gains. And, strange irony of fate, the race he crushed and strove to exterminate, the clan whose stalwart sons he seized and sent in thousands to fight in the army of the Protestant champion, Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden—that clan still survives and possesses in peace the old peninsula.

Chichester is now forgotten, or is at most remembered as the ogre of a fairy-tale, or the *bête noire* of a horrid nightmare; whilst Sir Cahir is remembered with love and admiration. By the banks of the Swilly and the Foyle, and 'along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic,' his name is spoken by the winter fireside, and his memory is preserved in the songs and the stories of the peasantry.

Wisdom may blame the rashness of his rebellion; but the youth of the hero, and the cool, premeditated villany of his enemies, form a fitting excuse for his premature rising. Future students of Irish history will find little to blame and much to praise in the story of Sir Cahir; nay, if inclined at first to blame, that blame will be turned to pity as they contemplate that noble and manly youth with his handful of undisciplined followers boldly confronting the ablest generals and best trained forces of James, and striking a last blow for home and fatherland:

> Yea, many a visage wan and pale
> Will hang at midnight o'er my tale,
> And weep that it is true.[1]

✠ JOHN K. O'DOHERTY.

[1] 'The Isle of Palms.'

THE POEMS OF EGAN O RAHILLY

ANOTHER new book has come to fill a place and supply a want in the working out of the purpose of the Gaelic League. The place is one which was previously empty because there was no book that could fill it. Neither was there any book in existence previously that could supply the want. In order to understand these facts it is necessary to consider what this new book is, and what is the nature of the use which is to be made of it. The book is a collection of the poems of a great Irish poet named Éġán ua Ṙaṫaille, who flourished during the first half of the eighteenth century. The poems are odes and lyrics of the very highest order. They present two leading characteristics, viz., extreme simplicity of language and unique beauty of construction. The result of the simplicity of the language was that they were taken up at once by the people amongst whom the poet lived, and kept in remembrance, and recited with the keenest appreciation and enjoyment. That is a thing which could not possibly happen to abstruse compositions. Abstruse compositions may live in books. They cannot live in a people's memory. People who do not know Irish and who may look at these poems and try to learn them, may be disposed at first sight to consider them anything but simple. Such people should remember that, as a rule, the very simplest things in a language, for those who have been reared in it, are exactly the things which appear most abstruse to a foreigner. The second characteristic of these poems is their exquisite beauty of construction. In fact this characteristic is founded upon the other. The simplest turns of expression are used, but they are introduced in some new and fascinating manner which comes upon the mind of the listener like a burst of light and of music and of significance, all combined. Then they sink into the memory, and become photographed there, and nothing can ever dislodge them. This is the 'saying of common things in an uncommon

way,' which Horace recommends in his Art of Poetry. If we compare the odes of Horace with the odes of this Irish poet we will find that the Irish poet understood and acted upon that principle far more successfully than Horace did. Probably one of the reasons of the success is that the Irish poet had a more copious, a more musical, a more flexible, and a more powerful language in which to exercise his genius.

These poems still live in the memory of Irish-speaking people as the highest and best form of living Irish speech. They are placed, in this new book, before our Irish learners. In this way our learners are brought at once into direct touch with our Irish speakers, and the touch is established where it is certain to take a firm hold. Every learner should, therefore, procure for himself at once a copy of this book, and set to work to make himself master of its contents. If he can get the help of a good Irish speaker, his task will be so much the easier. This book places him in the very heart of the Irish language in its best shape.

The editor has taken great pains to fit the book for its work. He has given a translation of the poems. The translation is literal without being repulsive—a very rare fact. It is only a person who is master of two languages that can translate literary matter from one of them into the other properly. The editor, in this case, has succeeded in making a translation which is most entertaining English reading in itself, and which gives the sense of the original as far as it is at all possible to give it in English. It does not, of course, give the spirit of the original, much less the charm of the original, the magic which had the effect of fixing the original for ever, after one hearing, in the memory of the listener. But the editor's translation does this. It brings the mind of the reader within hail of that spirit, and charm, and magic; it introduces him to the original Irish, where alone those elements can be found; and the introduction is made with the skill and effectiveness of one who knows both the way and where it leads to.

Fortunately for learners, that skill and experience in the

mind of the editor have saved us from a *metrical* translation. Metrical translations are an unmitigated pest; they have done immense mischief to the Irish language in recent years; they are neither English nor Irish; they are neither prose nor poetry; they fail utterly to give even a faint shadow of the sense of the original Irish, and they do not profess to give sense of their own. I have never read an English metrical translation of an Irish ode without a feeling of rage to think that people not knowing Irish should have made upon their minds the impression that the original was at all like that silly trash! But what is to save them from the impression? It is no wonder, with the metrical English version before their eyes, that they should be driven to the conclusion that the original Irish is very worthless, indeed. This book will help to drive them effectually to a different conclusion.

Every learner of Irish should possess himself, without delay, of this book. He should study it closely; he should be constantly studying it. The beauties of the Irish poetry will manifest themselves by degrees to his mind; he will master them. Then he will find himself repeating to himself, as Irish speakers do: 'It is impossible to say *that* in English.' Then he will realise the astounding silliness of our metrical versions.

In order that readers may be able to judge for themselves as to whether I exaggerate when I speak of 'astounding silliness,' I give them a verse taken at random from a certain volume of Irish poetry which has been metrically translated. It is a humorous, but very keen, bit of satire upon a certain article of fashionable female attire which became the rage, for awhile, about the year 1800. Here it is:—

"Tá caṫúġaḋ mór ar m'aiġne
  a'r dólás leir,
Ó ċím an raoġal ag aṫarúġaḋ
  le tréimhse a'r bheir;
Clann na daoíreaċ ġceanaraċ
Dá dtabairt anuas ċum tarcaisne,
A'r clann na lórać aṫarać
  faoi Carbhmel!"

Here is the meaning of this verse :—

There is great sorrow upon my mind
And sadness too,
As I see the world changing
This while back, and more than a while back.
The children of respectable and influential people,
Being brought down to dishonour,
And the children of fathers who wore lōpas
Going under the Cardinel!

The lōpa was a sort of sock without a sole, worn by people who could not afford to have shoes.

Now, let the reader just look at the *metrical version* of this little bit of satire. Here it is :—

'My heart is full of gall to-night
And sorrows swell;
To see what changes fall, a blight
O'er hill and dell;
Kindly clanns and valorous
Are sinking poor and dolorous,
And crafty clanns look tall o'er us
In the Cardinel!'

Not a shadow of the meaning of the original is reproduced; not a trace of the humour of the original. The poet was not thinking of 'gall,' nor of 'hills,' nor 'dells,' nor of 'clanns' 'valorous,' nor 'crafty.' 'Tall o'er us' is superb. It out-fools folly. It is dreadful to think of an English reader reading that foolish stuff, and imagining that it represents the original Irish! The entire volume is like that. Some of it is much worse.

I shall now give a specimen of Father Dineen's translations. It is a humorous morsel. The poet was presented with a pair of new shoes, and he praises the present thus:—

"Do fuarar reóite; ir leór a mbreáġċeaċt;
Dá brúiġ ċaoine, míne, bláċa,
Don leaċar a bí sa bearbaire bán ċear
Ir ċugadar loingior Riġ Pilib car sáile."

Here is the translation :—

'I have received jewels of conspicuous beauty,
A pair of shoes, fair, smooth, handsome,
Of leather that was in white Barbary, in the south,
And which the fleet of King Philip brought over the sea.'

This translation is what it should be, a reliable, conscientious guide to the original, in which alone the poet's spirit can be found and felt.

Throughout the entire book the translation never once forgets its character of reliable and conscientious guide to the original Irish. The book is for that, and also for many other reasons, a most valuable one.

PETER O'LEARY, P.P.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

JURISDICTION TO HEAR THE CONFESSIONS OF NUNS

Rev. Dear Sir,—I find it asserted in a recent work on Moral Theology that parish priests can, without special approbation or faculties, hear the confessions of nuns. Unless my memory be at fault, we used to be taught that, without distinction, special faculties are required for hearing the confessions of nuns. But, possibly changes have been made since I was in the schools. I have read several other recent authors without finding any trace of the novel doctrine to which I ask your attention. Will you kindly say in an early issue whether parish priests in Ireland have any special privilege in regard to the confessions of nuns.

Confessarius Monialium.

We are not aware that in Ireland parish priests, as such, enjoy a privilege such as that mentioned by our correspondent. In discussing the question of faculties for the confessions of nuns it is necessary to bear in mind the distinction between nuns who have solemn vows and observe the Papal enclosure and nuns belonging to congregations with simple vows. Now, according to the common law of the Church, special approbation is required for hearing the confessions of nuns with solemn vows. In other words, a priest, who is approved to hear confessions in a parish or a diocese, has not *eo ipso* faculties to hear the nuns of that parish or diocese. The nuns are outside his jurisdiction, unless the contrary be expressed or, at all events, implied by the circumstances or by the recognized usage of the bishop.

For the confessions of nuns, who have not solemn vows, no special approbation is required by the common law. *Per se*, therefore, any priest—parish priest, curate, or any other—who has faculties to hear the faithful generally of a parish or diocese, may also hear the confessions of such

nuns. But, while that is so according to common law, it is not unusual for bishops to exclude even these nuns from the ordinary jurisdiction given to the confessors of the diocese. In making such a reservation, a bishop is, not merely within his right, but he is acting in strict conformity with the spirit of the Church. Wherever this reservation is made, nuns will not come within a priest's jurisdiction unless a special grant of approbation embracing them be expressed or implied. In Ireland, at all events, it is recognised—and universally, as far as we know—that the ordinary faculties of a diocese do not confer jurisdiction over nuns of the various congregations. Moreover, it is, we believe, equally understood, that parish priests are affected by the reservation in precisely the same way as curates and other confessors.

We were, therefore, rather surprised to find Father Génicot writing as follows in his valuable work recently published: 'Valide tamen confessiones monialium paroeciam suam incolentium audit parochus: quippe qui ex munere suo approbatus sit ad excipiendas confessiones eorum omnium qui paroeciam incolunt, neque exemptione gaudent.'[1]

It is, of course, true, that parish priests as such are approved to hear the confessions of their parishioners. But it is equally true, that the bishop can restrict the parish priest's jurisdiction *quoad personas*, and that in Ireland, at all events, nuns are considered to be outside the ordinary jurisdiction of parish priests. It may be that in those countries, which the learned writer had more prominently before his mind, the bishops are rightly understood to leave the jurisdiction of parish priests unrestricted as regards the confessions of nuns. But, as far as we know, parish priests in this country would consider that Father Génicot's statement, in so far as it regards them, needs qualification.

[1] *Theol. Moralis*, vol. ii., n. 339. Edit prima.

MASS 'PRO POPULO'

Rev. Dear Sir,—A parish priest is unable to offer the Mass *pro populo* on a certain Sunday, and, of course, has his place taken by another priest. A curate of the same parish, who has to binate every Sunday, undertakes to offer one of his Masses *pro populo* and takes a honorarium for the other in the ordinary way. He takes no stipend from the parish priest. He offers the Mass *pro populo* merely to do a kindness to his parish priest, *gratis quocumque titulo*. Does the curate violate the prohibition against taking two stipends in case of bination?

A. F.

This question has been referred to us more than once already by other correspondents, and we see no reason to change the opinion given privately on former occasions. The curate does not seem to have infringed the prohibition against a second stipend. The parish priest is, of course, bound if he cannot personally discharge his obligation to give a stipend, if necessary, in order to have the Mass offered for his people. But, the curate is not bound to take it, and if he is generous enough to forego his right to a honorarium, that is a matter for himself. Let us take a parallel case. If on the Sunday morning two persons requested the curate to offer Mass for their intentions on that day, and if he promised the two Masses but handed back the second honorarium, no one, we think, would suppose that the two promises could not be lawfully discharged by the two Masses celebrated on the Sunday. Now, if we suppose the parish priest to be the person for whose intention the curate promises to offer the Mass without a honorarium, we have in all essentials the case proposed by our correspondent. We understand that some priests make a difficulty about the lawfulness of this practice when there is a question of offering the second Mass *pro populo* and obliging the parish priest. But in the absence of any law or authoritative decision against it—and there is no law or decision against it as far as we know—the arrangement explained by our correspondent seems to us to be quite legitimate.

JURISDICTION TO HEAR CONFESSIONS OUTSIDE ONE'S DIOCESE

Rev. Dear Sir,—At certain periods of the year priests of one diocese are invited to hear confessions in the neighbouring parishes of another diocese. These strange priests receive approbation and jurisdiction from the bishop of the place where they hear the confessions. If one of his own parishioners confess to one of these extern priests a sin reserved where the confession is heard, but not reserved in that diocese to which the confessor and the penitent both belong, can the priest absolve? It seems to me that he cannot. For his jurisdiction comes from the bishop of the place in which the confession is heard, and the sin is there reserved. That seems to be a necessary consequence of the law of the Maynooth Synod that a sin 'does not cease to be reserved simply because it is not reserved in the diocese of the penitent.' I shall feel obliged if the editor of the I. E. Record will give his opinion on the point in a few words.

Rusticus.

Our correspondent rightly assumes that in Ireland, at all events, the sin of a penitent, belonging to any diocese in Ireland, confessing outside his own diocese, does not cease to be reserved merely owing to the fact that it happens to be unreserved in the penitent's diocese. So much is clear from the Decrees of the Maynooth Synod (1875). When, therefore, in the circumstances described, a priest of one diocese hears confessions in another, his jurisdiction is, as a rule, limited by the reservations of the diocese in which he hears the confessions. But is this true even when the priest hears, in a parish of another diocese, a penitent who belongs to that priest's own parish? Our correspondent seems inclined to give an affirmative answer without qualification. But, if he bear in mind the difference between ordinary and delegated jurisdiction, he will find room for a distinction. If, indeed, the priest in question be a curate, or any priest who has not *ordinary* jurisdiction over the penitent, he has no power to absolve in the case proposed. For in hypothesis case the only jurisdiction he has, even over penitents coming from the parish to which he is attached, is limited by the reservation of the bishop in whose diocese

he hears the confession. But, if the priest be a parish priest, or any one having ordinary jurisdiction over the penitent, he has power to absolve in the case proposed by our correspondent. For the *ordinary* jurisdiction of the parish priest is available whenever he hears the confessions of his own parishioners; nor is it in any way restricted or affected by the fact that, in the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent, the parish priest would also have from another source faculties to which certain limitations are placed. The ordinary faculties of a parish priest, in regard to his own parishioners, are of equal extent, whether he hears the confessions in his own or in another diocese. He may, of course, receive more extensive delegated faculties when he hears confessions in a strange diocese. To put the matter in another way—the parish priest's ordinary faculties remain, in the circumstances supposed by our correspondent, available for his own parishioners; his delegated faculties are available for all comers, including, of course, his own parishioners.

D. Mannix.

LITURGY

VARIOUS QUESTIONS

Rev. Dear Sir,—May I encroach upon your time, and ask a small space in the I. E. Record to have an answer to a few questions which I am about to put to you? Granted my request, here are my questions :—

1. What formula, or what rite must be used by a priest when he wishes to bless a rosary with the intention of applying indulgences to it?

2. Is it lawful to give Holy Communion under any circumstances, excepting, of course, Viaticum, to a person who is not fasting? If so, what circumstances would justify a priest in doing so?

3. What is the definition of a *Missa anniversaria pro defunctis?* Must it necessarily be *cum cantu?* I except the case of an anniversary occurring on a semi-double feast.

4. Can a Low Mass, *de Requie*, be said on doubles, in accordance with the latest decrees, for a person who does not belong to, or who has never been in your parish? That is to say, can *any*

priest celebrate a low Requiem Mass for *any* departed soul on *any* day or on *every* day from the day of death to second day after burial of that departed person?

I shall be pleased to have an answer to these questions in an early issue of your I. E. Record.

Neo Sacerdos.

1. The rite and formula to be used by a priest in blessing rosary beads depend on the nature of the faculties which the priest has received or wishes to exercise. There are two kinds of faculties which a priest may have for blessing the ordinary rosary beads, namely, faculties received from the General of the Dominicans, or faculties received from the Holy See. If a priest has obtained only the faculties communicated by the General of the Dominicans he must use the formula special to the Dominicans, and printed in the appendix to the Roman Ritual. Should a priest, however, have his faculties directly from the Holy See—that is from the Congregation of Propaganda, as far as we are concerned—a distinction must be made. These faculties may empower a priest to attach to rosary beads both the Brigittine and the Dominican indulgences, or they may restrict him to attaching only the Brigittine. In the latter case he imparts the indulgence to the beads by merely making over them the sign of the Cross without using any form of words. If a priest's faculties empower him to attach either the Dominican or Brigittine indulgences, or both to rosary beads, then should he wish to attach the Dominican indulgence to beads—whether with or without the Brigittine indulgences—he must read the formula proper to the Dominicans. But if he wishes to impart only the Brigittine indulgences it is sufficient for him to make the sign of the Cross. The following question addressed to the Congregation of Indulgences on this point, together with the reply of the Congregation, will, no doubt, prove interesting to our readers.

Quamvis ex pluribus recentioribus decretis hujus Sacrae Congregationis Indulgentiarum praesertim 11 Aprilis 1840 et 7 Januarii 1843 facile eruitur quod in coronarum benedictione quibus ab habentibus facultatem illae applicantur indulgentiae dumtaxat, quas Romanus Pontifex solet impertiri nec ulla

recitationis formula nec aquae benedictae aspersio, nec alius ritus exigatur praeter signum crucis, quando in indulto dicatur; *in forma Ecclesiae consueta*; dubitarunt tamen nonnulli Vicarii Generales in Gallia :—An per praefatas declarationes comprehendatur etiam benedictio tum coronarum seu rosariorum S. Dominici, quae a PP. Ordinis Praedicatorum, tum coronarum Septem Dolorum, quae a PP. Ordinis Servorum Mariae benedicuntur; ita ut sacerdotes qui a superioribus praefatorum Ordinum, vel immediate ab Apostolica Sede facultatem impetrant praememoratas coronas benedicendi in solo crucis signo perficere possint, an vero pro actus valore formula benedictionis simulque aspersio cum aqua benedicta omnino sit adhibenda?

Proposito itaque dubio in Sacra Indulgentiarum Congregatione quae in aedibus Vaticanis die 29 Februarii 1864 habita fuit EE. PP. postquam Consultorum vota audissent responderunt:

Pro coronis Rosarii et Septem Dolorum servandam esse formulam, cum responsa Sacrae Congregationis dierum 11 Aprilis 1840 et Januarii 7, 1843 non comprehendant casus de quibus agitur in proposito dubio.

From this response of the Congregation of Indulgences it would appear, that, no matter from what source a priest may have faculties for imparting the Dominican indulgences to rosary beads, he should use the formula proper to the Dominicans. The decree refers to the beads of the Seven Dolours, and also prescribes that in order to impart to them their proper indulgences, the priest who blesses them, no matter whence he may have obtained his faculties, must use the formula prescribed for use by the Servites of the B.V. Mary.

2. The general rule is that it is not lawful to administer Holy Communion to a person not fasting who is not in danger of death. It would seem, however, that if a person were suffering from a disease which was morally certain to end his life, though it was equally certain that months might elapse before even the danger of death might be apprehended, he might receive Holy Communion after having broken his fast, provided he could not conveniently fast until the arrival of the priest to administer Holy Communion. Chronic illness of a kind not likely to prove fatal is not a sufficient excuse for receiving or administering Holy Communion when the patient is not fasting. When the circumstances are present which justify a priest in giving

Holy Communion to one, not fasting, and, at the same time, not in immediate danger of death, then it would not seem to matter whether he allowed the person to communicate once a month or once a day.

3. An anniversary Mass for a deceased person is a Mass celebrated for the repose of the soul of that person on the anniversary of his or her death. That an anniversary Mass *de Requie* may enjoy the privilege of being celebrated on a double minor or double major it must be celebrated *cum cantu;* that is, it must be either a solemn Requiem Mass, with deacon and sub-deacon, or a *Missa Cantata.*

4. The new rule regarding private Requiem Masses for a recently deceased person would seem to be as follows:— On the day of death, and on the days intervening between death and burial, as well as on the two days following the day of burial, Requiem Masses can be said for the repose of the soul of deceased on all days except doubles of the first class or feasts of precept, by all priests celebrating in the church, chapel or oratory in which the funeral service is to be, or has been held. The only private Requiem Masses, therefore, that have this privilege are those celebrated in the church, etc., in which the funeral rite for the deceased is observed, or should *de jure* be observed. The two points— namely, (1) that Requiem Masses in these circumstances can be celebrated on all days except doubles of the first class and feast of precept, and (2) that it is only to the church, chapel, or oratory where the funeral rites are conducted, that such a privilege is attached, are made clear by the following decrees of the Congregation of Rites:—

I. In quolibet Sacello sepulcreti rite erecto vel erigendo, Missas, quae inibi celebrari permittuntur, posse esse de Requie diebus non impeditis a Festo duplici 1^{ae} vel 2^{ae} classis, a Dominicis aliisque festis de praecepto servandis, necnon a Feriis, vigiliis octavisque privilegiatis; item II. Quibuslibet Ecclesiis et Oratoriis quum publicis tum privatis et in Sacellis ad Seminaria, Collegia, et Religiosas, vel pias utriusque sexus communitates spectantibus, Missas privatas de requiem, praesente, insepulto vel etiam sepulto non ultra biduum cadavere, fieri posse die vel pro die obitus aut depositionis; verum sub clausulis et conditionibus quibus juxta Rubricas et Decreta Missa solemnis de requiem

iisdem in casibus decantatur, *exceptis duplicibus primae classis et festis de praecepto.* S. R. C., 19 May, 1896.

Ad quandam controversiam tollendam circa interpretationem decretorum 3903 *Aucto* 8 Junii 1896 et 3944 *Romana* 12 Ianuarii 1897 quoad Missas lectas de Requie, hodiernus Caeremoniarum magister Basilicae Cathedralis Vicensis in Hispania, de consensu sui Rmi. Episcopi, Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione sequentia dubia enodanda, humillime exposuit; nimirum :

I. Utrum ex enunciatis decretis Missae lectae, quae a sacerdotibus celebrantur in Ecclesiis et Oratoriis civitatis pro defuncto, cadavere insepulto, vel sepulto non ultra biduum a die obitus seu dispositionis, celebrari valeant *de Requie*, dummodo in parochiali Ecclesia fiat funus cum Missa exequiali; an hoc privilegium sit proprium tantummodo Ecclesiae, in qua funus peragitur cum sua Missa exequiali ?

II. Utrum quilibet Sacerdos possit unam tantum Missam de Requie celebrare, vel plures, diversis diebus, dummodo cadaver sit insepultum non ultra biduum ?

III. Utrum pro defuncto, qui morabatur in civitate et obierit extra civitatem, possint etiam in ipsa civitate praedictae Missae lectae de Requie celebrari ?

IV. Quomodo intelligenda, sit praesentia physica vel moralis requisita in decretis supra relatis ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exquisita sententia Commissionis Liturgicae, rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. *Negative* ad primam partem ; *Affirmative* ad secundam.

Ad II. Stetur Decretis.

Ad III. et IV. Provisum in praecedentibus; et Missae privatae de Requie nonnisi in Ecclesia vel Oratorio publico permittuntur ubi fit funus cum Missa exequiali : in Oratoriis autem privatis Missae, quae ibidem legi permittuntur, possunt esse de Requie, praesente cadavere in domo ; servatis ceteris clausulis et conditionibus.

Atque ita rescripsit.

Die 3 Aprilis 1900.

Cai. Card. Aloisi-Massella, *S.R.C. Pro-Praef.*

L. ✠ S.

D. Panici, *S.R.C. Secret.*

CONVENT CHOIRS DURING THE QUARANT' ORE

Rev. Dear Sir,—1. During the *Quarant' Ore* must all convent bells be silent just as in Holy Week, or is it only bells for Mass that should not be rung? Might the bells for religious observances, such as Meditation and Office, be rung as usual?

2. May public prayers, such as novenas, litanies, etc., be said in choir during the *Quarant' Ore*?

3. It often happens that while the morning office is being chanted in choir the priest passes through with the Blessed Sacrament to communicate the sick. What act of reverence should the choirs make as the Blessed Sacrament passes. Is it sufficient to stand, as the lesser interruption of the office, or should they kneel?

4. When office is chanted in choir during exposition, is it sufficient for chanters and others who have to come to the middle of the choir for versets, etc., to genuflect on *one* knee every time they come to the middle, and return again to the sides.

Of course the genuflection is on both knees entering and leaving the choir; the doubt is about intermediate genuflections.

1. The *Instructio Clementina*, which, however, is binding only within the city of Rome, states that at private Masses during the *Quarant' Ore* the bell should not be rung.

Nelle Messe private [it says] che si celebraranno durante l' esposizione, non si suoni il campanello all' elevazione, ma solo uscendo i Celebranti dalla Sagrestia, si dia un piccolo segno colla solita campanella.

So far from interdicting the ringing of bells at other times the instruction actually prescribes that a special festive peal should be rung on the evening preceding the Mass of exposition, and after the *Angelus* bell on each of the days of exposition. Here are the words of the instruction:—

La sera avanti il giorno dell' esposizione, dopo il segno dell' *Ave Maria*, si suonino le campane solennemente per avviso del popolo, come anche la mattina nel far del giorno, e doppo tutti gli altri segni dell' *Ave Maria* durante l' esposizione, come parimente le solite trevolte avanti le Messe Solenni.

Our correspondent need not, then, have any scruples

about the ringing of the convent bell for the ordinary—or extraordinary—religious exercises of the community.

2. Litanies and other prayers, which nuns may publicly recite in choir at other times, may also be recited by them in choir during the exposition of the Most Holy Sacrament for the *Quarant' Ore.*

3. The recital of the Office, whether it be the Canonical Office, or the Office of the Blessed Virgin, should not be interrupted without cause. But the opening of the tabernacle, and the taking from thence of the Most Holy Sacrament, is unquestionably a sufficient cause. Of course this reason for interrupting the Office should be avoided as far as possible; but when it occurs the nuns in choir should not merely not stand up and continue to recite the office, but they should kneel in silence until the priest bearing the Blessed Sacrament has passed from the view of those in choir. If, when the priest comes to open the tabernacle, the nuns are finishing the recitation of a psalm, a lesson, or antiphon, they should not kneel until they have finished. To prevent confusion, and insure uniformity in such cases, it would be advisable, we think, to appoint a member of the community as *hebdomadaria*, who should give a signal to the others when they were to cease the Office and kneel, and again, when they were to rise from their kneeling position and resume the Office.

4. Chanters and others, whose official duties render it necessary for them to frequently approach and recede from the centre of the altar of exposition, genuflect only on one knee, except, as our correspondent remarks, on their entrance to and departure from the choir, when they genuflect on both knees.

D. O'Loan.

CORRESPONDENCE

BEER RETAILERS' AND SPIRIT GROCERS' LICENCES (IRELAND) ACT, 1900

Rev. Dear Sir,—This Act which came into force on the 1st of September—a copy of which we enclose—confers upon the residents and owners of property in their several parishes the right of objecting to the granting of either new beer retailers' or spirit grocers' licences ; it also gives the magistrates ' free and unqualified discretion ' either to grant or refuse applications for certificates for these licences. It further restricts the power of granting to the ' Annual Licensing Sessions and not at any other time.'

It is a very short Act, but it was with great difficulty that it was safely piloted through Parliament. The Bill, as originally drafted by the National Temperance Executive, applied to both old and new licences ; we found, however, after it was read a first time in the House of Commons, that the opposition of the present holders of beer retailers' and spirit grocers' licences might prevent further progress unless Clause I. was made to refer to new applications only, even after we had accepted this compromise it was still necessary for one of us to be in constant attendance at Westminster to insure its passing.

Our thanks are due particularly to Mr. William Moore, Mr. J. H. Campbell, Mr. T. M. Healy, Mr. Patrick O'Brien, Mr. T. W. Russell, and Mr. Wm. Johnston, who rendered every assistance in the House of Commons, and to the Earl of Erne who devoted much time and attention to secure its passing in the House of Lords.

The importance of the Bill may be realized from the fact that in Dublin and Belfast alone these licences were increasing at the rate of nearly one hundred per year, as owing to the decision of the superior courts the magistrates had practically no option but to grant all applications.

We trust that the public will use the power now conferred upon them and oppose new applications, and that the magistrates will wisely exercise the discretion which is given them by the Act ; in view of the fact that in the reports of the Royal Commission the majority state :—' It is obvious that a large reduction

in the number of licensed houses is in the highest degree desirable, the call for such action being indeed more urgent than in either England or Scotland.'

Yours truly,

WM. WILKINSON,
J. B. MORIARTY, } *Hon. Secs.*

The Irish National Temperance Executive,
4, and 5, Eustace-street, Dublin.
4th September, 1900.

(COPY.)

[63 & 64 VICT.] *Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Retail Licences (Ireland) Act*, 1900. [CH. 30.

CHAPTER 30.

An Act to amend the laws relating to beer retailers' and spirit grocers' licences in Ireland.

[30th July, 1900.]

WHEREAS it is expedient to amend the law as to the granting of certificates for all licences for the sale of beer and spirits by retail for consumption off the premises :

Be it therefore enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as follows :—

1. Notwithstanding anything in any Act the licensing justices shall be at liberty, in their free and unqualified discretion, either to refuse a certificate for any new excise or other licence for sale of beer or spirits by retail, to be consumed off the premises, on any grounds appearing to them sufficient, or to grant the same to such persons as they, in the execution of their statutory powers, and in the exercise of their discretion deem fit and proper, and for the purposes aforesaid shall be at liberty to hear and receive and act upon any objection and any evidence either in support thereof or in aid of the application made or tendered by any resident or owner of property in the parish wherein are situate the house and premises in respect of which such certificate is applied for.

2. Certificates for any such licences as aforesaid, shall, notwithstanding anything in any Act, be granted at annual licensing sessions, and not at any other time.

3. The provision requiring the production of a certificate as to the exclusive occupation of rated premises for a period of three months contained in section two of the Beer Licences Regulation (Ireland) Act, 1877, shall not apply to the case of a transfer of a

licence being granted on the death or removal of the person in occupation of the rated premises immediately prior to the granting of such transfer.

4.—(1) This Act may be cited as the Beer Retailers' and Spirit Grocers' Retail Licences (Ireland) Act, 1900, and may be cited with the Licensing (Ireland) Acts, 1833 to 1886, and shall be construed as one with those Acts.

(2) This Act shall come into operation on the first day of September one thousand nine hundred.

DOCUMENTS

BEATIFICATION OF EASTERN MARTYRS

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE SUPER BEATIF. 77 SERVORUM DEI IN COCHINCHINA, TUNQUINO ET SINARUM IMPERIO IN ODIUM FIDEI INTERFECTORUM.

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Fortissimorum virorum seriem, qui effuso sanguine testimonium Christo reddiderunt, nulla unquam conclusit aetas, sed fastorum ipsorum tabulae novis semper enitent titulis. Martyrum enim purpurata sanguine vel ab ipsis suis primordiis Ecclesia exhibere postea nunquam destitit miranda exempla fortitudinis. Dum ad labefactandam Christi militum firmitatem nova excogitarunt tyranni suppliciorum genera, auxerunt pariter ad sempiternum Ecclesiae decus praestantium heroum coronas et palmas. Id porro non sine providentissimo Dei consilio factum est: nimirum ut manifeste constaret durissimo certamini e coelis adfuisse Auctorem fidei nostrae Christum Iesum, qui, ut scripsit S. Cyprianus' 'praeliatores et assertores sui nominis in acie confirmavit, erexit, qui pugnavit et vicit in servis suis.' Hoc etiam saeculo modo ad exitum labente, Cochinchinae, Tunquini, et Sinarum Imperii terrae feraces martyrum fuere. Excitato enim plurium annorum spatio illis in regionibus dirissimae insectationis turbine adversus Christi Religionem feliciter illuc invectam, multi Evangelii praecones exantlatis per eas gentes ineffabilibus laboribus, aditisque omnes genus periculis, quam diuturno sudore provexerant fidem, effuso cruore obsignare non dubitarunt. Haec generosa Christi pugilum manus praeclara antiquorum martyrum facinora aequavit: antistites enim sacrorum, sacerdotes tam saeculares quam regulares, catechistae, milites et cuiusque conditionis aetatisque homines, atque etiam mulieres, exsilia, carceres, cruciatus, extrema denique omnia fortiter pati maluerunt, quam Crucem conculcare et a sanctissima religione desciscere. Atqui ad tentandam Christianorum in fide constantiam, exquisitissima barbari tortores adhibuerunt tormenta, quae meminisse animus nedum enarrare reformidat. Aliis ad palum deligatis elisum laqueo guttur, alii in crucem acti, plures securi

percussi, nonnulli fame enecti, alii horrendum in modum secti, vel membratim caesi fuerunt, alii denique in caveis ferarum more inclusi, solis aestu, siti, verberibus, catenis et squallore carceris afflicti, mortalem hanc vitam cum immortali ac beata commutarunt. Tantam vero suppliciorum atrocitatem alacri ac flecti nescio animo perpessi sunt: 'steterunt, ut Sancti Cypriani verbis utamur, torquentibus fortiores, ac saevissima diu plaga repetita inexpugnabilem fidem expugnare non potuit.' Strenuissimorum istorum heroum numerus ad septem et septuaginta adscendit.

Quadraginta novem gloria pertinet ad inclytam et praeclare de religionis incremento meritam Exterarum Missionum societatem. Hi sunt in Sinis Ioannes Gabriel Taurin Dufresse Episcopus Tabracensis et Vicarius Apostolicus Sutchuensis ac pro fide interfecti Augustinus Chapdelaine, Augustinus, Tchao, Paulus Lieou seu Liou, Iosephus Yuen seu Uen, Thaddaeus Lieou, Petrus Lieou seu Ouen Yen, Petrus Ou, Ioachim Ho, Laurentius Pe-Man et Agnes Tsao-Kouy. Praeterea qui in Tunquino martyrium fecerunt Petrus Dumoulin Borie Episcopus electus, Ioannes Carolus Cornay, Augustinus Schoeffler, Petrus Khoa, Vicentius Diem, Petrus Tuy, Iacobus Nam, Iosephus Nghi, Paulus Ngan, Martinus Thinh, Paulus Khoan, Petrus Thi, Andreas Dung seu Lac, Ioannes Dat, Lucas Loan, Petrus Tu, Franciscus Xaverius Can, Paulus Mi, Petrus Duong, Petrus Truat, Ioannes Baptista Thanh, Petrus Hieu, Antonius Dich, Michael Mi, Martinus Tho, Ioannes Baptista Con, Ioannes Aloisius Bonnard. Et qui in Cochinchina in odium fidei interempti sunt Franciscus Isidorus Gagelin Missionarius Apostolicus et Pro-Vicarius Generalis Cochinchinensis, Franciscus Jaccard, Iosephus Marchand, Emmanuel Trieu, Philippus Minh, Andreas Trong, Thomas Thien, Paulus Doi Buong, Antonius Quinh Nam, Simon Hoa et Matthaeus Gam. Hos inter ad exemplum enituit adolescentis militis constantia Andreae Trong plane digni suae fortitudine matris, quae imitata Deiparam perdolentem adstitit filii supplicio, abscissumque illius caput a tyranno repetiit, excepitque gremio. Sex ac viginti etiam Martyribus gaudet fecunda Sanctorum parens et altrix Praedicatorum Fratrum familia, nempe Ignatio Delgado Episcopo Mellipotamensi Vicario Apostolico Tunquini Orientalis et Dominico Henares Episcopo Fesseitensi praefati Vicarii Apostolici Coadiutore, quorum primus in carcere et cavea diu martyr absumptus est, alter capitis obtruncatione certamen absolvit. Similiter in Tunquino accedunt

hisce in passione socii novem ex ordine Praedicatorum Sacerdotes, Iosephus Fernancez Vicarius Provincialis Vincentius Yen, Dominicus Dieu seu Hanh, Petrus Tu, Thomas Du, Dominicus Doan seu Xuyen, Iosephus Hien, Dominicus Trach seu Doai, et Dominicus Tuoc omnes capite caesi, praeter extremum, qui gravi vulnere saucius occubuit. Sunt e reliquo clero Iosephus Nien seu Vien, Bernardus Due, ambo capite mulctati, et Petrus Tuan in vinculis cruciatuum diuturnitate consumptus. Subeunt cathechesis tradendae ministri Iosephus Canh medicus in tertium ordinem S. Dominici adlectus Franciscus Chien seu Chieu, ambo capitis damnati, Iosephus seu Petrus Uyen e tertio ordine S. Dominici in carcere aerumnis confectus, Thomas Toan item tertiarius Dominicanus fame enectus, Franciscus Xaverius Mau et Dominicus Uy, similiter tertiarii, laqueo suspensi. Extremo hoc genere mortis affecti, succedunt alii duo tertiarii Dominicani, nempe agricolae Augustinus Moi et Stefanus Vinh, deinde milites tres, ex quibus Dominicus seu Nicolaus Dat fune strangulatus, Augustinus Huy et Nicolaus The secti: denique Thomas De sartor pariter e tertio ordine S. Dominici laqueo suffocatus. Congregatio Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo, omne genus ministerii et charitatis complexa, ac tam longe porrecta quam late patet humanitas, in Sinis caeteris hisce Martyribus Venerabilem Dei Famulum Franciscum Clet debit socium, qui nec apostolicis laboribus fractus, nec periculis aut minis deterritus, post longos saevi carceris cruciatus, laqueo suffocatus et crudeli modo conculcatus, diuturnum martyrium constantissime tulit. Tandem ne invicta haec acies italici etiam nominis gloria careret, spectat ad Minorum Franciscalium ordinem de religione ac societate semper optime meritum Venerabilis Ioannes Lantura, nuncupatus a Triora, eius natali in Liguria oppido. Hic multis ex ethnicis ad Christum adductis, plurimis Christianus in fide firmatis, unus in vatissima Imperii Sinensis regione sacerdos, proscriptae religionis ministerium interritus exercuit, donec in vincula coniectus et capitis damnatus eliso per laqueum gutture pretiosam obiit in conspectu Domini mortem. Horum omnium praeclarissimi triumphi est longe lateque per Christianum orbem fama diffusa. Iubar enim accessit miraculorum; neque defuerunt de coelo signa. Saepe incorrupta martyrum corpora suavem effuderunt odorem; saepe post supplicium ingens auditis innubilo coelo frager; aut fulmine tactum tyranni tribunal, aut insolitis motibus tremuerunt urbes. Garrula interdum hirundinum acies

circum morituros laeta volitavit, et peracto Venerabilium Dei Famulorum martyrio, obscura ferrugine sol texit nitidum caput atque impii carnifices aeternam noctem timuerunt. Sequuta tandem pervicacium quorundam infidelium ad Christi fidem conversio, ac teterrimae poenae, quibus plures e tyrannis tantarum caedium auctoribus obnoxii fuerunt tum Martyrum decus et gloriam auxerunt, tum sanguinem eorum vere semen Christianorum esse probarunt. Propterea inquisitionis confectis legitimis tabulis, atque ab Urbem transmissis, de ipsorum martyrio penes Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem causa agitari coepta est, omnibusque probationibus accurate perpensis, Nos per decreta lata, sexta nonas Iulias anni superiores, quinto Kalendas mensis Martii et octavo Kalendas Aprilis vertentis anno de septuaginta septem eorumdem Venerabilium Dei Famulorum martyrio eiusque causa, itemque de miraculis seu signis constare solemniter ediximus duobos exceptis ex eo numere, nempe Venerabilibus Matthaeo Gam et Ioanne Aloisio Bonnard qui iis signis carent, quos tamen propter martyrii splendorem ac fortiter toleratam pro Christo mortem eodem censu ac reliqui martyres habendos esse iussimus.

Ad actorum vero legitimam seriem perficiendam illud supererat discutiendum, num ipsi Venerabiles Dei Servi inter Beatos Coelites tuto forent recensendi. Hoc praestitit dilectus filius Noster Caietanus S. R. E. presbyter Cardinalis Aloisi-Masella causae Relator in generalibus Comitiis ipsius Sacrae Rituum Congregationis habitis coram Nobis in Vaticanis aedibus sexto Kalendas Aprilis vertentis anni, omnesque tum Cardinales sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, tum qui aderant Patres Consultores unanimi suffragio affirmative responderunt. Nos vero iterandas esse preces censuimus, ut ad sententiam in tam gravi negotio ferendam divinae sapientiae praesidium Nobis compararemus. Dominica vero proxima solemnibus Christi Resurgentis huius saecularis anni eucharistico litato sacrificio, accitis dilecto filio Nostro praefato Cardinali Caietano Aloisi-Masella causae Relatore ac Pro-Praefecto SS. Rituum Congregationi ac R. P. Ioanne Baptista Lugari Sanctae Fidei Promotore, una cum Revndo. eiusdem Cong.is Secretario Diomede Panici, ad solemnem dictorum septem ac septuaginta Martyrum Beatificationem tuto procedi posse decrevimus. Quae cum ita sint, Nos precibus permoti quatuor Ordinum Religiosorum nempe Congregationis ab Exteris Missionibus, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Congregationis Missionis S. Vincentii a Paulo, atque Ordinis Minorum

S. Francisci Assisiensis, simulque annuentes votis Vicariorum Apostolicorum Tunquini, Cochinchinae et Sinarum Imperii, qui illis in regionibus Christi Martyrum sanguine purpuratis Dominico gregi advigilant, de consilio VV. FF. NN. S. R. E. Cardinalium Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositorum, Apostolica Nostra auctoritate, praesentium vi, facultatem facimus, ut Venerabiles Servi Dei Ioannes Gabriel Taurin Dufresse, Episcopus Tabracensis, Petrus Dumoulim Borie, Episcopus electus, et socii quos ante nominavimus ab Exteris missionibus ; Ignatius Delgado, Episcopus Mellipotamensis, Dominicus Henares, Episcopus Fesseitensis Ordinis Praedicatorum, sociique praedicti ; tandem Franciscus Clet e Congregatione Missionis et Ioannes a Triora Ordinis Minorum S. Francisci, in odium fidei ab idololatris interfecti Beati nomine in posterum appellentur, eorumque corpora et lipsana seu reliquiae non tamem in solemnibus supplicationibus deferendae, publicae fidelium venerationi proponantur atque imagines radiis decorentur. Praeterea eadem Auctoritate Nostra concedimus, ut de illis recitetur Officium et Missa de communi plurimorum martyrum iuxta rubricas missalis et breviarii tum Romani tum Ordinis Praedicatorum cum orationibus propriis per Nos adprobatis. Eiusmodi vero Officii recitationem Missaeque celebrationem fieri concedimus in domibus ac templis quatuor dictorum Religiosorum Ordinum et Congregationum necnon Filiarum Charitatis, ab omnibus Christi fidelibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus qui horas canonicas recitare teneantur. Tandem concedimus ut supradictis in templis ubique terrarum existentibus, solemnia Beatificationis Venerabilium dictorum Dei Servorum celebrentur cum Officio et Missis duplicis Ritus : quod quidem fieri praecipimus die per Ordinarium respective definienda intra primum annum post quam eadem solemnia in Patriarchali Nostra Vaticana Basilica celebrata fuerint.

Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ac Decretis de non cultu editis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Volumus autem ut harum Litterarum exemplis etiam impressis, dummodo manu Secretarii Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis subscripta sint et sigillo praefecti munita, eadem prorsus fides in disceptationibus etiam iudicialibus habeatur, quae Nostrae Voluntatis significationi hisce Litteris ostensis haberetur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die VII Maii MCM. Pontificatus Nostri Anno XXIII.

L. ✠ S.

Alois. Card. Macchi.

REGULARS WHO BECOME SECULARIZED

E SACRA CONGREGATIONE

SUPER DISCIPLINA REGULARIUM

I.

DUBIA CIRCA RELIGIOSOS SAECULARIZATOS, RELATE AD BENEFICIA ECCLES. OBTINENDA

Episcopus N. litteris diei 14 Ianuarii 1899 *tria dubia* proposuit S. Congregationi super Disciplina Regulari.

1. An Religiosi perpetuo Saecularizati *'simplici Rescripto Saecularizationis perpetuae' auctoritatem habeant accipiendi, ac retinendi Beneficia Ecclesiastica*, sive Residentialia, vel etiam cum animarum Cura *sine Apostolicae Sedis habilitatione*?

2. An *institutiones* Parochorum, et Canonicorum, ex-Religiosis TANTUM *Saecularizatis perpetuo*, neque ad Beneficia habilitatis sint *invalidae*, quamvis *bona fide peractae?*

3. An demum valeant ipsi in possessione Beneficiorum manere veluti *legitimi possessores*?

Et S. Congregatio hisce mature perpensis die 31 Januarii 1899 reposuit.

Ad primum — NEGATIVE.

Ad secundum — Investituras, de quibus in casu, esse *nullas in radice.*

Ad tertium — *Negative*, et recurrant *ad S. Sedem pro sanatione, revalidatione, habilitatione, et facultate.*

II.

Episcopus N. suis litteris 3 Februarii 1899, ad S. Congregationem dubium proposuit:

'Utrum Parochus M., perpetuo Saecularizatus, et *legitime in Curam animarum institutus*, posset facere suos fructus Beneficii Parochialis; *et* in quanam *ratione*?'

Cui S. Ordo, die 21 Febr. 1899, reposuit:

AFFIRMATIVE *ad primam partem*, — ad 2.^am^ *Pro sui congrua sustentatione tantum.*

MASSES CELEBRATED WITH HOSTS MADE OF DOUBTFUL FLOUR

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

DUBIUM CIRCA MISSAS CELEBRATAS IN BONA VEL DUBIA FIDE, CUM HOSTIIS CONFECTIS EX FARINA DE CUIUS GENUINITATE NON CONSTAT

Episcopus N. N. S. Sedi, ut sequitur, exponit;

In hac mea dioecesi N. et in circumvicinis Dioecesibus venumdantur a pluribus annis in magna quantitate, farinae haud genuinae, quae saepe fuerunt adhibitae etiam in efformandis hostiis pro S. Missa.

Plures sacerdotes in bona vel in dubia fide circa validitatem materiae, celebrarunt divinum Sacrificium cum hostiis ex hac farina confectis.

In peragenda S. Pastorali Visitatione, quum gravitatem negotii perspicerem, totus fui in applicandis energicis remediis, providendo in singulis locis, sub severis sanctionibus: quae provisiones et sanctiones confirmatae fuerunt, et dein ad totam Dioecesim extensae per specialem litteram.

Ex illis dispositionibus turbata fuit *quoad praeteritum* conscientia nonnullorum sacerdotum, qui a me postulant quomodo sese gerere debeant relate ad missas iam celebratas cum supradicta materia, et aliquando cum dubio circa validitatem.

Quapropter E. V. Rmam precor ut dignetur obtinere a S. Sede Aplica benignam sanationem in favorem praedictorum meorum sacerdotum (etiam pro missis extra dioecesim celebratis) et illa concessa, obtinere etiam ut possint ab omni gravamine conscientiae immunes fieri, recitando exiguum numerum missarum, qui iuxta mitissimam proportionem determinari possit ab Ordinario in singulis casibus.

Et S. Congr. Suprema S. Officii, mature perpenso hoc quaesito, in fer. IV die 27 Ianuarii 1897 audito voto Consultorum rescripsit: 'Supplicandum Sanctissimo ut suppleat de Thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, habita ratione circa missas celebrandas eorum qui in bona et eorum qui in dubia fide celebrarunt.' Sequenti vero fer. VI, 29 eiusdem mensis, facta relatione SS. D. N. Leoni PP. XIII, SSmus. 'resolutionem Emorum. Patrum confirmavit, et petitam gratiam benigne concessit.'

INDULGENCE FOR THE SCAPULAR OF THE SACRED HEART

CONCEDUNTUR INDULGENTIAE GESTANTIBUS NOVUM SCAPULARE SS. CORDIS IESU

LEO PP. XIII.

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Dilectus filius Cassianus Augier, sacerdos, praepositus generalis Congregationis Oblatorum B. M. V. Immaculatae, retulit, ad Nos, penes quamplurimos Christifideles piam ac laudabilem vigere consuetudinem gestandi supra pectus scapulare proprie dictum Sacri Cordis Iesu, confectum ex binis de more partibus quarum altera habet emblema Sacri Cordis Iesu, et altera imaginem refert B. Mariae Virginis sub titulo *Matris misericordiæ*, nuper per decretum die quarta aprilis vertentis anni editum, a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione approbatum. Nos autem ut fidelium devotio et studiosa pietas erga amantissimum Iesu Cor diffusa constanter maneat et majora in dies incrementa capiat, oblatis Nobis precibus annuentes, quo tam frugifera consuetudo per christianum orbem latius propagetur, peculiaribus eam indulgentiarum thesauris locupletari libenti quidem animo existimavimus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia, ac BB. Petri et Pauli App. ejus auctoritate confisi, omnibus et singulis fidelibus ex utroque sexu ubique terrarum existentibus, qui hujusmodi scapulare juxta formam confectum a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione approbatam, et a sacerdote debita facultate praedito rite benedictum suscipiant, die primo sollemnis impositionis, si admissorum confessione expiati, sanctissimum Eucharistiae sacra mentum sumpserint Plenariam, et in cujuslibet eorum mortis articulo, si vere quoque poenitentes et confessi ac sacra communione refecti, vel quatenus id facere nequiverint, saltem contriti, nomen Iesu ore, si potuerint, sin minus corde devote invocaverint, et mortem tanquam peccati stipendium de manu Domini patienti animo susceperint, etiam Plenariam; iis insuper qui devote ipsum scapulare habitualiter gestent, si pariter vere poenitentes et confessi ac sacra communione refecti, Nativitatis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae, Paschatis, Resurrectionis et Ascensionis N. D. Iesu Christi festivitatibus, item festo Sanctissimi Corporis Domini, ac feria sexta post illius octavam, nec non Conceptionis, Nativitatis, Annunciationis, Purificationis, et Assumptionis Deiparae Virginis sub titulo *Matris misericordiæ*, propriam cujusque curialem ecclesiam, sive aliud quodvis publicum templum sive sacellum, a primis vesperis usque ad

occasum solis diei hujusmodi, singulis annis devote visitaverint et ibi pro christianorum principum concordia, haeresum extirpatione, peccatorum conversione, ac sanctae Matris Ecclesiae exaltatione pias ad Deum preces effuderint, quo ex praedictis die id praestiterint, Plenariam similiter omnium peccatorum suorum indulgentiam et remissionem misericorditer in Domino concedimus. Praeterea iisdem fidelibus ubique terrarum similiter existentibus, et memoratum scapulare rite gestantibus, qui in festis secundariis tum Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, tum Deiparae Virginis, corde saltem contriti, et preces uti superius effundentes, quodvis publicum templum uti supra dictum est visitent, de numero poenalium septem annos totidemque quadragenas; et quo die semel Orationem dominicam, Salutationem angelicam et trisagium recitent, contrito corde, aut invocationem: *Maria, Mater gratiae, Mater misericordiae, tu nos ab hoste protege et mortis hora suscipe*, ducentos dies, tandem quotiescumque pietatis quodlibet sive charitatis opus exerceant, in forma Ecclesiae solita, de poenalium similiter numero sexaginta dies expungimus.

Memoratis denique fidelibus largimur, ut si, designatis in Missali romano diebus, quamlibet ex ecclesiis vel publicis oratoriis supradictis, ubique terrarum, rite visitent, ibique iniuncta pietatis opera peragant, Stationum nuncupatas indulgentias lucrari valeant ac si personaliter illis ipsis diebus almae huius Urbis ecclesias de more visitassent. Porro concedimus ut fidelibus iisdem liceat plenariis hisce ac partialibus indulgentiis functorum vita labes poenasque, si malint, expiare. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de non concedendis indulgentiis ad instar, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque. Praesentibus perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris, servata tamen Nostra constitutione quoad suspensionem indulgentiarum pro vivis hoc sacri jubilaei durante anno. Volumus autem ut praesentium litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis etiam impressis, manu alicuius notarii publici subcriptis, et sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutaes munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus si forent exhibitae vel ostensae; utque earumdem litterarum (quod nisi fiat nullas eas esse volumus) exemplar ad secretariam Congregationis indulgentiis sacrisque reliquiis praeposita deferatur.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatori die X Iulii MDCCCC, pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimotertio.

Alois. Card. Macchi.

ITALIAN CATHOLICS AND POLITICAL ELECTIONS

LEO XIII ITERUM INSTAT UT CATHOLICI ITALI NON INTERSINT COMITIIS AD ORATORES POPULI ELIGENDOS

LEO PP. XIII.

DILECTE FILI NOSTER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Quas Tu caeterique provinciae Antistites ad nos communiter dedistis litteras post Rhaudiensem conventum, magna animi voluptate perlegimus. Fuerunt nimirum illae praeclarum argumentum tum observantiae, qua desideriis Nostris obsecundatis, tum studii, quo utilitates vestrarum ecclesiarum provehitis assidue. Quod quidem studium eo imprimis adhiberi exoptamus, ut maximi obedientiae officium a fidelibus fiat erga Sedem hanc Apostolicam. Doluimus enim fuisse quosdam, ac porro esse, qui catholicis suadere sint ausi, ut decretum posthabeant, quo Nos iamdiu ediximus non expedire interesse comitiis ad oratores populi eligendos. Hi sane Nostrae et Sedis Apostolicae conditio quae modo sit, vel omnino ignorant, vel, contra officium, praetereundum existimant. Instent igitur et perficiant Episcopi, ut mandatis hisce Nostris pareatur sancte; quae enim suaserunt rationes et maximi momenti sunt et integrae adhuc vigent, neque adiunctis ullis extenuantur.

Nihil plane dubitandum quin Deus industrias vestras sit amplissime fortunaturus. Ut tamen coelestia munera vobis gregibusque vestris uberius conciliemus, Nos gratias de officio vestro agentes, Tibi caeterisque Episcopis ac fidelibus cuique creditis Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum die VIII Iunii MCM Pontificatus Nostri anno vigesimo tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

'Dilecto filio nostro Andreae Tit. S. Anastasiae S. R. E. Presb. Cardinali Ferrari Archiepiscopo Mediolanensi.'

THE ABJURATION OF HERETICS

E S. R. UNIV. INQUISITIONE

HAERETICORUM ABIURATIONES RECIPI POSSUNT CORAM QUOPIAM AB EPO DELEGATO UTI NOTARIO, ET ALIQUIBUS PERSONIS UTI TESTIBUS

Reverendissime Domine,

In Congregatione Generali habita feria IV. die 28 Martii 1900 expensis Amplitudinis Tuae precibus die 1. dicti signati, quibus

petis, an abjuratio haereticorum recipi possit absque interventu Notarii, id est coram solo Sacerdote ab Episcopo delegato aut coram tali Sacerdote et teste, Eminentissimi Domini Cardinales una mecum Inquisitores Generales respondendum decreverunt; 'Haereticorum abjurationem recipi posse *coram quopiam ab Episcopo delegato ut Notario* et aliquibus personis uti testibus.'

Ad pleniorem vero Amplitudinis Tuae informationem sequens Decretum Tibi communicandum mandarunt.

Ex Litteris S, Congregationis de Propaganda Fide 8 Aprilis 1786 ad Ep. Limericensem: Non est necesse, ut qui a catholica fide defecerunt, ad eamque post modum reverti cupiunt, publicam abjurationem praemittant, sed satis est, ut privatim coram paucis abjurent, dummodo tamen promissa servent ac revera abstineant communicare cum haereticis in spiritualibus aut quidquam facere quod haeresis protestativum sit. Idem sentiendum de iis, qui haeresim, in qua usque ab initio educato fuere, privatim abjurent.

Fausta quaquae ac felicia Tibi a Deo precor.

uti frater

L. M. Card. Parocchi.

Rmo. Dno. Episcopo N.

INVALIDITY OF ORDINATION

ITERETUR SUB CONDITIONE ORDINATIO PRESBYTERI IN QUA PRIMA MANUUM IMPOSITIO FACTA EST SINE TACTU PHYSICO

Beatissimo Pater,

Il Vescovo N. N., prostrato ai piedi della S. V. devotamente espone quanto appresso:

Nella ordinazione di un sacerdote, avuta luogo nel luglio 1897, fu fatta la prima imposizione delle mani ma senza il tatto fisico sul capo dell'ordinando da parte del Vescovo e dei preti assistenti.

Benchè a taluni sia parsa valida tale ordinazione, secondo l'insegnamento del Perrone, che ripone nella seconda imposizione delle mani la materia essenziale del presbiterato, non venendo la prima da nessuna forma di parole determinata; nondimeno, per maggior sicurezza in cosa cosi rilevante, umilmente chiede che cosa debba fare per la detta ordinanza.

Feria IV, die 4 *Iulii* 1900.

In Congregatione Generali S. R. et U. Inquisitionis ab

EEmis. et RRmis. DD. Cardinalibus Generalibus Inquisitoribus habita, exposito praedicto dubio, praehabitoque RR. DD. Consultorum voto, iidem EE. ac RR. Patres rescribendum mandarunt:

'Ordinationem esse iterandam ex integro sub conditione et secreto, quocumque die, facto verbo cum SSmo. ut suppleat de thesauro Ecclesiae, quatenus opus sit, pro Missis celebratis ut in casu.'

Sequenti vero feria VI, die 6 eiusdem mensis et anni, in solita audientia SSmi. Dni. Nri. Leonis Div. Prov. Pp. XIII a R. P. D. Adsessore S. Officii habita, SSmus. resolutionem EE. ac RR. Patrum adprobavit ac gratiam benigne concessit.

I. Can. Mancini, *S. R. et U. Inquisit. Notarius.*

EDITORIAL NOTES

AN EXPLANATION

We have received for publication a letter from a respected correspondent at present visiting Ireland which we cannot but read as a plainly implied criticism of the way in which the Bishops of Ireland discharge, in some important respects, the duties of their episcopal office. As the I. E. Record is published not merely under the diocesan 'Imprimatur' but under 'Episcopal Sanction,' we could not feel at liberty to publish such a letter on our own responsibility. Having taken the advice which it was our duty to take in the very unusual circumstances of the case, we feel constrained, acting on the advice we have received, to decline publishing the letter.

Acting on the same advice we have sent a copy of the letter to His Eminence, Cardinal Logue, and to each of the Irish Archbishops and Bishops. It has been pointed out to us that in so far as there may be any ground for the criticisms embodied in the letter, this is the proper way to bring the matters in question under the notice of those primarily responsible. We are reminded too that the Bishops have quite recently been assembled in National Synod, and that a communication such as that which has been forwarded to us for publication might much more properly have been addressed to their Lordships, or to some member of their body, with a view to having the matters referred to in it considered, and, in so far as might be necessary, effectively dealt with by episcopal authority, in that assembly.

We have also forwarded a copy of the letter to the Provincials of the various Religious Orders and Congregations of Priests in Ireland, inasmuch as a substantial part of the criticism is directed against the way in which members of at least some of these religious bodies discharge their missionary duties.

In view of inferences that might perhaps be drawn from these references to the letter of our respected correspondent, it has been suggested to us to state that several of the matters which he has made the subject of criticism have been expressly approved by the Holy See.

Ed. I. E. Record.

THE CATHOLIC TRUTH SOCIETY OF IRELAND

The success of the 'Catholic Truth Society of Ireland' has already far surpassed the most sanguine expectations of its promoters. An enormous number of booklets have been distributed through the country through the agency of the Society, and every week brings new applications for boxes and books. It is only natural that in the crush of work at the beginning there should have been some delays and disappointments. The staff is small and the funds of the Society will not allow it to be increased for some time to come. It is only gradually that things can be got into shape.

We are, therefore, authorized to appeal to the patience and good will of those who may not have their orders attended to as rapidly as they might desire, and to assure them that from this forward we do not anticipate any hitch or delay of any kind. The indefatigable Secretary, Mr. John Rochford, who, without fee or reward, has placed his splendid abilities at the service of the Society and has piloted it through its initial difficulties, will be glad to hear of any irregularity or mishap, and will, we may be sure, do everything that can be done to set things right.

The Society has undoubtedly a great future before it, but it must be generously supported at the start if it is to accomplish all that is expected of it. It began modestly with penny booklets. We trust that it may soon be in a position to deliver to the public larger and more important works.

Ed. I. E. Record.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

COMMENTARII DE RELIGIONE REVELATA EJUSQUE FONTIBUS AC DE ECCLESIA CHRISTI. Auctore Joanne MacGuinness, C.M. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son. Price 4*s*. 6*d*. net.

WE gladly welcome a new volume of the admirable course of dogmatic theology which Father MacGuinness is giving to the world. It preserves and emphasises the excellence of former volumes. The clearness of style, the masterly grasp of leading principles, the thorough treatment of all important questions, which were the distinguishing marks of previous volumes, are found also in this work on Revealed Religion and the Church.

There is one merit of the book which we wish to specially indicate to our readers. It is the wide reading and persevering industry in research which every page makes manifest. The author has read and utilised every work of importance which modern times have contributed to the subjects which he discusses. Even works of minor value have had their due weight in influencing his mode of thought.

We regret to find no chapter on the history of religion in the present volume. Nowadays this interesting science has a special use and charm for apologists. Though it is comparatively recent as a science, much has been already done by it towards clearing away the mists of oblivion which have so long enveloped the religions of early races. We gradually behold the truth laid bare. Christian scholars find new and unexpected confirmation of their faith. It is a pity that Father MacGuinness has not thought it well to briefly treat so useful a subject. Doubtless he considered it too vast to admit of any satisfactory treatment in a volume that is occupied about so many questions which bear more directly on Revealed Religion.

We wish the volume the success it deserves. We hope Irish colleges and Irish priests will not fail to encourage Irish talent, which this volume of theology displays in a high degree.

J. M. H.

OUR CATHOLIC BLUE-JACKETS. A suggestion and a protest. By the Rev. Henry Browne, S.J. Dublin: Browne and Nolan, Ltd. 6*d*.

ALTHOUGH we do not look upon the naval grievance from exactly the same standpoint as Father Browne, we welcome his pamphlet both for the valuable information it contains, and because it shows that the protest against this special form of injustice to Catholics is not going to be allowed to languish and die. If Catholic grievances are brought forward, and an agitation raised against them which is then suddenly dropped, English statesmen may well conclude that they have only to stave off discussion somehow for a while, and that the question will soon fade away from sight and memory.

The remedy suggested by Father Browne, and before him by Cardinal Logue, for the present condition of things, is the appointment of a Catholic chaplain to each squadron of ships.

'I understand,' he writes, 'that the Admiralty, in the person of the First Lord, have already promised to supply such chaplains to squadrons on special service.'

But in asking for the very moderate concession that similar provision should be made 'in all cases of Her Majesty's ships acting together, at home or in foreign waters,' he does so with all due reserve. For he says:—'I understand that the difficulties in the way of this solution are supposed to be very great, and perhaps they are not all on the part of the Admiralty.' How difficulties could be raised on the ecclesiastical side to prevent poor Irish Catholic sailors from getting access to the Sacraments it is not easy to imagine much less to understand. But then, as Father Browne truly observes: 'In dealing with questions which have to be ultimately decided by an understanding between the ecclesiastical and civil authorities, there is always a great danger in unauthorized persons insisting unduly on their own views, for they can have only a very partial knowledge of the conditions and the difficulties of the problem.' The common sense of public opinion is, nevertheless, often of great assistance to the negotiators.

If a remedy has been found in the case of the army why should not something similar be done in the case of the navy? If some one bishop who is known to take an interest in these poor Irish sailors, were authorized to take the matter in hands, he would represent the Catholic body in all negotiations with

the Admiralty; he would make a careful study of the whole situation; he would know where vested interests clashed with the interests of the sailors; he would be in a position to obtain Papal approval for any arrangements that might be necessary; and he would have the whole Catholic body at his back to fight for Catholic rights in the service, and to provide suitable chaplains. And when once he began to interest himself in ports and ships, he might endeavour to do something for that still more forsaken body, the Catholic sailors of the mercantile marine. There are plenty of Protestant zealots at Marseilles, at Lisbon, at Tangiers, Naples, Palermo, Trieste, Constantinople, Smyrna, not to speak of the numerous ports of the Far East, who do a large traffic in souls as well as in merchandise. They lay their traps for our poor Catholic sailors, and inveigle many of them to Protestant homes, where they must assist at Protestant prayers, and attend at Protestant places of worship. It is only one who makes a careful study of the whole question, and obtains the most trustworthy information from all parts, who could be expected to meet all the requirements of the situation.

The suggestion made by Father Browne to utilize 'St. Joseph's Union' for the purpose of providing chaplains is an admirable one. Whether it is advisable to recruit them exclusively from the sons of Catholic sailors is a question on which we have not sufficient 'data' to be able to express an opinion. The chief thing at present is to get the Admiralty regulations changed. The question of providing the chaplains can then be faced.

What Father Browne tells us of the condition of things in the Far East is deplorable, and we trust that, whatever the ultimate solution of the question may be, the spiritual interests of so many poor Irish sailors, so far away from the influences of home and kindred, may not be left much longer to foreigners, however zealous and well-intentioned they may be. That Father Browne's pamphlet will hasten the solution of the difficulty one way or another we have no doubt; and on that account we welcome it, and recommend it to our readers.

J. F. H.

THE ULSTER JOURNAL OF ARCHÆOLOGY, July, 1900. M'Caw, Stevenson & Orr, Ltd., Linenhall Press, Belfast.

OF all the archæological journals published in Ireland, the '*Ulster*' easily holds the field. For varied and extensive

learning, for the accuracy of the information conveyed, and the fine artistic taste of those who are responsible for its management the *Ulster Journal* is quite remarkable. It is, moreover, broad and enlightened in its references to matters religious, only anxious to get contributions from the best scholars of the time, whether Catholic or Protestant. The last numbers of the *Journal* that have been sent to us well maintain the reputation of the organ that was enriched by the labours of Bishop Reeves.

The old series of the *Ulster Journal* is now valuable and costly because it contains the contributions of so many distinguished scholars that it has become a work of reference of the first importance to Irish historians. We believe that the present series will be equally valuable at least for local history.

The illustrated articles on 'Armorial Sculptured Stones of the County Antrim' would do credit to any archæological journal in the world. As the yearly subscription is only five shillings, and as the *Journal* is such excellent value, we sincerely hope that it will get that measure of encouragement from the public which it so well deserves.

'THE CONVERSION OF ENGLAND'

THE conversion of England seems to be a subject of perennial interest. Outside this little island many hearts are praying and watching for the return of England to her ancient faith. The Holy Father in his old age looks towards England to-day with as much earnestness as Pope Gregory did thirteen hundred years ago. The solicitude 'of all the churches' is upon him, but the conversion of England seems to be the special object of the closing years of his long and glorious pontificate. His Apostolic letter concerning Anglican orders is still fresh in our minds. He has established the 'Arch-Confraternity of our Lady of Compassion' at St. Sulpice for the return of England to the Catholic faith. He has set in motion the machinery of prayer, and not alone in France, but in the convents of Italy, Belgium, Spain, and America prayers are daily offered up for our separated brethren. He has endowed the Collegio Beda in Rome, for the education of convert clergymen. Leo XIII. knows well what an immense advantage to the Church the conversion of England would be, and he sees that under the British flag Catholics would enjoy a greater religious freedom than in countries entirely Catholic.

The present position of the Catholic Church in England

is most favourable. Fifty years ago we were practically an unknown quantity. It is true that in the large centres of manufactures there was a fair proportion of Catholics, chiefly Irish. We had our Vicars Apostolic, a few noblemen, and in the north of England many old Catholic families, who through the long years of persecution had remained true to the faith of their fathers. In the midland counties, in the west and south of England, there was probably one church in the very large towns, but the faith had not reached the masses, it had not touched the intelligence nor the heart of the nation. The Church of England was the Church of the church-goers. It embraced the wealth and the intelligence of the country. It had no rival. The followers of John Wesley, the Baptists, and, later on, the ubiquitous Salvation Army, had their chapels, conventicles, and barracks, but they could not pretend to run in the race with the Established Church. We were an obscure, an ignored 'sect.' Few in numbers, and too weak to assert our rights, we patiently endured the contempt and obloquy which were heaped upon us. We had no social status, very little influence in Parliament, the name of Catholic in these days was the synonym for the anarchist of to-day. What a change has come over England in the past half-century. The 'spirit of God has moved over the waters,' and to-day we are nearer than ever to the fulfilment of the aspirations of Wiseman, and the prophecies of John Henry Newman. Just fifty years ago, on the 29th of September, the decree re-establishing the Hierarchy in England was signed by Pius IX., of holy memory. What commotion and sleeping bigotry were aroused when the great archbishop landed on our shores, coming like a second Augustine. It is best to forget those troublous times. But the task set before Wiseman was greater than Augustine's. St. Augustine came to a rude and untutored people; the great Irishman had to contend against an established Church, and a mountain of prejudice that seemed all but impassable. Slowly the great work went on: the shouters of 'No Popery' grew weary, the persecution ceased, and the coming of Wiseman seemed to give a fresh lease of life and vigour to the crippled Church. To that

historic church of St. Mary's, Moorfields, came crowds of listeners of all and no denomination to hear the first Archbishop of Westminster. Side by side with the ragged Irish labourer were to be seen representatives of the House of Commons and Peers, business men and gentle folk, lawyers and authors. Conversions followed, not, perhaps, so quickly as was anticipated, and the most bigoted listeners at St. Mary's went away with changed feelings towards the Church of Rome, and a conviction that its representative at Westminster was a man of deep learning, and of wide and varied culture. It is safe to say, at this distance of time, that no better prelate could be found to guide the destinies of the Church in England fifty years ago than Dr. Wiseman. His 'Discourses' have come down to us bereft of the eloquence and persuasiveness with which they were uttered, but they reveal the marvellous skill and tact of the orator. The good seed was sown—the wall of prejudice partially broken down, and England, in the words of the cardinal's famous pastoral, 'received a place among the fair Churches which form the splendid aggregate of Catholicism.'

Such, at a glance, was the Church in England fifty years ago. More than a generation of men has passed away since the restoration of the Hierarchy. We have reached, therefore, a time when we may briefly review the condition of the Church in England and examine its future prospects from present data. The history of Catholicism in that brief period exhibits, in a remarkable way, the vitality of the Church of God. From a mere handful of Catholics we have grown to one million and a-half. Despised and downtrodden no longer we have risen to a position of eminence and respect among the Churches. Fifty years ago there was scarcely a Catholic officer of rank in the army, to-day in South Africa alone there are four Catholic generals, twenty-three colonels, and three hundred officers of various grades. I shall refer to the navy in another portion of this paper. For the present it is enough to say that every position in the navy, from the rank of warrant officer to First Lord of the Admiralty, is open to Catholics. At home and in the colonies Catholics take a leading place. It is the same in

the learned professions, in the diplomatic service, and in government offices. In the boards of guardians, county councils, presiding over municipal boroughs, in the household of her Majesty, Catholics to-day take their place side by side with Protestants. Catholicism has grown on every side. There is scarcely an aristocratic family that has not relations and friends in the Catholic Church. Many of the descendants of those who railed and wrote against us in the bitterest tones fifty years ago, are to-day the followers and champions of the 'faith once delivered to the saints.' The list of names would be too long, but I may mention a notable example—the brother, nephews, nieces of James Anthony Froude (one of the most bigoted Protestant historians of the century) are all converts to the faith. The number of conversions throughout England is steadily increasing. Day by day we hear of converts flowing in. Week by week the announcement is made of some notable conversion, chiefly from the ranks of the Anglican clergy. It is difficult for us who have always been Catholics to realize the sacrifice such conversions mean. Born in the Establishment, brought up in surroundings where the Catholic Church is never spoken of but to be mocked and reviled, educated in colleges and universities where the masters and professors are opposed to everything Catholic except our endowments—the conversion of such men is nothing less than a miracle of grace. Often, perhaps, they have spent years in the Anglican ministry, preaching and administering the few sacraments they still have left them, ministering to the poor, and leading a busy life that leaves but little time to examine the claims of our Church should a doubt arise as to the insecurity of their position. The lives of many of these zealous men are fashioned as closely as possible on the model of the priesthood. They dress like us, wear our vestments, encourage auricular confession, go through an imitation of the Mass, and are sometimes saluted by the endearing name of 'father.' In time the doubt comes that, perhaps, their sacraments are invalid—the 'Roman fever' attacks them, and they go with their doubts to some old experienced director, who soon disposes of their troubles. They are put

down infallibly to 'temptations of the Devil,' and then the unfailing prescription :—

> Do not go to Rome: you have everything they have; you gain nothing by going over, you lose everything; why leave the Church of your baptism? Just take a holiday on the continent and see with your own eyes the 'superstitions' of Rome. And, Henry, don't forget to take with you Dr. Crow's *Refutation of Popery* and Jackson's *Confession of a Pervert*—the small pocket edition.

For a time, perhaps, this cruel advice produces the desired effect, but the temptation returns, and fresh symptoms of the 'fever' manifest themselves and there is nothing left now but to consult another and a better physician—a Catholic priest. In a few sympathetic and fatherly words the priest clears away his doubts and puts into his hands Bruno's *Catholic Belief*, or some other approved work explaining the Catholic position. The troubles and anxieties cease and peace succeeds under the shadow of the 'Mighty Mother.' But what a sacrifice; what a great grace! Ah; we little dream, we little know the pain and hidden anguish which such a course implies. To unlearn the false tradition of years, to put off the character of teacher and assume that of a child, to study the penny catechism and prepare for the first confession and first communion—more difficult still to sever the links of friendship and tender associations that bind the pastor and parishioners so closely together. But there is a silver lining to the cloud. He realizes for the first time that the sacrifice is as nothing compared to the treasure he has found. He is a Catholic, he is at last in the 'courts of the true Jerusalem, the Queen of Saints and mother of us all.' In the following simple yet graceful lines many readers will recognise the state of mind which I have attempted to describe.

A praise and glory on the earth
  Ah, holy Rome, art thou!
I gazed on thee with wond'ring awe
  When I loved thee not, as now.

Thou seemed'st some vast and shadowy form
  To wond'ring childhood's eyes,
Where 'neath vague fear and mystery dim
  A hidden horror lies.

Nearer I gazed and glimpses came,
As lightning flashes bright;
Awe-struck and dazzled shrank I back
As from unearthly might.

My charmed eye still there was fixed—
Was it a softening gleam,
As when from dark and lurid cloud
Flashes the sunbright beam?

Was it a smile, that beam so soft,
That met my raptured gaze?
Still milder, softer grew the light,
Still brighter beam'd the rays.

With timid eye I upward glanced
Towards that crowned brow:
Some Queen all bright and glorious seemed
Thy form majestic, now.

And still as longer dwelt my gaze,
So vanished fear and dread;
And now, with firm, but gentle, might,
My steps she onward led.

* * * * * * *

Oh, Queen, my heart within me faints,
Such glory to behold;
I tread a dim and earthly path—
Oh! loose thy awful hold.

The golden portal open flings,
Within the hall I stand;
That awful Queen with gentle brow,
Still kept on me her hand.

It is a pleasure to read the record of such conversions—more pleasant, still, to welcome them into the Church, and, if the ecclesiastical authorities approve, into the ranks of the priesthood. The conversion of such men as the late Dr. Luke Rivington, Monsignor Croke-Robinson, Father Langdon of Launceston, Father Maturin, the Rev. C. R. Chase, late of All Saints, Plymouth, and numbers of others, has a far-reaching influence for the Catholic Church. Their submission set men thinking, and thinking men who read and are open to conviction, will inevitably find their way into the true fold.

Our churches, too, have grown and multiplied. In Westminster, Southwark, Salford, Liverpool and Birmingham the increase is remarkable. The growth in the other dioceses is gradual and well-sustained. Referring to the Catholic directories, we find the number of churches and priests in England stated as follows:—

Year.			Churches.	Priests.
1850	...	...	587	788
1900	...	...	1,861	2,812

Roughly speaking, the increase in churches and priests is nearly four-fold. The number of priests in Westminster and Liverpool to-day exceeds the total number of priests in the whole of England fifty years ago by thirty-six. Such is the expansion and multiplication of the Church in England since the restoration of the Hierarchy, as certified by statistics. Much yet remains to be done in the way of church-building to meet the needs of the growing Catholic population, but the figures produced will be pleasant reading for Catholics in every part of the world.

Another pleasant feature to notice is the growing popularity of the priesthood among all denominations and every class of society. It is not exactly the popularity of the 'for he's a jolly good-fellow' type, but a growing feeling of respect and admiration for the Catholic priest as a hard-worked self-denying man, whose life is spent for the good of others, not for himself. Often, indeed, his income is barely sufficient to give him a decent support, but the road-worn tramp and the poor man in difficulties know that they have one friend in every town where there is a Catholic church. They turn to the presbytery:—

> Secure 'mid danger, wrongs and griefs
> Of sympathy, redress, relief.

The Catholic priest in England is looked upon no longer with the feelings of distrust and suspicion of other days, but with feelings of respect, and very often of affection by the Protestant portion of the community where his lot is cast. Of course there are many places still where the more modern ideas have not yet penetrated, and where the

traditional hatred of the priesthood is nursed and fanned by men of the type of Hugh Price Hughes and the political parson, whose latest effusion is the *Scarlet Lady*. But this old-world bigotry is dying fast, and men are growing more tolerant with the spread of education. It is a hopeful and encouraging sign of the times.

The inevitable result of the great expansion of the Church is to multiply its wants and to show up the weak points in its organization. The dangers and hindrances to the further development of Catholicism are matters for serious consideration. In a recent speech Cardinal Vaughan stated that in the archdiocese alone there are between thirty and thirty-six thousand children in grave danger of being lost to the faith. This is a sad confession, and many a hard-working priest in England knows that what is true of the archdiocese is relatively true of his own mission. Children leave school when they reach the age of ten or twelve—just the critical time. Their character is yet unformed, the faculties are not developed, and they must go out into the world. It is a hard lot, a cruel destiny, but there is no alternative. Thus they are removed from school influence, thrown into an atmosphere of temptation, and exposed to evil on every side. The natural consequence is that they drift into indifferentism, and are gradually lost to the Church. Many Catholic children must of necessity attend the Board schools, and the English Board school is little better than the State schools of Paris. Who is to blame for this lamentable state of affairs? What provision are we to make for our poor children whose faith is thus endangered? It is difficult to apportion the blame—more difficult, still, to suggest an effective remedy. Meanwhile thousands of our children are being lost to the faith, and in a single generation this means an incalculable loss.

I referred in an earlier portion of this paper to the navy. Thanks to the spirited Pastoral of Cardinal Logue, the long-agitated question of making proper provision for the spiritual wants of our Catholic sailors seems very near solution. On every battleship there is an Anglican chaplain. For the whole British navy there are only two Catholic chaplains—

one at Portsmouth, the other at Devonport. It is a crying shame, and the loss and leakage to the Church through this injustice is difficult to estimate. A cruiser with, let us say, one hundred Catholic sailors on board, is commissioned for the Pacific station. During the voyage there is, of course, no Mass, no instruction to remind them of the faith in which they were brought up in distant Ireland. The commission is usually about three years, and whether they go to confession once during that time nobody knows and no one seems to care. Very often it is impossible for them to go to their duties as there are very few English-speaking priests at the foreign stations. On wet Sundays the sailors are never allowed on shore to go to Mass, though this extreme consideration for the sailors is forgotten when it is a question of going to a concert, or a few days' leave. The consequence is not difficult to foresee. Many of our poor Irish tars return home with their faith much weakened, and after two or three such commissions as I have described, the result is, sometimes, disastrous. I have come across such men with, I grieve to say it, names as Irish as the bogs, and they resented my asking them when they made their last confession. With their faith thus weakened and practically lost, it is not surprising to hear of them marrying in a registry office, and bringing up their children as Protestants. I need not dwell longer on these painful revelations. Such extreme cases are probably of rare occurrence, but one such case is enough to make one shudder for the fate of our poor Irish boys who join the British navy. Let the Irish bishops follow the example of Cardinal Logue, and in their Pastorals advise Irish parents to keep their children from the navy till better provision is made for their spiritual wants, and the Lords of the Admiralty will not dare to continue this crying injustice. If England cannot fight her battles without Irish sinew and Irish muscle, let them impose such conditions that it will be possible for them to join the service without sacrificing the only possession left to them—the heritage of a glorious faith.

The great obstacle in the way of England's conversion is, without doubt, the peculiar undefinable religious feeling

among the masses of the people. It is impossible to define exactly this peculiar religious, or, rather, irreligious feeling. Unquestionably, rationalism and unbelief are growing fast in England—rationalism in the educated, and unbelief among the masses. The 'Open Bible' and the interminable disputes in the Establishment are, to a great extent, responsible for so much irreligion. The Church of England is going to pieces. It is a 'house of many mansions,' and the comprehensiveness which was its pride seems now to be its greatest danger. The fact is that since the Reformation there is no helm in the Protestant 'ship,' at least, there is no hand on the tiller, and the natural consequence is that they are 'blown about by every wind of doctrine.' Private judgment has usurped the authority of the chair of Peter; it has got a fair trial, and the verdict seems to be that it is 'the booking office to the city of universal confusion.' Honest Anglicans are drawing closer and coming over to us by the silly and compromising 'opinions' of the archbishops; others are disgusted, and drift into unbelief. It is not difficult, then, to believe that scepticism is the true Anglican layman's faith. He has no confidence in the majority of the bishops, and he wisely hesitates to pin his faith to the uncertain preaching of the parsons. The Nonconformist Churches have a far greater hold upon their followers than the Established Church. Their religion is free and easy; their tenets few and simple; and, generally speaking, they do not approve of such a place as hell. They do not relish the idea of eternal punishment in another world, and rarely mention it, except to explain it away. Their ritual, too, is simplicity itself, and many illiterate laymen have an opportunity of preaching in the Nonconformist chapels which would be denied them in the Church of England. Such a religion, or, rather, congeries of religions, find much favour among the lower orders of the English people. The average Englishman likes and approves of a religion from which such practices as fasting, confession, and all self-restraint is strictly excluded. When he is brought up to believe that he can get to heaven without such inconvenient commandments, he, very naturally, gives the

Catholic Church the widest berth. Cardinal Newman, in his sermon, 'Christ upon the Waters,' gives us a fine portrait of the Englishman and his idea of religion. He says:—

He gets his opinions anyhow, some from the nursery, some at school, some from the world, and has a zeal for them because they are his own. Other men at least exercise a judgment upon them, and prove them by a rule. He does not care to do so, but he takes them as he finds them, whether they fit together or not, and makes light of the incongruity, and thinks it a proof of common sense, good sense, strong, shrewd sense to do so. All he cares for is that he should not be put to rights; of that he is jealous enough. He is satisfied to walk about dressed just as he is. As opinions come, so they must stay with him. And as he does not trouble in his acquisition of them, so he resents criticism in his use. When, then, the awful form of Catholicism, of which he has already heard so much good and so much evil—so much evil which revolts him, so much good which amazes and troubles him—when this great vision, which hitherto he has known from books and from rumour, but not by sight and by hearing, presents itself before him, it finds in him a being very different from the simple Anglo-Saxon to whom it originally came. It finds in him a being not of rude nature, but of formal habits, averse to change and resentful of interference; a being who looks hard at it and repudiates and loathes it—first of all, because, if listened to, it would give him much trouble. He wishes to be let alone; but here is a teaching which purports to be revealed, which would mould his mind on new ideas which he has to learn, and which, if he cannot learn thoroughly, he must borrow from strangers. The very notion of a theology or a ritual frightens and oppresses him; it is a yoke, because it makes religion difficult, not easy. There is enough of labour in learning matters of this life without concerning one's self with the revelations of another. He does not choose to believe that the Almighty has told us so many things, and he readily listens to any person or argument maintaining the negative. And, moreover, he resents the idea of interference itself: 'an Englishman's house is his castle;' a maxim most salutary in politics, most dangerous in moral conduct. He cannot bear the thought of not having a will of his own, or an opinion of his own on any given subject of inquiry whatever it be. It is intolerable, as he considers, not to be able, on the most awful and difficult subjects, to think for one's self; it is an insult to be told that God has spoken and superseded investigation. . . . Strange as it may seem to those who do not know him, he really believes in that accidental collection of tenets of which I have been speaking; habit has made it all natural to him, and he takes it for granted; he thinks his own view of things as clear as day,

and every other view irrational and ludicrous. In good faith and in sincerity of heart, he thinks the Englishman knows more about God's dealings with man than anyone else; and he measures all things in heaven and earth by the floating opinions which have been drifted into his mind.

I might proceed further, and enumerate many other grievances and obstacles; but within the limits of a short review one must be satisfied to have called attention to the most important. And now to sum up. We have seen our progress and expansion, our dangers and obstacles; what are our prospects?

It is difficult for the Catholic Church to make much headway in a country so saturated with anti-Catholic ideas; but 'with God nothing is impossible.' We have made wonderful progress during the past half-century; have we not good reasons to hope for greater things in the next fifty years? England was once the 'dowry' of Mary; for hundreds of years there was no country more devoted to Peter than England, and nowhere, excepting Italy, was there a land which had given so many martyrs to the doctrine of the supremacy of the Pope. She has been dedicated over again to the Virgin Mother of God and to St. Peter, Prince of the Apostles. Churches bearing her name are springing up again in this land; processions are held in her honour, and her sweet name is invoked again in a land which, three hundred years ago, was bereft of so powerful a patronage. The Ritualists, too, have taken kindly to our Lady; they pray to her to intercede for them; and from many a pulpit outside the Catholic Church the name of Mary is heard, and her virtues extolled. It is well, it is what we have been praying for, that this country would own her again as its queen and mother. In the *Memorare* of St. Bernard it is said 'that never has it been known, in any age, that those who appealed to Mary for assistance were ever left abandoned by her;' and the incense of many prayers rising up before her throne in heaven has already drawn down many blessings on this desolate land. Let us hope, let us pray, that her sweet name may be lisped once again by the little ones; that it

may linger on the lips of the aged and the dying; and that her powerful influence may be further exerted to win back the land which was once proud to be called her 'dowry.'

And the shadow of the saints is again stealing over the land. St. Benedict is there, speaking to us by the voice of the holy and learned Bishop of Newport and of many priests. The grand old abbey of Buckfast, for three hundred years a ruin, and a silent witness of the past glories of the Order in England, is once again in the possession of the sons of St. Benedict, and to its hospitable roof the sinner and the pilgrim are welcome as of old. The white wool of St. Dominic is there, preaching and invoking the same power which overthrew the Albigenses. The sons of St. Bernard are there, too, communing in the solitude, and encouraging us by their prayers and the example of their hidden lives. And the sons of the soldier saint, Ignatius, are there, the pioneers and champions of learning, the 'Life Guards' of the grand army of the Catholic Church. Others, too, are there, healing and blessing this sacrilegious nation, a sure proof that the arm of the Lord has not waxen short, nor His mercy failed. Will England become Catholic again? We do not know; we can only hope and pray. To build up the Church again in England is too great an act to be done in a hundred years. One thing we may be certain of—that the Catholic Church has come to stay in this country; and in another fifty years it is not at all improbable that Catholicity and infidelity will be the two opposing forces in England, swaying and moulding the mind and intellect of the nation. There is a great deal of uphill work before us; but we have no slight outfit for the warfare. The saints and martyrs of England are interceding for us. The blood of those martyrs who died three centuries ago, and since, is a witness that England did not willingly give up the faith. The long imprisonment, the weary dungeons, the savage tortures of those holy victims, are they to have no reward? The 'blood of martyrs is the seed of the Church,' and the blood of those glorious martyrs shall purify and re-consecrate the soil to God. The Romeward movement in the Church of

England is another good omen. Thousands of clergymen of the Established Church are preaching from as many pulpits the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Cardinal Vaughan, at a meeting of the Catholic Truth Society two years ago, said:—

The doctrines of the Catholic Church, which had been rejected and condemned as being blasphemous, superstitious, and fond inventions, have been re-examined, and taken back, one by one, until the Thirty-nine Articles have been banished and buried as a rule of faith. The Real Presence, the sacrifice of the Mass, offered for the living and the dead—sometimes even in Latin; not infrequent reservation of the sacrament, regular auricular confession, extreme unction, purgatory, prayers for the dead, devotions to our Lady, to her Immaculate Conception, the use of the Rosary, and the invocation of saints, are doctrines taught, and accepted with a growing desire and relish for them, in the Church of England. A celibate clergy, the institution of monks and nuns under vows, retreats for the clergy, missions for the people, fasting and other penitential exercises, candles, lamps, incense, crucifixes, images of the Blessed Virgin and the saints held in honour, stations of the cross, cassocks, cottas, Roman collars, birettas, copes, dalmatics, vestments, mitres, croziers, the adoption of an ornate Catholic ritual, and now, recently, an elaborate display of the whole ceremonial of the Catholic Pontifical—all this speaks a change and a movement towards the Catholic Church that would have appeared absolutely incredible at the beginning of the century.

E. O'Dea.

THE NEW VARIATIONS

II.—CRITICISM OF THE HEXATEUCH

AS in a previous paper[1] we endeavoured to show that amongst the higher critics of the New Testament there was harmony neither in principle nor conclusion; in this our object is to see if the application of similar methods of study to the Old Testament has been attended by similar results, if the various schools are in a position of mutual conflict, if the note of Rationalism is still Variation.

Notwithstanding some crude attempts of Carlstadt to call in question the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch, Hobbes and Spinoza, by reviving the doubts of Aben Ezra, may be said to have initiated modern higher criticism of the Old Testament.[2] Laying hold on the difficulties which, as Catholic students well know, are scattered over the Pentateuch and Book of Joshua, they insisted that anachronism, repetition, contradiction and laudatory personal reference to Moses rendered the old theory of authorship untenable, and postulated as the period of composition an age when the settlement of Canaan had been so long an accomplished fact as to enable the traditions of its origin and progress to become faint and obscure, and to permit the development of an elaborate ritual with a highly organized and powerful priesthood. In the controversy that followed some of their difficulties were found to be chimeras, some were explained away as interpolations, and some, more or less defying all attempts at resolution, became the elements out of which the later movement sprang. Within a very few years, in 1678, Father Richard Simon, priest of the Oratory in Paris, in his work, *Histoire Critique du Vieux Testament* enunciated, and in some

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[1] I. E. Record, January, 1900.

[2] Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*; Briggs, *Study of Holy Scripture*; Cheyne, *Founders of Old Testament Criticism*; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*; *vide passim*.

measure applied for the first time, the principles of scientific historical criticism. Not content with codifying obvious superficial difficulties, he went far deeper into the question than any of his critical predecessors; the darkness that shrouds the origin of the Jewish people he would dispel by other lights, their records he would test by other standards. He suggested three lines of evidence which should inevitably lead candid and competent students to the conclusion that Moses is by no means the author of the Pentateuch as it now stands, viz. :—(*a*) The double account of the deluge; (*b*) the lack of order in the arrangement of the narratives and laws; (*c*) the diversity of style. Regarding Moses as merely governor of the Jews in their long and weary pilgrimage, he distinguishes between the legal and historical sections of the Pentateuch. The former he assigns to Moses; the latter to the prophets who acted in the further capacity of public annalists. Their state papers, preserved in the archives of the nation, were from time re-edited by their successors in the prophetical office, who translated archaisms into the language of the day, and sometimes gave upon obscure passages a running commentary which was subsequently incorporated with the text.

With all his ingenuity and learning, Simon was not able to win for his theory the approval of the intellectual world. It was attacked at once by Catholics and by Protestants; by Calmet the Benedictine, and by Clericus the Arminian. During the controversy he occupied himself in justifying his theory, rather than in applying it to the problems of Jewish history, but all his devoted energy was unable to prevent its universal rejection. Nor has time been more indulgent; and if Simon is to-day numbered with the founders of higher criticism, it is more on account of the principles he formulated, than of the conclusions he established.

For the next fifty years little progress was made in Biblical studies. In the intellectual activity that marked the first half of the eighteenth century, discussion having for its immediate object the authenticity of the Pentateuch was nethier extensive nor momentous. English deists, impugning the possibility of supernatural religion, attempted

to discredit the Incarnation, and provoked the crushing retort of Butler's *Analogy*. French encyclopedists, whilst trying to show that there was nothing in heaven or earth not dreamt of in their philosophy, complained rather of the practical abuses of ecclesiasticsm. More prejudiced against the Jesuits than against the Levites, they ignored Moses and the prophets whilst they emblazoned on their banners *Encrasez l'infâme.* But undoubtedly these discussions, by creating an atmosphere of distrust and infidelity, must have impaired the influence of Scripture and prepared the way for that thorough-going and scientific criticism which we are so often assured has for all time destroyed the historical foundations of belief.

This scientific movement had for one of its first oracles the founder of the documentary theory, Jean Astruc, a physician practising at Montpelier in France. In 1753 he gave to the world his discovery that Genesis, far from being a simple and homogeneous work, is the result of the piecing together of a number of documents. He founded his theory on the use of different terms, Elohim and Jehovah, to signify Almighty God. In some sections of Genesis he maintained that Elohim exclusively is applied to God, and in others, Jehovah, equally exclusively. Making this distinction the basis of classification, he asserted that when analysed by this test Genesis resolves itself into two greater and nine lesser documents. Completely possessed by his theory, he insisted on reading and re-arranging Genesis by the sole light of Elohim and Jehovah. He made no account of style, method, philology, nor, like many others, of archæology, with the result that to-day his work is discredited as imperfect and unsound. His theory made little impression, and, in all probability, would have been totally lost to the world had not his methods, combined with those of Simon, been employed by Eichhorn as an efficient and exhaustive organon of critical inquiry.

Eichhorn, whom Canon Cheyne[1] calls the founder of modern Old Testament criticism, was the son of a clergyman

[1] *Loc. cit.*, p. 13.

and was born in the present kingdom of Würtemburg, in 1752. Having gone through his earlier university studies at Göttingen, he was appointed, in 1775, to the chair of Oriental languages at Jena. During his residence at Jena he became very intimate with Herder, under whose influence he came to study the Bible as a vast body of literature, in many ways, indeed, unique; but for all its range of thought and depth of feeling, for all its brilliancy of colour and wealth of expression, not specifically distinct from the lofty rhymes of sacred lore built up contemporaneously in the highlands of Persia and along the rivers of Hindostan. He published at Jena, in 1780, his *Introduction*, which at once swept aside all critical opposition, and is said to have revolutionised the Biblical studies of the time quite as much as the *Prolegomena* of Wellhausen did those of a later day. With supreme confidence in his method—an amalgam, as we have seen, of those of Simon and Astruc—he applied it with the utmost earnestness. So masterly was his analysis, so indisputable his data, so close his reasoning, that all with any pretensions to act as dispensers of the mysteries of critical speculation repeat the *ex cathedra* pronouncement of a pontiff named Gabler, 'the father of Biblical theology,' declaring that the combination of various documents in one by Moses has been made so evident that 'in our day it can be regarded as settled and presupposed without any fear of important opposition.'[1] Like Astruc, of whose method and results he declares himself to have been completely independent, he divided Genesis into two main documents, the Elohistic and the Jehovistic, but, unlike him, would admit of only four minor ones. He admits that Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers were composed under Mosaic influence during the wanderings in the wilderness—Exodus and Leviticus in Mount Sinai, Numbers in Moab; and, furthermore, that, with the exception of the last chapter, the author of Deuteronomy is Moses.

As we have seen, the documentary theory, on its publication by Eichhorn, immediately won for itself the approval

[1] Briggs, *Higher Criticism*, p. 52.

of nearly all German critical opinion. Though in so far, at least, as it is identified with the peculiar conclusions of Eichhorn, it has long since been beaten in the struggle for existence—it contains the germs of the theories to which it has succumbed. Later theories, equipped with the finer instruments of more modern research, may have been more exhaustive in analysing and more arbitrary in re-composing the elements of Genesis; they have been more audacious in defiance of tradition, and more contemptuous in disregard of common sense; but all find a common measure in the formula that 'a second narrative postulates a second narrator.' Were we to forget that difference of style does not always imply difference of author, and that repetition does not necessarily imply ignorance of what is antecedent; were we to forget that what has once been alluded to in general may later on be described in detail, and that, as agents may be simultaneously influenced by many motives, the imputation of one motive is by no means inconsistent with the co-operation of another; were we to forget that a complete Being may be considered under many aspects, and that now one attribute may be more prominent in description, and now another; were we to forget all this, and imagine that a second narrator is necessarily a different narrator, the validity of the application of this formula to Genesis would still be questionable. We are assured that the Hexateuch is simply teeming with instances of the same event being made the subject of different narratives, and that these duplicate narratives are impressed with characteristic differences of style, and, moreover, present such marked differences of thought and methods of conception, that any supposition, except that they came from different and independent authors, is to be scouted as certainly absurd, and not impossibly malicious. In proof of this we have arraigned, amongst others, the double accounts of the creation, deluge, decalogue (Exodus and Deuteronomy), and the erection of the monument stones, as described in Joshua iv. 7-9, 20. The dual narrative of the creation is that on which most reliance is placed. From it have been extracted the criteria which enable a properly-trained critic to detect an

Elohistic text concealed in a Jehovistic section, with all the unerring skill and conscientious delight of a Jacobin unmasking a crypto-aristocrat on the benches of the Mountain. The process of extraction readily lends itself to examination. It has nothing secret about it; it is not performed with mysterious silence in the sanctum of the specialist; it involves no expert training, no wide technical knowledge; it is one on the value of which persons of ordinary ability and ordinary information are perfectly competent to judge. Let Dr. Driver speak[1]:—

As soon as the book [Genesis] is studied with sufficient attention, phenomena disclose themselves, which show incontrovertibly that it is composed of distinct documents or sources, which have been welded together by a later compiler or redactor into a continous whole. . . . Thus 1^{1} - 2^{4a} and $2^{4b\text{-}25}$ contain a double narrative of the origin of man on the earth. It might, no doubt, be argued *primâ facie* that $2^{4b\,ff}$ is intended simply as a more detailed account of what is summarily described in $1^{26\text{-}30}$, and it is true that probably the position of this section is due to the relation in which, generally speaking, it stands to the narrative of the verses; but upon closer examination differences reveal themselves which preclude the supposition that both sections are the work of the same hand. In 2^{4b} the order of creation is: 1, man (v. 7); 2, vegetation (v. 9); 3, animals (v. 19); 4, woman (v. 21). The separation made between the creation of woman and man, if it stood alone, might, indeed, be reasonably explained upon the supposition just referred to, that $2^{4b\,ff}$, viz., describes in detail what is stated succinctly in 1^{27b}; but the order in the other cases forms part of a progression evidently intentional on the part of the narrator here, and as evidently opposed to the order indicated in c. 1 (vegetables, animals, man). Not only, however, are there these material differences in form between the two narratives; they differ also in style. The style of 1^{1} - 2^{4a} is unornate, measured, precise, and particular phrases frequently recur. That of $2^{4b\,ff}$ is free and more varied; the actions of God are described with some fulness and picturesqueness of detail, . . . the recurring phrases are less marked, and *not the same* as those of 1^{1} - 2^{4a}. . . . The book of Genesis presents a group of sections distinguished from the narrative on either side of them by difference of phraseology and style, and often *concomitant* differences of representation: these differences, moreover, are not isolated, nor do they occur in the narrative indiscriminately; they are numerous and reappear with singular

[1] *Loc. cit., et seq.*

persistency *in combination with each other;* they are, in a word, so marked that they can only be accounted for upon the supposition that the sections in which they occur are by a different hand from the rest of the book.

Even after this exposition by one of the most capable and judicious of English critics, the solution of the question *an et quatenus* does the dual account of creation postulate dual authorship may be safely left to the unbiassed judgment of the careful reader of the two chapters of Genesis. Our inability to see therein traces of dual authorship can only be explained by the repressive influences of Catholic environment in keeping our power of divination—that happy faculty which jumps at conclusions, and substitutes *a priori* speculation for historic fact—in a state of arrested development.

So marked are the characteristics of our two authors during the short space of their respective creation narratives, that there is no difficulty in recognising their handiwork, not merely in the rest of Genesis, but throughout the entire Hexateuch. The sections homogeneous with Genesis 1-2^{4a} compose the document which, from its preference for the use of Elohim, is sometimes called the Elohistic, but now, more generally, from its predominance of Levitical legislation, the priests' code, or, shortly, P. Under the application of similar methods the residue resolves itself into two sub-sections, the second Elohistic and the Jehovistic, symbolized respectively as E and J. There is a further element chiefly in Deuteronomy and Joshua symbolized as D. All these various elements are presumed to have been combined by successive redactors, whose work is symbolized R in the following order:—J with E; then JE with D; and, finally, JED with P.

Eichhorn shares more or less in the merits and demerits of the documentary theory; but his peculiarities call for some special attention. He thought that the documents used as materials for the composition of Genesis were originally independent, but did not extend beyond Genesis. His fundamental proposition is that they were deliberately

brought together by Moses, and utilised by him to form an historical work of unmistakable unity of purpose.

The unmistakable unity informing Genesis did not, unfortunately, come within the field of vision of the founder of the fragmentary theory, Dr. Alexander Geddes. Geddes was born of Catholic parents in Banffshire, in 1737. He studied at the Scotch college, Paris; and, having been ordained priest, was, for some time, on the mission near Aberdeen. Holding some advanced opinions, he got into difficulties with ecclesiastical authority, gave up the mission, though not the faith, and came to London, where he was, for some time, a prominent figure in society. He brought out his translation of the Bible in 1792, and in the preface to the first volume ventilated his opinions on the origin of the Hexateuch. He, of course, decomposed it into quite a number of elements; and, possibly, under the influence of the Lucretian hypothesis of the formation of the world by a fortuitous combination of atoms, maintained that these elements came together by some unfamiliar gravitation, and so little affinity was between them, that the only union effected was the mere external union of accidental association. He allowed that many of these elements were Mosaic, some even pre-Mosaic; but assigned the age of Solomon as the origin of the Hexateuch in its present form. His theory, introduced with some slight modifications into the continent by Vater, was radically different from the documentary, which he denounced as the work of fancy. But his own was much more fanciful; it was too radical and destructive even for the German inconoclasts; it provoked much opposition, and was speedily overthrown.

Even if these two theories had not disposed of each other they would, inevitably, have been superseded in the natural evolution of Biblical speculation. They were all together inadequate in relying exclusively on purely literary criteria, and in neglecting those of history and archæology. The credit of introducing these latter agents of inquiry is generally given to De Wette. Like so many other masters of criticism, De Wette was the son of a clergyman, and was born near Weimar in 1780. He studied at Jena, where he

graduated as doctor in 1805, defending as his thesis the view that, on internal grounds alone, Deuteronomy must be of later origin than the rest of the Pentateuch, and that its kernel was written in the reign of Josiah. Though following up his earlier studies with great zeal, he appears to have been more or less deficient in judgment. For a long time he hovered between the documentary and fragmentary theories, and seemed to be seeking for some formula which would enable him, like a good eclectic, to assimilate the reliable elements of both. At last, by some happy inspiration, he recognised the unity of the Pentateuch, and made some suggestions as to the genesis of the documents which were afterwards worked up by Bleek into the supplementary theory. Bleek was a Holsteiner, and during his student years was much influenced by De Wette. He soon repudiated all the current opinions, and put forth the hypothesis that the nucleus of the Hexateuch was an Elohistic document which was 'worked over and supplemented,' revised, and enlarged by a Jehovistic editor. Were we to follow Marx, and take labour as the unit of value, verily this supplementary theory would be priceless. Critics innumerable, each writer with his own pet hobby, travelled along the lines it marked out. That they made mistakes in calculation is, unfortunately, true; that they disagreed as to the chronology of the editions in terms of centuries is also true. But what of that in view of the main result that the unity of the earlier writings is due, not to their combination by Moses, not to the mere accident of association, but to careful editing at widely different periods of Jewish history?

Amid all the confusion and discord which these variations involve a few common propositions stand out pretty clearly, viz, that the Hexateuch is the official record of Jewish national history; that if it does not contain exclusively pre-Mosaic or co-Mosaic materials, it was at all events composed at a very early period; that beyond all question it contains not merely their first attempt at national history, but is also the nucleus of the institutions in which the national spirit found its first and most lasting expression;

finally, that without presupposing it as basis Jewish history is inexplicable.

However, this very opinion that Pentateuchal legislation forms the starting point of Jewish history was fated to be called into question by the theory of development excogitated by Reuss, Vatke and Wellhausen. This theory, which has exercised in criticism a revolution like unto that brought about in biology by Weismann's theory of germ-plasm, proposes an entirely new method of considering the origin and growth of the religion of the Hebrews. Based partly on Hegelian philosophy and partly on historical criteria, in themselves mainly suggested by Hegelianism, it would completely transpose the order of events and make Mosaism the last term in the evolution of the religion of Israel. As a philosophical method it was initiated by Vatke, who, in 1835, on pure *a priori* grounds, was convinced that the Jewish religion, like every other form of natural religion brought into being by purely natural forces to minister to the needs of the human spirit, was subject to the law of development; that in its evolution it made orderly progress from the simple to the complex, from the tender, spontaneous emotion of the prophet to the hard, calculating formalism of the Pharisee; and, as a consequence, that the prophets as builders of the Jewish polity are far earlier than Moses. On its historical side it owes its origin to Reuss. Whilst lecturing in his native Alsace, in 1833, there flashed upon him the *intuition* that the priests' code in the middle books of the Pentateuch is subsequent to the code in Deuteronomy. With the caution and timidity that an unsympathetic environment necessitated, he only hinted his intuition to the students. But the times were not yet ripe for the wholesale unquestioning gulping down of intuitions, those philosophic conveniences which somebody has defined as things that we like to believe but which we cannot prove. He had to wait until the germs he scattered had matured in the minds of his disciples. The development of these embryos cannot have been altogether satisfactory.

Not till thirty or forty years afterwards was the world

enriched by the works of Graf and Kayser, in which, positively for the first time, was it the happy possessor of a theory which made Jewish history psychologically conceivable. The work of Graf, deepening the impression made by Bishop Colenso of Natal, hurried the Dutch scholar, Kuenen, to the very first rank of the advanced party. He held that the Jewish religion was a purely natural product, which, owing to favourable surroundings, was enabled to run its full course from the rudimentary stages of fetichism and polytheism to its perfection in those too rare moments when the fire of inspiration touched the hallowed lips of the prophet, and Isaias and Ezechiel heard the secret things of God, and saw the vision of the future when the voice of mourning and lamentation should be heard no more in the land, when sin and death should pass away, when Christ would make all things new. Lagarde independently came to the same conclusions, and taught that the Elohist, whom Eichhorn made a *predecessor*, and Geddes, more or less, a *contemporary* of Moses, whom Bleek and the Supplementists made the primitive author, writing about the *ninth or tenth century B.C.*, to be either Esdras or some scribe after the Restoration! The abstract, he tells us, is everywhere later than the concrete, and, therefore, the Elohistic document is later than the Jehovistic, which, from the first feeble lispings of infant criticism, we had always been assured was the second edition published, with many additions and improvements, two hundred years after the first!

All these writers were destined to be superseded by Wellhausen, who combined the methods of Vatke and Reuss, and gave in his *Prolegomena* its most powerful presentation to the development theory. He embodies in a very pronounced fashion all its mannerisms, its formalism, its presumption, and its dogmatism. The work of his critical predecessors, generally, he has brushed aside with as much contempt as if it were part of the repressive tradition of a miserable, but unmasked Christianity. The supernatural elements of the Hexateuch he denounced as mere survivals of a low stage of national existence, the historical as so many myths and fables, the relics of another. He breaks

up and re-arranges everything in a most arbitrary fashion, always with overweening self-reliance, sometimes without explanation, sometimes with explanations as disputable as they are self-confident.[1]

Though it is impossible to conceive how the Jews, in the absence of these institutions in which, like the soul with the body, the national spirit organises itself, could have maintained unimpaired the individuality of national existence, surrounded as they were by so many hostile influences; though in the absence of these institutions many of the most tender allusions, many of the most delightful images which adorn psalms of undoubtedly Davidic origin are inexplicable; though the laws of war and conquest in Deuteronomy, bespeaking their Mosaic origin, breathing the spirit of a rude people raised up by God who would smite their enemies hip and thigh, are woven into the tissue and inseparably connected with the rest of the book; though this book, impressed with the seal of its Mosaic authorship, is a summary, and could not possibly have existed until there was something to be summarized; though all these considerations might be urged, nay, have been urged over and over again in favour of a view that tradition has rendered venerable and criticism has failed to destroy, they would avail nothing against the foregone conclusions of perverted speculation. The sciolists of to-day, the captives of the gaudy rhetoric and vague suggestions of the theological novel, the would-be advanced thinkers whose thinking mainly consists in repeating the conclusions they do not always understand, from premises they never examine, yield the faith they would scorn as an imbecility to give to the Church to Hegel and Wellhausen, whom we must all hail as the masters of those who know.

The purpose of this paper was not to enter into any refutation of all or any of the theories it examined, but rather to set them in opposition to each other. If the views set forth in it and in a similar paper last January are correct, we may safely regard the mutually destructive theories of higher criticism of both the Old and New

[1] Gladstone, *Impregnable Rock, etc.*, p. 70.

Testaments as a passing phase of thought which in God's good time, like many another form of error which the Church has had to combat, will dissolve like the baseless fabric of a vision and leave not a wrack behind.

PATRICK F. COAKLEY, O.S.A.

DISPUTACIO INTER MARIAM ET CRUCEM SECUNDUM APOCRAFUM

MODERNISED (1900) *BY E. M. CLERKE*

THIS Poem is contained in a volume published (1870) by the Early English Text Society, entitled 'Legends of the Holy Rood, Symbols of the Passion, and Cross Poems, in Old English of the eleventh, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, edited by Richard Morris, LL.D., from MSS. in the Bodleian Library and British Museum.'

The text here rendered into Modern English is that of the Vernon MS., fol. 315, b. col. 3. The Editor tells us in his preface, that after this version was printed, 'another and rather longer copy turned up in Royal MS. 18, Ax, with some additional verses on the "Festivals of the Church," in the same metre as the Cross poem.' These he has printed in an appendix.

In the following attempt to modernise the 'Dispute,' the original has been adhered to as closely as possible, since its interest as a literary relic would disappear were it adapted to modern canons of taste; whilst as poetry it has scarcely sufficient suggestiveness to bear recasting. The principal merit of this Early English poem is its rhyme structure, and this has been retained, although such structure adds much to the difficulty of rendering it into what is, to all intents and purposes, a different language.

The 'Dispute' will form, it is hoped, a portion of a forthcoming volume of *Carmina Mariana*, an Anthology in honour of the Blessed Virgin Mary, edited by Orby Shipley, M.A.

DISPUTE BETWEEN MARY AND THE CROSS

PART I.:

STANZAS I. TO XXIII.

I.

Our Lady Good 'gainst cruel Rood
Made bitter moan;
She said: On thee Fruit born of me
Hangs woe-begone:
My Child I see on Blood-stained Tree
His foes among:
I see in woe the Veins' red flow
From his Flesh wrung:
Cross, thou art harsh in sooth
My Child to pillory amain,
Of Adam's sin he hath no stain;
Now Flesh and Veins are rent in twain;
Wherefore I rede of ruth.

II.

O Cross, thy work is blamed,
Beguiled is my Fair Son by thee;
Ne'er hath his Mother been defamed,
Fair is my body, from defilement free;
Child, why art not ashamed
Thus to be hung on pillory?
The Jews in anger flamed,
And slew thee in their cruelty;
In woe dissolved am I;
My Son all Holy, Hallowèd,
Defaced and fouled, is sore bestèd;
By Jews hung on a gallows dread,
And for Man's guilt must surely die.

III.

By the great Jews were gallows made
For men in whom all ill was rife;
Why should my Son on thee be laid,
Who ne'er did harm to man or wife?
A drink of death, it may be said,
Cross, thou didst give the Lord of Life;
To burst his veins all bruised and brayed,
My Child now battles in sore strife;
Blood from his head is haled;
Disfigured is my Peerless Son,
Who ill or trespass hath wrought none,
With those who crime have loved and done,
Why should my Son be nailed?

IV.

Thou art condemned by Law's decree
A load of sinful fools to hold;
My Son should be absolved from thee,
Nor e'er on thee his Blood have rolled;
But truth is doomed by treason's plea,
With thieves to band in lonesome wold,
With nails his limbs transpierced be;
A Mother sad in me behold,
In baleful bondage bound I weep;
Unblemished Fruit of Maiden born,
On a thieves' gallows hangs forlorn:
A spear his breast hath rent and torn,
And his Heart wounded deep.

V.

Tree, thou art by the Law ordained
That traitors on thee die,
But now is Truth as treason feigned,
Virtue as vice raised high;
But Love and Truth in sooth arraigned
Traitors on tree do tie,
With vice is Virtue slain unstained,
All virtues in my Son do lie;
Virtues more sweet than fragrant spice,
Both foot and hand sore pricked are seen,
His head with thorns is thick I ween;
The Good the wicked hangs between,
And Virtue dies with vice.

VI.

O Tree, unkind thou must be said,
Thee my Son's stepmother I call;
My Child was born in cattle shed,
Where my sweet Blossom I let fall;
My Nestling with my milk I fed,
Thou Cross, with vinegar and gall:
My snow-white Rose hath turned to red,
That fostered was in fodder-stall;
O lovely feet and hands;
That now are crossed, I kissed them oft,
I lulled to sleep, I laid them soft;
Cross, thou dost hold them now aloft,
Fast bound in bleeding bands.

VII.

I dandled high my Love so fair,
And him with cradle-band did bind:
Cross, now he hangeth on thy stair,
Bare to the wild and cruel wind;
The fowls do make their nests in air,
Rest in their lair wolves find,
But God's own Son, of Heaven the Heir,
His head with thorns hath lined:
Well may I make my cry;
God's Head can find no rest,
But droopeth on his breast,
Thorns through his Flesh are pressed;
Sin for his woe blame I.

VIII.

To slay, O Cross, thou art full fain,
My Beauteous Child thou bear'st from bliss:
Cross, him dost thou so high sustain,
My Child's dear feet I may not kiss:
I pout my lips, my neck I strain,
To kiss his feet, sooth speak I this;
Jews drove me from the Cross amain,
At me they made ill mouths I-wis,
With jest and joy and brutal mien,
The Jews, alas, wrought me sore woe:
O Cross, I find thou art my foe,
My Child all bruised and hurt to show,
Those felon thieves between.

IX.

Christ's Cross in answer did declare:
Lady, I owe thee honour due,
Thy green Palm-branch on high I bear,
My lustre doth the Flower show through,
On me grows ripe thy Fruit so fair,
That flourisheth in sanguine hue;
To win the world entrapped in snare,
The Blossom in thy bower that grew,
Bloomed not for thee alone:
But all this world to win once more,
That the fiend's sword in wrath ruled o'er,
God let him hands and feet wound sore,
To mend Man's bitter moan.

X.

Great ill did Adam wreak amain,
  By mouthful bit beneath a bough,
Wherefore thy Son his arms doth strain,
  Upon a Tree made fast enow;
His Flesh is smit with death's sore pain,
  And in a swoon he swooneth now;
Death's shaft hath pierced his breast with bane,
  And he by death, from death I trow,
Hath drawn each cherished friend:
  As Hosea spake in prophecy,
  And said: Thy Son, O Saint Marie,
  By Death slew death on Calvary,
And gave Life without end.

XI.

The prop whereon the stock doth lean
  May not bring forth the grape;
Although on me the Fruit be seen,
  The sharp shower did I not shape;
Till grapes be set the press between,
  No red wine doth escape;
Ne'er press did better press I ween
  The Wine I press for knight and knape;
Upon a Blood-stained brink
  I press the Grape; with stroke and strife,
  The Rood-Wine runneth rife;
  God in Samaria gave a wife
That liquor prized to drink.

XII.

Lady, thy praises to declare
  Thy Son with lances keen is gored;
On Cross without knife's edge, a rare
  Prized Fruit I carved from God's own hoard;
Both sides and back red garment wear;
  His Body bleedeth 'gainst the board,
A pillar I, a bridge to bear;
  God is True Way, witness the Word;
True Way in sooth is God on high,
  But many found to hell the road,
  And none might win to Heaven's abode,
  Till dying, God the pathway showed;
Men wander when they die.

XIII.

Moses, as type of mystery,
Formed a white Lamb, nor other beast
Should sacred to the Saviour be;
Of meats the first e'er carved or pieced,
I the chief Charger, as ye see,
Who bear Flesh for the people's feast;
Christ our true Saviour is, and he
Doth feed the greatest and the least,
Roasted against the sun:
On me the Lamb of Love hath lain,
The dish to bear his limbs amain
Till feet and hands were cleft in twain;
With Blood I was o'errun.

XIV.

In Moses' rule was writ amain,
With verjuice sour the Lamb to eat;
Sour verjuice glads our souls full fain,
By sorrow for our sins made sweet;
Sour verjuice is the devil's bane,
For from God's Spouse he flies full fleet;
Hard by a staff do ye remain,
When in God's House ye take of meat,
That staff is Christe's Crutch;
Then stand ye stiffly by that stake,
When ye of Flesh in Bread partake;
Then shall no fiend dominion make,
Your souls to seize or touch.

XV.

For pardon showeth by a shrine,
With nail and wood on tablet writ;
Red-letter script doth form the line,
'Mid men, too, blue and black is it;
Our Lord I liken to this sign,
His Body on a board was smit,
His Body in bright blood 'gan shine;
How woe was he doth pass man's wit,
All crimson on the Rood:
Your pardon's script from top to toe,
Written was it with wondrous woe,
With crimson wounds and bruise and blow;
Our Book was bound in Blood.

XVI.

Adam stood up against his Lord,
In bitter gall his soul he drenched;
Instead of gall God Mead hath poured,
With Mercy sweet is bitter quenched;
His Flesh the Book, the Cross was board,
When Christ for us thereon was clenched,
No prayer could pardon Man afford,
Though high in holiness entrenched;
Till Book on board was strained,
With sharp nails cleft and driven,
Till feet and hands were riven,
His Heart's best Blood our book hath given,
And our souls' joy hath gained.

XVII.

Christ's Cross this speech did say:
The Wine-press first was I to wring;
I bear a Bridge to teach the way;
There seemly Angels sit and sing
Life's Lord and leech ills to allay,
For he was set for hallowing,
The world from wretchedness to stay;
The Cross a book doth pardon bring,
Pardon in book is billed;
What is that pardon to our wit?
Release of deadly sin is it;
When on Christ's Body Blood was writ,
Pardon was then fulfilled.

XVIII.

Our Lady saith: Cross, of thy work
Wonder thou not that I be wroth;
Thus Paul hath said, Christ's learned clerk:
The felon Jews with falsest oath,
Jews hard as stones, in sin's black mirk,
A Lamb have beaten, nothing loth,
Softer than water under sark,
Than mead or milk commingled both;
The Jews were hard as stones;
Softer than water falling through,
Or on the lily flower the dew,
Christ's Body was in sanguine hue;
Fain had Jews broke his bones.

XIX.

And many a Prophet 'gan make moan,
And said: Lord send thy Lamb from thee
From out the wilderness of stone,
Us from the lion's paw to free.
On Sion's Mount was mercy shown,
Of Maiden's flesh made Man was he,
A Body made with blessed bone,
Of Maiden's blood wrought wondrously;
At barriers rose debate;
Through stones in desert wilderness,
Men better might have crept I-wis,
Than won their way to heavenly bliss,
Till Blood had oped the gate.

XX.

Since sons of men had such sore need,
To be led with a Lamb so mild,
Why were beguilers filled with greed,
Thus to befoul my Fairest Child?
Cross, why wert thou so prompt indeed,
To rend my Fruit far in the wild?
Lady, in devils fear to breed,
Me as a Shield God shaped and styled,
Till Lamb of Love had died;
On me loud-voiced he gave the Ghost,
A relic choice, it was my boast;
Christ's Cross, dread of the demon host,
No devil dare abide.

XXI.

I saved full many from their foes:
The Cross of Christ thereon replied:
The Gates of Heaven might not unclose,
Till came the Lamb of Love, and died;
For thus 'tis writ in text and gloze,
Long after Christ the prophets sighed;
Till died the Lamb of Love, and rose,
In pain of hell mankind was tied;
Until his noonday shone,
The Lamb of Love hath said his thought;
Now is fulfilled what well is wrought,
And Man is out of bondage brought,
And doors of heaven undone.

XXII.

With Father that all shall fulfil,
His Son toward heaven doth help afford,
A Pillar I, and stood full still;
Now souls crave other gifts outpoured,
The fiend that all this world would kill,
Hath in his scabbard sheathed his sword;
To hell he hurled him from that hill,
While loud as a bear's whelp he roared;
A bear is bound and baited;
Christ's Cross hath cracked his crown,
The Lamb hath cast the lion down,
The Lamb is Lord in every town,
So Christ's Blood hath placated.

XXIII.

This tale doth Holy Writ supply,
That God to us good gifts decreed;
God calls himself a Shepherd high,
And of a staff a herd hath need;
The Cross the herdsman's crook call I,
Wherewith he smote the fiend indeed,
And made the wolf afar to fly,
By dint of blows at utmost speed;
The Cross this tale hath told;
The Herdsman's staff it was full stout,
That when the sheep from bounds broke out,
Drave off the wolf with blow and clout
That had devoured Christ's Fold.

THE 'IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD' AND 'THE TABLET'

THE *Tablet* has been good enough to call our attention to a passage in one of the articles of our September issue, in which a rather wholesale and unqualified charge was made against the children educated in the secularized schools of France.[1] We feel it due to ourselves and to the I. E. RECORD much more than to *The Tablet* to express our opinion of the paragraph in question and to explain the circumstances in which it found its way into our pages.

When we first read the manuscript or type-written copy of the article that was sent to us for insertion, an article in which we recognized a good deal of useful and accurate information, the paragraph to which exception is taken naturally attracted our attention, and we decided that, in the absolute form in which it then stood, it could not be admitted. It would be quite useless to enter here into a full account of the steps we took to get rid of this very passage during our summer holidays. Suffice it to say, that when we found it had ultimately secured an entrance, in spite of our efforts to exclude it, nobody was more surprised and discomfited than we were ourselves.

An attempt having been made in due time, as we naturally expected it would be, to identify us with the opinion expressed in the paragraph, we think it right to state that we have already expressed our dissent from it elsewhere; but, as the passage originally saw the light in our own pages, it is only just and fair that we should disclaim all responsibility for it here as well. For although we should be very sorry, indeed, to accept responsibility for every statement made and every opinion expressed in the signed

[1] The exact words of the passage are:—'The desired effect has been produced, and the present generation of children are little better than pagan. They sneer at religion, delight in insulting priests and nuns, and are steeped in every kind of immorality'—p. 258.

articles and letters which we publish, we admit readily enough that a statement of this particular kind involves us in a sort of indirect responsibility which, in the present case, we are not disposed to accept.

We should, in any circumstances, have felt thankful to have our attention directed to any passage of this kind that might possibly have escaped our notice, and it is, we trust, unnecessary to say that we should be only too happy to correct any erroneous impression that might be made at the earliest possible moment. Indeed, the only thing we have to complain of in the present instance is the grossly offensive form in which the matter was first mentioned in *The Tablet*.

Of the individuality of Mr. Thorp we are happy to say we know nothing whatever; and the only importance we attach to his pronouncement arises from the fact that it seems to have been to some extent adopted by the Editor of *The Tablet*. We are glad to recognize that it has not so far been expressly adopted. If it had received direct editorial approval we should have had no more to say to *The Tablet* on the subject.

We might, perhaps, be permitted to observe here, that we think it possible to reject Father O'Brien's unqualified impeachment without accompanying the rejection, as *The Tablet* has done, with an ugly personal affront. If French children ought not to jeer at the soutane, grown-up people outside of France might extend the courtesies of civilized life to a respectable priest who wears it.

Father O'Brien may have 'unduly generalized'; he may be a little imaginative as he is certainly spirited and mettlesome; he may not have yet acquired that calm and steady judgment which is so necessary in the investigation of complicated affairs, and which may come to him, if he lacks it, with the maturity of years. But he is zealous as he is young. He is inspired by the highest motives. He has thoroughly realized the dangers of neutral and godless education; and although in the present instance he may have outstepped the limits of moderation and justice, yet when all things are thrown into the balance, there are

hundreds of Frenchmen born and bred, both clerical and lay, who would not hesitate to subscribe to almost every word that he has written.

For our own part there are some charges involved in his statement that we should feel particularly reluctant to confirm. Let us take, for instance, what he says about insults to priests and nuns. Any one who reads the French newspapers must know that such insults are only of too frequent occurence. It is, however, an entirely different thing to say that they are general and characteristic of the youth of the country, or even of that portion of the youth that is educated in the Government schools. Such a charge is, in our opinion, utterly groundless. For our own part we can affirm that, during the six or seven years we spent in France, almost exclusively amongst French people and French students, we visited many parts of the country, always wearing our clerical dress, and we have scarcely a recollection of any insult that was ever offered to us, or to any priest or student of our acquaintance. No doubt we heard of the refrain of :—

Trois canards déployant leurs ailes.

We heard now and again of a '*quoi, quoi*' at the soutane ; but everybody knows that there are a great many irreligious people in France, and a great many more who, without being positively irreligious, are simply giddy and must have their joke. The French clergy shrug their shoulders as they hear these cries, and go their way. They have all read *Les Fourberies de Scapin.* We knew a case of a student's brother and his cousin having a shout of '*quoi, quoi*' at him one day as he was passing through the ' Rue Lacourbe ; ' but the student had his turn some weeks afterwards when the pair came to the college in their military uniform of St. Cyr, and were met with the salutation of '*Sac au dos ! Sac au dos !*'

There certainly was nothing ever said or done to us to which any one would think of attaching serious importance, although we passed through many of the most populous quarters in the capital, such as Belleville, Montmartre, Plaisance, Puteaux, etc. Still less have we any recollection of insults having been offered to nuns, who were invariably

spoken of as *les bonnes sœurs*, and we doubt if there was any more popular sight in Paris than the *cornette* of the Sisters of Charity. That insults have been offered to priests and nuns is, unfortunately, not only possible but certain. That they are at all general or characteristic of French youth, or of any considerable section of it, cannot for a moment be admitted. France, no doubt, may have changed a good deal during the fifteen years that have elapsed since we lived upon her hospitable soil; but we have frequently visited the country since then, and as far as outward decorum is concerned, we have noticed scarcely any change.

As to the influence of the secularized schools on the morality of young people in France, we took the liberty of writing to a number of our former fellow-students and friends among the French clergy, and of asking them to answer the following questions:—

1. Are the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses appointed by the government of the French Republic hostile to the clergy and to the Christian faith of the children of France?

2. Do they encourage the children to show disrespect to priests and nuns, and is such disrespect at all common?

3. What is the effect on the morality of youth of the education given in these primary schools?

We have received authority from our friends to publish their replies to these questions. We think they are eminently worthy of attention, coming as they do from different quarters of the country and written as they are in nearly every case by priests occupied in the active work of the ministry.

The first letter comes to us from a priest who has been on 'the mission,' as we call it, in several parishes in the diocese of Paris, and particularly at St. Pierre de Neuilly, at Notre Dame des Champs, at St. Pierre du Gros Caillou, and at St. Augustin.

PARIS, 8 AVENUE PORTALIS,
11 *Novembre*, 1900.

MON CHER AMI,—La question scolaire en France est très complexe. D'abord il est incontestable que la laïcisation a été faite dans un but hostile à la religion. Elle comporte en effet—suppression de la prière et de tout enseignement religieux; défense aux instituteurs de conduire les enfants à l'église et de leur parler de catéchisme.

C'est uniquement parceque la laïcisation a revêtu officiellement ce caractère anti-religieux que nous la regardons comme un grand mal.

Autrefois il y avait dans nos grandes villes deux sortes d'écoles, les unes congréganistes, les autres laïques ; mais ces de dernières donnaient ou favorisaient l'enseignement religieux. Cette situation me parait répondre à tous les sentiments légitimes et il serait à souhaiter qu'elle fût rétablie.

Dans l'état actuel je ne crois pas qu'il faille dire d'une façon générale que tous les maîtres et toutes les maîtresses des écoles laïques sont hostiles au clergé et aux croyances chrétiennes du peuple français, ni qu'ils encouragent les enfants à manquer de respect envers les prêtres. Il serait tout aussi injuste d'établir en thèse générale que l'enseignement donné dans ces écoles fait du mal aux enfants au point de vue moral.

Il y a, à ma connaissance, d'excellents maîtres et de parfaites maîtresses d'écoles laïques qui ne permettraient pas chez eux de pareils procédés, les uns parce qu'ils sont chrétiens, les autres parce qu'ils sont simplement honnêtes, la plupart parce qu'ils sont obligés de tenir compte de l'opinion de la majorité des parents lesquels tiennent encore à la première communion.

Il y a telles contrées restées très chrétiennes où en raison des habitudes universelles les maîtres sont même obligés d'aller â l'eglise et d'y conduire les enfants ; mais c'est l'exception. Généralement le personnel laïque se conduit d'après les règles d'un opportunisme prudent. Je connais certaines écoles où le directeur était excellent, mais était surveillé de très près par des adjoints mauvais, lesquels parfois ne se gênaient pas de ridiculiser en passant les enseignements de l'eglise, au scandale de quelques enfants qui venaient s'en plaindre à nous.

Aujourd'hui la charge des écoles libres devient de plus en plus lourde et les Curés se demandent s'ils pourront continuer. On sera peut-être forcé de les abandonner en grande partie. Je pense que dans ce cas il faudrait organiser de grandes œuvres de patronage et de persévérance après la première communion ; on y trouverait l'avantage de ne pas laisser subsister d'antagonisme entre les differentes parties de la population et les ressources que fournit la charité seraient mieux employées.

Voilà, cher ami, la réponse à vos questions. Je suis heureux de la circonstance qui me permet de renouer avec vous des liens que l'éloignement n'a pas affaiblis.

Croyez toujours à mes sentiments affectueux,

HENRI POLACK,
2e *Vicaire de S. Augustin.*

Here is now a letter to which we invite the serious attention of *The Tablet*. It is written by a priest who has had a good deal of experience in the north of

France. We invite particular attention to the latter part of the letter. Let Father O'Brien's critics kindly read it to the end.

La Couture, par St. Waast,
Pas de Calais, 16 *Novembre*, 1900.

Mon Cher Ami,—C'est à La Couture où je suis Curé depuis quelque temps, que votre bonne lettre m'est arrivée. J'aurais voulu y répondre plus vite, mais de nombreuses occupations ne m'en ont pas laissé le temps.

Nos inspecteurs d'académie, ainsi que tous nos instituteurs et institutrices, sont avant tout opportunistes; c'est-à-dire, qu'ils se comportent généralement selon les exigences des populations où ils se trouvent. Si la population est chrétienne et pratiquante ils se montrent chrétiens et même pratiquants. Si non, non.

Ainsi chez moi les deux instituteurs et les deux institutrices font encore faire les prières en classe, surveillent les enfants aux messes et vêpres les dimanches et les fêtes, les accompagnent à la messe du St. Esprit pour la rentrée des écoles et aux processions publiques, nous les amènent même aux séances de catéchisme et font au moins leurs Pâques: mais ils n'enseignent plus le catéchisme dans l'école. En outre, dans les paroisses de la campagne (mais non dans le villes) où il y a des écoles libres en concurrence les laïques enseignent le catéchisme dans leurs classes et copient sur toute la ligne les Frères et les Sœurs pour ce qui est de la tenue et de la conduite des enfants.

Il en est tout autrement dans les villes, surtout dans les grands centres, où généralement les municipalités ne sont plus chrétiennes. Là les maîtres et maîtresses ne s'occupent pas plus de la religion que si elle n'existait pas.

Ceci posé, je réponds en quelques mots et d'une façon plus précise à vos questions.

1°. Les maîtres et maîtresses, même ceux qui restent sincèrement chrétiens, ont tous l'esprit universitaire, qui n'est pas bon, vous le savez, et toujours ennemi de l'enseignement libre; et cet esprit, ils ne manquent pas de l'inculquer à leurs élèves; c'est inévitable et fatal.

2°. Le très petit nombre d'instituteurs et quelques institutrices seulement, jusqu' à present du moins, sont et se montrent hostiles aux croyances chrétiennes. La masse des autres garde la foi et plus ou moins d'habitudes religieuses.

Quant au clergé, pour *tous* les instituteurs et les neuf-dizièmes des institutrices, il est en réalité l'adversaire, l'ennemi, avec qui l'on est ennuyé d'avoir à compter, et que au fond l'on n'aime pas.

Je parle ici, bien entendu, de ce que les maîtres et maîtresses me paraissent être en eux-mêmes, indépendamment des milieux où leurs fonctions les appellent à vivre.

3°. Encouragent ils leurs elèves à montrer de l'hostilité aux prêtres et même à les insulter quelquefois?

Généralement non. On pourrait cependant citer quelques exceptions, ou plutôt quelques circonstances où des instituteurs, dans des mouvements de colère passagère et de mécontentement plus ou moins motivé, ont lancé leurs élèves contre les prêtres de la paroisse. En somme le clergé n'est jamais insulté par les enfants des écoles de campagne: il le serait plutôt à l'occasion par quelques rares gamins des grandes villes et des centres populeux.

Bref, si dans nos écoles on n'enseigne pas encore ouvertement aux enfants la haine des curés, on ne leur apprend pas non plus à les aimer. Tous nos enfants, en verité, remarquent et savent que, habituellement, les maîtres laïques ne fréquentent guère le presbytère et sont loin de faire l'éloge des prêtres. Or malheureusement ces mâitres-là aujourd'hui ont plus d'influence que nous, sont plus écoutés, plus facilement suivis et plus souvent consultés. Le fait est que nos gens, si chrétiens soient-ils encore, se passent de plus en plus de nos conseils et de nous: résultat incontestable de l'enseignement neutre laïque.

4°. Au point de vue moral cet enseignement fait-il du mal aux élèves?

Oui, incontestablement. Les manuels civiques enseignent aux enfants qu'il leur est permis et avantageux de rechercher les plaisirs mondains, comme les bals, etc. Ajoutez à cela que beaucoup de maîtres et pas mal de jeunes maîtresses sont bien loin d'être des modèles de tempérance, de gravité et de modestie.

Ces leçons et ces examples ne sont pas sans produire de déplorables effects. A 11 ou 12 ans nos enfants savent tout, et pour la plupart ils ont cessé d'être modestes: à 14 ans ils courent les cabarets et les danses, et déjà s'habituent aux plaisirs malsains. Il y a encore chez eux, en une certaine mesure, les allures religieuses qu'ils tiennent de la famille, mais plus de vertu. Encore une fois je parle ici des paysans: chez les citadins il ne reste plus rien.

Ces appréciations me paraissent donner la note vraie pour le Pas-de-Calais et le nord de la France. Je crois qu'il va plus mal dans les départements du centre et du midi. Vous pourriez vous en informer auprès de quelques anciens confrères de ces régions moins chrétiennes.

Vous êtes donc toujours professeur! Dur métier; mais qui n'est pas sans consolation chez ce peuple irlandaisé, toujours 'si fidèle à sa vieille croyance' comme l'écrivait notre Montalembert. C'est au Séminaire de Maynooth qu'il disait avoir passé une des meilleures journées de sa vie (13 Oct., 1830). C'est à La Couture près de Bethune que vous me trouverez quand vous voudrez me procurer le plaisir de votre visite.

Votre tout devoué in Xto,

ANATOLE RICQ,
Curé de La Couture.

The next letter comes from the extreme South, from the diocese of Valence, which borders on Savoy and the Alps.

LORIOL, 13 *Novembre*, 1900.

CHER CONFRÈRE,—Je répondrai en toute sincerité aux questions que vous me faites l'honneur de m'adresser.

Les écoles officielles ne peuvent être considérées comme absolument mauvaises. Quelles que soient les opinions personnelles des maîtres et maîtresses de ces écoles nous n'avons point à leur reprocher un manque d'égard que la politesse reprouverait tout comme la charité chrétienne.

Çà et là tel instituteur de village pourra faire au Curé je ne sais quelle guerre surnoise; mais devant ses élèves il se garde de tout écart de nature à le rendre antipathique à nos populations restées foncièrement catholiques.

Ce que l'on ne peut contester toutefois, c'est la tendance de l'enseignement officiel à une élimination lente et graduelle de l'idée religieuse. Il en est résulte depuis une vingtaine d'années une indifférence malheureuse dont souffre la jeunesse de notre pays et qui se propage au détriment de la vie chrétienne dans nos paroisses. Le fait est très-sensible dans le milieu où je vis, et dans lequel les protestants, calvinistes ou derbyites, représenteront bientôt la majorité.

L'hostilité de l'enseignement officiel contre le catholicisme est beaucoup moindre dans les écoles de filles que dans les écoles de garçons. Bien souvent nous rencontrons auprès des instituteurs une sympathie discrète mais sincère, un secours prudemment ménagé mais précieux.

Ces observations s'appliquent principalement à l'enseignement primaire. Dans les lycées le ministère du prêtre s'exerce librement; dans les facultés c'est un régime de parfait libéralisme; toutes les opinions s'y étalent sans contrainte et s'y developpent en toute liberté.

Je reste à votre disposition, cher confrère, pour plus amples renseignements. Je vous remercie d'une confiance qui m'honore et je vous prie d'agréer mon affectueux souvenir en N. S.

HECTOR REYNAUD, Docteur-ès-Lettres,
Curé Archiprêtre de Loriol (*Drome*).

Here is a letter from the very centre of France, from the diocese of Nevers :—

SAINT FRANCHY, PAR SAINT SAULGE,
NIÈVRE, 10 *Novembre*, 1900.

BIEN CHER AMI,—Vos questions sont assez embarrassantes, et voici pourquoi. La conduite des instituteurs et institutrices laïques vis-à-vis de la religion n'est pas uniforme; elle varie d'une

commune à une autre, d'un département à un autre. Il y a des départements, il y a des communes où l'instituteur et l'institutrice laïques feront faire la prière aux enfants avant et après les classes, leur feront même apprendre le catéchisme ; les conduiront au catéchisme, les surveilleront à la messe le dimanche, etc. A côté de cela il y a des communes et des départements où les instituteurs et institutrices laïques observent la plus stricte neutralité religieuse dans leur enseignement et dans leur conduite vis-à-vis des enfants, ce qui est la légalité. Enfin il y a des départements et des communes où les instituteurs et institutrices laïques sont hostiles au clergé et aux croyances catholiques.

Ainsi dans ma paroisse l'instituteur fait faire la prière aux enfants avant et après la classe ; l'institutrice ne la fait pas faire, et cependant l'institutrice vient à la messe le dimanche et l'instituteur n'y vient jamais.

Dans une paroisse voisine de la mienne l'instituteur est franc-maçon ; son enseignement est anti-religieux ; il dit en classe des abominations de la religion. Dans une autre paroisse voisine aussi de la mienne l'instituteur est excellent ; il fait sa visite au Saint-Sacrement tous les jours : il communie très-souvent. Il n'y a peut-être pas dans la Nièvre deux communes où la conduite des instituteurs et institutrices laïques soit identique au point de vue religieux. Cette variation de conduite tient à plusieurs causes, mais la principale et celle qui est la cause dernière ou première, comme vous voudrez, c'est l'anarchie gouvernementale. Le gouvernement est tiraillé en divers sens par les differents partis qui composent les chambres et dont la coalition peut le renverser du jour au lendemain.

La réponse à votre seconde question découle de ma réponse à la première. Dans les communes où l'instituteur est franc-maçon, hostile par consequent à la religion, la jeunesse est perdue au point de vue religieux et moral. Dans les autres, au contraire, où l'instituteur est bon, la moralité des enfants sera bonne.

Voilà, bien cher ami, les quelques renseignements que je puis vous donner. Je voulais vous envoyer le livre de la morale civique que l'on enseigne dans toutes les écoles primaires de France ; mais j'ai pensé qu'il vous serait probablement inutile. Si vous le desirez cependant je serai très heureux de vous l'envoyer.

C'est avec un grand bonheur que j'ai lu votre lettre, car j'ai gardé un excellent souvenir de notre vieille amitié de Saint-Sulpice. Je me recommende à vos bonnes prières et saints sacrifices.

Votre vieil ami,

GASTON LEGER,

Curé de Saint Franchy.

The following letter comes from the diocese of La Rochelle in the extreme West :—

CIERS DU SAILLON, CHARENTE INFERIEURE,
13 *Novembre*, 1900.

BIEN CHER CONFRÈRE ET AMI,—Je me hâte de vous donner les renseignements que vous me demandez. J'ajoute que je le fais avec un vif plaisir, tout heureux que je suis de me retrouver en relations avec le confrère que j'ai si bien connu et apprecié à S. Sulpice.

Hélas! Les réponses que j'ai à vous donner ne sont pas bonnes.

Les écoles communales laicisées sont généralement mauvaises. Il y a des exceptions, mais si rares!

Il est bien entendu que je ne parle que des écoles de mon département de la Charente Inferieure. Je ne puis connaître que celles-là.

Les maîtres et maîtresses sont en général hostiles au clergé et aux croyances chrétiennes des enfants. Cependant, dans les paroisses chrétiennes, pour se faire bien venir des parents, ils font les bons apôtres—pas toujours—et n'entravent pas l'action chrétienne des parents et du curé.

Je ne crois pas qu'il y en ait beaucoup chez nous qui oseraient encourager les enfants à se moquer des prêtres ou à les insulter. En dessous et par des insinuations méchantes peut-être en est il qui poussent un peu à cela. Je crois que ce doit être absolument rare.

Le grand mal—à mon avis—c'est que *sourdement*, sans en avoir l'air, les malheureux maîtres et maîtresses travaillent à saper la religion catholique, ne se gênent pas pour la tourner en dérision et par ces moyens travaillent à affaiblir si non enlever la foi des enfants dont ils ont la garde.

Ainsi le résultat pratique de l'éducation laïque est que, les enfants qu'on retient à peu près jusqu' à la première communion, passé cette époque, fuient l'église et le prêtre. On ne les revoit plus qu'au mariage.

Dans ma paroisse je me plains, mais j'ai cependant moins à me plaindre que d'autres. Mon instituteur (un divorcé) et sa femme, l'institutrice, sont polis avec moi, ne me font pas la guerre ouverte : mais ils la font à mon école chrétienne. J'ai des religieuses qui étaient communales il y a dix ans et qui ont été revoquées. Mais la proportion est belle. Elles ont cinquante et quelques enfants alors que l'institutrice communale laïque n'en a que sept. Mais cela durera-t-il?

Laissez moi vous demander de prier pour ma paroisse et son Curé. Notre vie de curé de campagne est bien aride parfois, mon cher ami! Il y a vingt ans à S. Sulpice qui m'eût dit que

je verrais ce que je vois ! Je vous reproche presque de ne m'avoir pas donné des nouvelles de Monsieur votre Oncle, notre cher maître à tous, que nous aimions tant à S. Sulpice. Je vous envoie mon cordial souvenir d'ami devoué et fidèle.

L. du Boulet,
Curé de Ciers du Saillon.

Here is a letter written by a Curé of an important parish who for reasons quite intelligible to us asks us not to publish his name. As the writer goes to the root of the evil we think it well to publish the letter whilst we keep the name of the writer to ourselves. It runs as follows :—

Cher Monsieur Hogan,—Il faudrait un vrai petit rapport pour répondre aux differentes questions que vous me posez et je ne suis guère en état de le faire. Je suis obligé de vous demander de vous contenter d'une courte lettre.

1°. Le recrutement des instituteurs laïques est detestable à notre point de vue. Les jeunes gens qui se destinent à cette carrière savent que s'ils manifestent des sentiments religieux, s'ils remplissent l'essentiel de leurs devoirs de chrétien, s'ils paraissent seulement de temps en temps à l'église, ils seront mal notés et verront leur avancement absolument arrêté. Il s'opère donc à l'entrée de cette carrière une selection à rebours. Un jeune homme vraiment chrétien ne songera pas á se faire instituteur communal et le devoir de tout prêtre est de le détourner de cette voie. Donc les instituteurs se recrutent, sauf exception, dans un milieu special si non hostile au moins indifférent.

2°. La formation à l'école normale n'est pas moins regrettable. Le ton général de cet enseignement a été donné par le ' Directeur de l'Enseignement Primaire ' un pasteur protestant defroqué et franc-maçon ardent. Les manuels scientifiques sont en général dans les idées positivistes, et les manuels historiques sont conçus dans un esprit absolument hostiles á l'église. Les calomnies qui n'ont plus cours dans les régions supérieurs de la science où elles faisaient sourire les savants serieux se donnent là librement carrière. L'enseignement philosophique de l'École Normale a pour but de battre en brèche ouvertement la doctrine catholique, negation de tout surnaturel, inutilité de la prière, suprématie de la raison, etc. Et dans ces écoles les professeurs se permettent des pardessus qui sont interdites aux professeurs des Lycées. Comme tous les élèves sont en général au moins indifférents, il n'y a pas à craindre de blesser leurs convictions ; et d'autre part les professeurs savent que ces pauvres jeunes gens dont la culture n'est qu'ébauchée accepteront sans sourciller des sophismes qui feraient lever les epaules à un élève de seconde. Il n'y a pas

dans les écoles normales comme dans les Lycées un simulacre d'enseignement religieux ; point de chapelle ; point d'aumonier ; point de prière. Le dimanche matin les élèves sont lâchés dans les rues de la ville où est l'école normale jusqu' à 9 heures du soir et généralement ils encombrent les cafés, les cafés-concerts et d'autres lieux encore moins recommendables.

Quand l'élève de l'École Normale est nommé instituteur il sait que s'il se montre chrétien il sera mal vu de ses supérieurs, que s'il se montre sincerement neutre il risque d'être taxé de tiédeur, que s'il affirme carrément son hostilité religieuse il sera bien noté pour l'avancement. Quelle tentation délicate pour un jeune homme sans principes arrêtés et qui voudrait bien voir augmenter son traitement insuffisant au debut. Puis, pour être sincèrement neutre il faudrait qu'il eût le courage de corriger les assertions des livres que les enfants ont entre les mains et où souvent la religion est attaqué sans ménagement.

Quant à l'esprit des instituteurs il varie singulièrement selon les régions. Les instituteurs ne sont pas nommés par leurs supérieurs hiérarchiques, les recteurs, mais par les préfets, fonctionnaires politiques qui sont eux-mêmes sous la dépendance des députés et sénateurs. Donc là où les élus de la population sont radicaux, socialistes, athées, les instituteurs pour gagner les bonnes graces de l'administration ont tout intérêt à penser et à parler comme eux. Les vieux instituteurs, qui ont gagné leur bâton de maréchal, sont d'ordinaire moins mauvais que les jeunes. Ils voient les tristes résultats de cette éducation et osent penser pour eux-mêmes.

Naturellement la moralité doit bien laisser à desirer dans des écoles où l'on n'enseigne qu'une morale sans sanction ; de plus, elle doit être plus basse que dans les écoles libres, puisque les écoles de l'Etat recoivent les enfants des familles irreligieuses, les enfants des indigents, et les pupilles de l'assistance publique (enfants trouvés, moralement abandonnés ou dont les parents sont déchus de la puissance paternelle).

Il est difficile de donner des chiffres pour la moralité : pour la criminalité c'est plus aisé : et même les publications officielles sont obligées de reconnaître qu'il y a un écart formidable entre la criminalité des enfants sortis des écoles communales et des écoles chrétiennes.

Au fond, pour me resumer, l'instituteur communal n'est pas libre de manifester ses sentiments religieux, s'il en a, sous peine de voir son avancement arrêté. Il n'a le droit de donner aucun enseignement religieux aux enfants, et ses supérieurs voient d'un mauvais oeil qu'il les accompagne à l'église, ne fût-ce que pour maintenir l'ordre. Depuis que je suis dans ma paroisse mes deux instituteurs n'ont jamais mis le pied à l'église, pas même le jour de la première communion de leur enfant.

Pratiquement matérialiste pour la plupart, l'instituteur, tel que

nous le connaissons, ne peut avoir qu'une conception fausse de l'éducation. L'enseignement de la morale naturelle ou civique est généralement nul de l'aveu des inspecteurs de l'Université. Les livres qu'il est obligé de mettre entre les mains de ses élèves (il est obligé de les prendre sur un liste dressé par le Ministère de l'Instruction Publique) contiennent pour la plupart les attaques les plus violentes contre la religion. L'instituteur communal est doublement fonctionnaire politique, d'abord parce qu'il dépend du préfet, fonctionnaire politique; ensuite parce que dans les compagnes il est d'ordinaire secretaire de la mairie. Il est donc obligé souvent d'épouser les passions anticléricales des hommes au pouvoir. De plus, un nombre respectable d'instituteurs fréquentent plus qu'il ne conviendrait le cabaret, ce qui leur enlève beaucoup de leur autorité. Que peuvent être les enfants formés par de tels maîtres et d'après de telles méthodes il est facile de le déviner. Le plus fort élève peut sortir de l'école sans avoir aucune notion de l'existence de Dieu et de la loi morale si le catéchisme et la famille n'ont pas comblé les lacunes voulues de l'instruction publique.

Maintenant je m'empresse de dire que là comme ailleurs il y a d'honorables exceptions et que ce que je dis des instituteurs en général ne saurait s'appliquer à chaque individu.

Veuillez excuser le décousu de cette lettre. Elle ne laisse que trop voir la fatigue de celui qui l'écrit; et croyez toujours, cher Monsieur Hogan, aux sentiments affectueusement devoués de celui qui fut votre condisciple et sera toujours votre ami fidèle.

X. Y. Z.

The Abbé Varangot writes to us from the troubled diocese of Laval in Mayenne:—

Dieu préserve votre pays des calamités du nôtre, et surtout de nos écoles sans Dieu qui sont l'abomination de la désolation. L'instruction publique est purement et simplement en France une machine de guerre entre les mains de la franc-maçonnerie pour détruire la religion.

And further on, after having described the spirit of these schools, he says:—

Peut-être demandez vous des faits. Eh bien, même en Mayenne, j'ai vu des instituteurs nier les vérités fondamentales de la religion et faire perdre ainsi la foi aux enfants. J'en ai vu envoyer les enfants faire du tapage aux portes des églises pendant les messes, ou pour empêcher les confessions. À Laval on trouve des enfants des écoles qui insultent les prêtres, etc. Ces faits abondent.

The Abbé de Scorbiac, from the department of 'Tarn et Garonne,' writes to us :—

Il va sans dire qu'il y a parmi les instituteurs de braves gens ; mais ceux-la sont timides, se cachent, n'osent rien dire. La majorité des instituteurs primaires, quand ils n'attaquent pas le prêtre, s'attachent aux objections contre la religion et font un mal irréparable. Au point de vue moral il en resulte chez les enfants. 1°. Un grand orgueil qui sous un certain vernis de politesse amène incontestablement l'esprit frondeur. Un enfant de 15 ans discute la religion, la juge avec des idées absolument naturalistes et demande que Dieu agisse avec lui comme un patron avec des grévistes. 2°. Une tendence marquée vers le socialisme qu'ils ne comprennent pas encore, mais qu'ils considèrent comme une reforme et un progrès par la solidarité.

Finally, we should not wish to deprive *The Tablet* of the following extract. We should add that it comes to us from Montauban, and that Montauban is not far from Gascony :—

La foi languissante, la perversion de l'esprit public qui s'accoutume à tout ne permet pas aux évêques de prendre les mesures énergiques qui chez d'autres peuples seraient efficaces. La générosité des catholiques est admirable, mais leur organisation électorale ne leur permet pas encore de remporter la victoire. Puissent les conseils du vaillant journal *La Croix* que la presse juive a tant decrié en Angleterre, lors de l'ignoble affaire Dreyfus, parce qu'il a déjà fait un bien immense, puissent ses efforts sur le terrain électoral aboutir enfin !

We might quote many other letters presenting various shades of a picture, which in order to be properly appreciated must be looked at as a whole ; but those which we have given here represent fairly enough the tone of all the others.

Now, the first serious reflection suggested to our minds by this rather voluminous correspondence is, that surely the Irish clergy are well inspired, when they proclaim their determination to fortify by every safeguard the position they have won, through the devotion and the wisdom of their forefathers, in the primary schools of Ireland, and to dispute, if need be, inch by inch, and line by line, every attempt that is made, no matter under what pretence, to make a breach in the citadel that means so much to them. It is only a small rift now that might widen out in the course of years,

and ultimately admit that demon of secularism which has wrought such havoc in the fairest land in Europe. Indeed it is much more for the information of the Irish clergy that we have gone to the trouble of entering into this correspondence, interesting though it may be in itself, than for the trifling purpose of answering a rude correspondent of *The Tablet*, or of vindicating ourselves. If we wanted merely to reply to any strictures *The Tablet* might be pleased to pass upon us we had only to turn to its own pages and quote them against itself.

So very many months have not elapsed since *The Tablet* shocked the Catholics of these countries by giving the hospitality of its columns to what was euphoniously described as 'a plea for *habeas corpus* in the Church.' That such a plea should have found its way into some of the other organs that profess to defend Catholic interests in England, but which nobody assuredly would think of regarding as competent exponents either of Catholic doctrine or of common sense, was only what might have been expected; but that it should have found its way into the pages of a responsible organ like *The Tablet*, caused, to say the least of it, no small surprise. For what was the suggestion underlying this plea? The impression left upon the mind of any one who read it was, that the author was almost afraid to speak above his breath, that some dark cloud, the herald of danger and disruption, was brooding over the Church. The wildest speculations, he said, were going about. 'There was nothing on any side but ferment and unrest. There were everywhere the gravest causes of anxiety and doubt. People saw before them, with dismay, the prospect of an all-pervading turmoil in which, by the tyranny of circumstances, they might unwillingly become involved.' There was no check to the flood of anecdote, conjecture, and insinuation which poured itself out amongst the clergy when they talked freely, and amongst the laity when they confided in one another; and all because the cardinals of the Roman Congregations did not hold their sessions in public, like a British court of justice, with judge and jury, according to the provisions of *habeas corpus*.

Of course, as far as we know, it was suggested, things may be all right in the *Curia;* but if only its procedure were reformed and brought into harmony with the practices of civilized nations, then we might breathe again. We are not, we thank heaven, like other peoples. Our success has been great in the world and our advice is surely entitled to some weight. If, therefore, this plan, put forward, as you see, in the most dutiful of the Catholic organs of Great Britain, be adopted, there will be an end to the state of anxiety and alarm in which we live, and the possibility will be removed for ever of shady things being done, by Roman cardinals, in dark places, and behind people's backs.

Now, let nobody think that we desire to do *The Tablet* an injustice. Some weeks after this so-called 'plea' appeared in its pages, yielding to the indignation of its correspondents, it clearly rejected the 'plea' and all the nonsense that accompanied it. In one of the best articles we have ever read in its pages, and we have read many good ones, the position of the Roman Congregations in the economy of the Church was ably set forth and richly illustrated. With what justice, then, could anyone have accused it in the interval of having taken part in an agitation for *habeas corpus* in the Church? And if *The Tablet* was not held responsible for 'the plea,' why should the I. E. RECORD be now held responsible for a charge with which it has less sympathy, we are sure, than *The Tablet* had with this instruction of the Pope in the management of his own tribunals.

The Tablet may not be aware that a word has never yet appeared in the I. E. RECORD about the famous case of Captain Dreyfus. We have never admitted a syllable about it into our pages, though frequently urged to do so. We detest Jew-baiting as we do stories of ritual murder and of walled-up nuns. But we have never felt ourselves called upon to pronounce on the merits of a case so intricate as to puzzle some of the ablest jurists in the world. Besides it was no business of ours. We have a strong objection to outside interference in matters of domestic concern, and we have never laid claim to a

monopoly of virtue. Dreyfus, for all we know, *may* have been innocent. His judges *may* have been mistaken; we do not say they were not. These officers and gentlemen may not have been equal to the task of unravelling the web of expert depositions that was laid before them. But it was not we who dared to scrutinize the unseen evidence of their consciences. It was not we who branded their verdict as infamous. It was not we who suggested that, at that solemn hour, when the fair name of their country was at stake, they were capable of throwing honour, conscience and justice to the winds, and of thinking only of the breaking or the making of their own career.

We should be very sorry, indeed, to deny, or to minimize the services which *The Tablet* has rendered to the Catholic cause in England under its present editor. Nor do we grudge it the liberty to which it has a perfect right in politics and matters of free opinion. Every man who is wise and patriotic must be disposed to see and to appreciate what is best in his own land, and to defend what he conceives to be the highest interests of the people amongst whom his lot is cast. Hence, whatever nation a journal may belong to, some allowance must be made for the tendency to 'chauvinism' that is born in every human breast. But, whilst making all allowance and leaving a wide margin for this element of human nature, we think *The Tablet* is more prone than other Catholic organs of respectability to see the mote in its neighbour's eye, whilst it comfortably ignores the beam in its own. It has occupied itself a good deal of late with the *Osservatore Romano*, the *Voce della Verità*, the *Civiltà Cattolica*. It was probably inevitable that our turn should have come. We cannot say that we regret the attention we have received, seeing that it gives us an opportunity, not of our seeking, to tell *The Tablet* that, whilst we gladly recognize its claim, on many grounds, to the esteem and gratitude of Catholics, we do not regard it as an unbiassed witness of anything that concerns either ourselves or our country.

As the honoured name of Mr. Bodley, the distinguished author of the work on *France*, has been mentioned in this

discussion, he has written to *The Tablet*, from Biarritz, to give his views on the particular question from which the controversy arose. Now, however we may differ from Mr. Bodley on matters of principle and on questions of detail, he is a man of whose impartiality we have a very high opinion, and for whose character we have the greatest respect. We should be sorry to think that anyone, knowing what he has done, should give utterance to an unkindly or disparaging word in his regard.

At a time when an attempt was made to rouse the fury of the world against the clergy of France, and when English Catholic laymen were setting fuel to the flame in disgraceful anonymous letters to *The Times*, Mr. Bodley, to his credit be it said, stepped into the breach, and from the depth of his knowledge of a country about which he had written two classical volumes, and in language worthy of Edmund Burke, bore the testimony of a gentleman and of a Christian to their character and virtues.

Mr. Bodley takes occasion, when referring to this matter, to regret that the task of rectifying the impression produced by Father O'Brien's article was not undertaken by the Archbishop of St. Paul, in the United States. Archbishop Ireland, he adds, could speak with great authority for many reasons; and, moreover, he has made it 'his chosen mission to smooth away misunderstandings between English-speaking peoples and the Latin races.' It is needless to say that we have no objection. We have no quarrel with any race or people. We yield to no one in our admiration for the great versatility of Archbishop Ireland. We are quite sure, however, that his Grace would be the last person in the world to deny that there is only one bishop in Christendom whose authority encircles the globe, and who has received from on high the mission to moderate the jealousies of conflicting races, and to hold the balance evenly between Catholics in the various nations of the world. Archbishop Ireland has, no doubt, great experience of races and their characteristics, and he has achieved the unwonted triumph of being popular, at the same time, in England and France. For our part we wish all success to his efforts to make these two nations as friendly to one another as he is to

both of them. We are only surprised that the brilliant idea that his Grace's good offices were needed to make peace between Irishmen and Frenchmen should have come from a man of Mr. Bodley's intelligence, and did not originate with *The Tablet.*

A venerable French ecclesiastic,[1] now no more, told us, some years ago, that he had spent the whole of his long life in the capital of France. He was born under the great Napoleon and had some dim recollection of his downfall and death. He had seen the Bourbons restored and he had seen them driven out again. He had seen Louis Philippe, the first-born of the regicide, cheered by the mob, and he had seen him hooted and deposed. He had witnessed the scenes of bloodshed that marked the revolution of '48. He had gone with his archbishop to offer his homage to Napoleon III., who rubbed his hands in glee—*joliment content*—to see that at last he had won the Church to his side; and he had felt all the bitterness of Sedan, and had seen the same emperor a prisoner and an exile. He was present at Notre Dame at the baptism of the Prince Imperial, and had gazed on that occasion upon a scene of pageantry and rejoicing such as perhaps the world had never witnessed before. Some twenty years later he had read in the newspapers how that child of promise and of hope had fallen in the service of a foreign land, pierced by the assegais of a savage tribe, on the distant plains of Africa, and was found with a medal hanging from his poor little neck and an image of *Notre Dame* close to his heart. Four of his archbishops had been done to death, two on the barricades, one at the altar, and one in the massacre of the Roquette. He had seen Paris bombarded and reduced and had seen the conqueror marching through its streets. He had lived under the *régime* of Raoul Rigault and of Jourde. From the top of his father's house in the Rue du Bac he had looked out on the night of the 23rd of May, 1871, to see the lovely city of his birth in ferment and in flames. It was a starlight night, calm and beautiful, and as he heard the yells of the populace, the crackling of

[1] The late Curé of the parish of St. François Xavier in Paris.

the Tuileries and of the Palais des Finances, surmounted now and again by the roar of cannon, the *crépitement* of the mitrailleuses and the rattling of the chassepots, he thought to himself that surely the crack of doom was not far distant. *Ah! ma foi, j'ai vu tout cela, mon ami!* But there remained something sadder for him still to see, and he witnessed it from the gallery of the chamber of deputies on the fatal day when the religion of his Redeemer was banished from the schools of the land he loved.

On that day he saw Jules Ferry, the most ardent disciple of Voltaire and the worst enemy of Christianity that the present century has known, arise in his place and congratulate his friends on the victory they had achieved. 'At last,' he shouted, 'we have reached the goal. The future of France is ours—*l'apprentissage est à nous.*' Yes, truly, they have the apprenticeship. The youth of France is in their hands. The man who uttered that shout of triumph has since gone down to his pagan grave, *unhouseled and unaneled.* But he has left behind him a system which acts like a huge engine for the extirpation of Christianity and of all that it signifies.

Now, what puzzles us more than the condition of France, is that the press of a great country like England, which has itself just made so ardent and successful a struggle for the recognition of Christianity in its schools, should hail with satisfaction what has been done on the other side of the channel. For is it not a fact, that when the clergy of France, tied down though they are by the Concordat, make some effort to stem the tide of paganism that is threatening to overwhelm their country, they are insulted and decried, and set down as political agitators, and disturbers of the peace? Can *The Tablet* help us to solve this mystery?

M. Brunetière, in a recent number of the *Quarterly Review*, points out how convenient it is to have one set of principles for the guidance of an empire at home, and another for application abroad. The taunt is one, no doubt, as he himself admits, that invites a pretty evident retort; but we wish that, in the case of the French clergy, at least, *The Tablet* could supply some *rebutting evidence* to the charge.

If *The Tablet* could only prevail with the newspapers of England to show towards the French clergy something of the spirit that was manifested towards them during the great revolution—or if this kindly spirit, which has never been forgotten in the presbyteries of France, cannot be revived, something, at least, of moderation and justice—it would surely win a trophy more worthy of its ambition, and more creditable to England, than some petty triumph over Father O'Brien and the I. E. RECORD.

For our part we require no one to tell us, that, in spite of all the evil influences at work, the streams of grace that have fertilized the soil of France for so many centuries still flow through innumerable channels. We know at least as well as the *The Tablet* that the traditions of politeness, of gentle manners, of refinement, and of chivalry, that have come down with more than a thousand years of Christianity, are still the leading characteristics of the nation; but who can look forward to a hundred years of godless education without apprehension as to their fate?

When we think of what the world was before the charter of grace was delivered to the Apostles; when we recall the condition of France itself before Clovis had yielded to St. Rémi, and before our own Columbanus had founded his great nursery of missionaries at Luxeuil, what have we to expect, where the Gospel is rejected, but corruption and barbarism? Have we not got a foretaste of it already? Do we not see the most violent passions let loose? Do we not hear the most reckless charges hurled at opponents? Has not the *Lex Pappia Poppaea* been urged on the Senate? Do we not see in the bookshops and windows, at railway stations and in the thoroughfares, evidences without number of the vice that prevails? If we take up some casual book to read do we not get a startling reminder of what Suetonius and Seneca have written of other days? Let any one who spends a month in France read the *Libre Parole*, the *Eclair*, the *Intransigeant*, the *Aurore*, and he can form some idea of the hatreds that are abroad. No doubt in the midst of it all there is great refinement, an advanced civilization, great material progress. There are

fine theatres and luxurious palaces. We see that the arts are cultivated, that steam and electricity are at work. But all these things are on the same plane as the Grecian architecture, as the statues of Phidias and the screw of Archimedes. They do not surpass in their own order the baths of Caracalla, the Roman aqueducts or the Coliseum. The spirit that has given them to the world was not unknown at Alexandria under the Ptolemies, nor at Florence under the Medici. They are very fine in their way, and they help to train the mind, and to educate the taste. But they have nothing to do with eternal life. They will never induce men to love their fellow men, to keep their passions in control, to refrain from calumny and theft, and from the vices that lead nations to decay. For that the people of France, and of every other country afflicted as she is, must return to the precepts that shine so brightly in the eyes of the peasants of Ober Ammergau. They must respond to the voice of the shepherd which speaks to them at the midnight hour, above the din and clamour of the world, and, in the solemn stillness of the centuries, in accents as sweet as ever fell from the lips of a successor of St. Peter, calls them to the fold of Christ the Redeemer.

J. F. HOGAN, D.D.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE LAW OF ABSTINENCE, AS IT AFFECTS PERSONS EXEMPT FROM THE LAW OF FASTING

Rev. Dear Sir,—Now that the Advent fast is approaching, you would confer a boon on many readers of the I. E. Record, if you were to explain the law of abstinence in reference to persons who are not bound to fast. It is a practical matter, in which the people and their pastors are interested, and on which there is considerable diversity of opinion. At almost any gathering of priests, you can hear rival theories regarding the obligation of such persons, especially outside of Lenten time.

(*a*) Can children, for example, use milk in any quantity not only at dinner, but also at breakfast and supper, on the days of the Advent fast?

(*b*) Does the same answer apply to butter and eggs? Some hold that children may take eggs and lacticinia, as often as they please, outside Lent: others deny this.

(*c*) If children have permission to use eggs, *v.g.*, at breakfast and supper, on fast days outside Lent, does that permission come from the Lenten indult of the bishop, so that we can assume that the Lenten regulations are intended by the bishop to apply to the remainder of the year also? In a diocese, for instance, where the bishop allows the use of milk and butter without restriction, but restricts the use of eggs, on week-days of Lent, to one meal, even for those who are not bound to fast, are we to hold that on the fast days during Advent also, for example, children may use milk and butter as often as they wish, but that they may use eggs at one meal only?

Francis X., c.c.

Questions like this regarding the law of abstinence, in so far, especially, as it affects extra-Lenten time, and persons exempt from the law of fasting, have reached us from various quarters. If we bear in mind a few leading principles, the solution is usually not difficult. But, as our correspondent

suggests, it may be useful to some readers to recall a few obvious principles on which the solution of the questions now raised depends.

1. We must first bear in mind the distinction usually made between the law of fasting and the law of abstinence. The law of fasting restricts the *quantity* of food that may be lawfully taken on certain days; it does not touch the *quality* of food, unless in so far as it forbids the use of food of any kind outside the meal or meals allowed. According to the present discipline of the Church, the law of fasting allows (1) one full meal, (2) a light meal (of about eight ounces) or collation as it is called, and (3) a very small quantity (one or two ounces) of food in the place of a third meal. At the full meal, *any kind* of food, meat, for example, may be taken, as far as the law of fasting is concerned. For the law of fasting, as such, does not regard the *quality* of food. As a rule, the law of abstinence is binding on fasting days, and, therefore, meat and sometimes lacticinia are forbidden, even at the full meal. But during Lent, when an episcopal indult removes the law of abstinence on certain week-days, we have an example of a case, in which the law of fasting remains in full force, though even meat is allowed at the full meal. As for the quality of food that may be taken outside the full meal, it is altogether determined by custom. The law of abstinence, as opposed to the law of fasting, does not restrict the quantity of food, but prohibits, on specified days, certain *kinds* of food, viz., meat, (and sometimes) eggs, butter, cheese and milk.

2. The law of abstinence, with which our correspondent's question is concerned, is more strict during Lent than outside of Lent. During Lent it prohibits the use of meat, eggs, butter, cheese and milk. At the present day, of course, large concessions for the use of these forbidden qualities of food are made in the Lenten indults. Outside of Lent, the common or general law of abstinence forbids meat only; it places no restriction on the use of eggs, butter, cheese or milk.

We have said, that outside of Lent, the common law of abstinence prohibits meat only. But in Ireland the local

law of abstinence was, until recent times, much more severe. Since 1877, however, the law of abstinence in Ireland has been substantially the same as the general law of the Church. The only vestige of the more rigid discipline of the Church in Ireland is that when the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, or of All Saints falls on Friday, the use of eggs, as well as of meat, is forbidden.

3. The law of abstinence affects the whole day equally. In other words, any kind of food that may be taken at any meal on a day of abstinence may, as far as the law of abstinence is concerned, be taken at every meal on that day. If, therefore, the law of abstinence allows eggs and butter at dinner on any day, it allows them also at other meals. Of course, this is not necessary *ex natura rei*, but in fact, such is the law. Dispensations in the abstinence, however, may, according to the will of the person dispensing, affect one, two, or all meals. Thus, we find the dispensation for the use of meat or eggs on Lenten days sometimes limited to one meal, even in the case of those bound to abstain merely.

4. The power to dispense in the laws of fast and abstinence belongs *per se* to the Pope exclusively, for these laws are papal laws. By custom, however, bishops, and even parish priests can dispense, in individual cases. But neither the bishop nor the parish priest can, in virtue of custom, give a general dispensation available for the diocese or parish. Hence, when bishops grant a general Lenten indult containing dispensations in the law of abstinence, they act in virtue of *special* powers granted by the Holy See. Whether or not any bishop has power to grant a general dispensation in the extra-Lenten fast or abstinence depends on the extent of his special faculties from the Holy See. But, where the Lenten indult of a bishop on the face of it expressly regards the Lenten regulations only, there can be no justification for applying either his dispensations or restrictions to the extra-Lenten fast or abstinence.

5. As we have said above, the law of abstinence affects the whole day equally. Whatever persons exempt from

the fast may take at the principal meal on any day they may take as often as they wish that day. This rule holds good universally, in Lent and outside of Lent. Moreover, a dispensation in the abstinence affects the whole day also, unless the contrary be expressed or manifestly implied by the person who grants the dispensation. When a bishop, for example, in his Lenten indult permits the use of meat on certain days during Lent at the principal meal, the effect of his dispensation is to remove altogether on these days the law of abstinence forbidding meat. Those who are bound to fast can use meat, of course, at their principal meal only, because the law of fasting still binds them to use nothing outside the principal unless what is sanctioned by custom, and meat is not allowed by custom; but those who are exempt from the law of fasting may use meat as often as they please. If the bishop so wishes he can impose restrictions. He can limit the use of meat, say to two meals or even one meal. But these restrictions, to take effect, must be clearly expressed or implied; they are not to be assumed. Moreover, from an answer sent (11th Dec., 1878) to the Bishop of Buffalo, we are left to infer that it is 'not expedient' that such restrictions should be placed on persons exempt from the fast owing to age, labour, or infirmity.

A few words will now suffice to answer our correspondent's questions.

1. (*a*) In Lent, children and all those who are exempt by reason of age, labour, or infirmity, from the obligation of the law of fasting, may use as often as they please on any day any kind of food that is allowed by the Lenten indult at their full meal to those who are bound to fast. The only exception to this rule is where the indult expressly or implicitly maintains a further restriction.

(*b*) Outside of Lent, the same classes of persons are forbidden the use of meat at any meal; but they may use eggs, butter, cheese and milk, without restriction. They are bound by the law of abstinence only and, outside Lent, it forbids meat, not eggs and lacticinia. The only exception to this rule is that by the local law of abstinence in Ireland, eggs are forbidden at any meal on the four

vigils above mentioned, viz., the vigil of the feast of the Nativity, SS. Peter and Paul, the Assumption, and All Saints, when they happen to fall on Friday.

2. The permission—with the restrictions already made—come from the Lenten indult. The ordinary indult to those exempt from the fast to use eggs and lacticinia without restriction on fasting days outside Lent does not, therefore, deals with Lenten time only. The bishop, moreover, cannot give a general dispensation in the extra-Lenten abstinence, unless his special faculties from the Holy See cover that case. Just as the Lenten indult is not the source of the permission to use eggs and lacticinia on fasting days outside Lent, so the special restrictions of the indult have no application outside Lent. Outside Lent, the general law of the Church allows eggs and lacticinia without restriction to those who are exempt from the fast. There is, therefore, no need or place for an episcopal dispensation, nor, consequently, for any restriction on the extent of that dispensation.

D. Mannix.

LITURGY

1. SHOULD THE "OIL-STOCKS" BE BLESSED? 2 THE SECRET IN THE MASS OF THE DEDICATION OF A CHURCH.

Rev. Dear Sir,—May I ask for answers to the questions which follow?

1. Among the 'Benedicitiones Reservatae, ab Episcopo, vel Sacerdotibus Facultatem Habentibus, Faciendae,' in the appendix to the Ritual (Editio Typica), I find one under the heading 'Benedictio Vasorum pro Sacris Oleis Includendis.' Should I, therefore, conclude that the vessels in which we reserve the Holy Oils must be blessed, or would, at all events, laudably be blessed? If so, is this conclusion to be drawn equally in regard to the larger vessels in which the oils are brought from the cathedral, and the smaller ones which immediately serve in the administration of the Sacraments? O'Kane in his *Notes on the Rubrics*, third edition, cap. iii., n. 268, says that such vessels are not to be blessed. But to what vessels, if this be the case, does the blessing

I have spoken of apply? Again, if the supposition be that the blessing is to be performed, must the faculty be especially asked from the Ordinary? The faculties usually granted to priests in missionary countries for blessing sacred vessels speak, as far as I know, only of *utensilia ad Sacrificium Missae Necessaria.*

2. The missal provides for the Mass which is to be said on the anniversary of the consecration of the churches of a diocese, or religious community, by referring us to the Mass *Terribilis est locus iste*, from the common of the consecration of a church. In the secret of this Mass, we find certain words, *ut quicumque*, etc., which we are told to omit *extra Ecclesiam ipsam dedicatam.* If a priest is saying the Mass upon such an anniversary, he being a priest of the diocese, or the community whose churches are in question, and yet happens to be celebrating in a church which itself is not consecrated, does he omit the words *quicumque*, etc.? I know it may seem clear at first sight he should do so, but to me at least a little doubt as to the propriety of his doing so exists, because, while saying Mass in a church itself not actually consecrated, he seems to be saying Mass in a church which in some way, as far as the formula of the Mass goes, is one with those the consecration of which is actually commemorated by reason of their having been more solemnly devoted to God's service by the special ceremony of the Pontifical. Of course, it seems clear to me, that if the priests in a diocese be commemorating the anniversary of the consecration of the cathedral, they should omit the words, as the anniversary in the case of the cathedral seems to be something entirely distinct from that of the other churches. What am I to do in regard to omitting the words?

An answer will favour a constant reader of the I. E. Record.

Very truly yours,

'Sacerdos.'

We shall endeavour to satisfy, in a few words, the doubts existing in the mind of our esteemed correspondent on the points raised in his inquiries.

1. As to the first question, we see no solid ground for departing from the opinion maintained by such a painstaking and invariably accurate an authority as O'Kane, as quoted by our correspondent, viz., that there is no necessity for blessing the vessels which contain the Holy Oils, whether

there is question of the larger vessels in which the Holy Oils are generally brought from the Cathedral or of the smaller ones, commonly known as 'oil-stocks,' which the priest carries about with him in sick-calls. In support of this view the following reasons occur to us. Firstly, we think it is not the custom, in this country at least, to have these vessels blessed, and it is scarcely credible that this practice would prevail if there was an objection in the matter. Again, all commentators on the rubrics that we have seen make no reference to the necessity of a blessing for these vessels, and this universal silence amounts to something more than a merely negative argument, when we consider how very careful and exact the rubricists generally are to caution us about the obligation of having the various vestments and utensils used for divine service blessed when this is required by the rubrics.

Commentators are divided[1] as to the obligation of having the Ciborium blessed. No one holds that it should be consecrated. Now if there is not a clear necessity in the case of the Ciborium, to which greater respect and reverence is manifestly due than to the *vasa oleorum sacrorum*, it will not be easy to discover a reason for holding that these latter ought to be blessed. The existence, however, of the *Benedictio vasorum pro sacris Oleis includendis* in the ritual would go to show that, though there may be no strict obligation, the blessing of them is praiseworthy. From its position among the *benedictiones reservatae*, we conclude that this benediction is reserved in the sense that it cannot be exercised without special delegation. But as to whether it may be contained in the group of faculties mentioned by our correspondent, this must be determined by the prevailing practice of the place, and by the other indications which help to divine the intention of the ordinary.

2. About the second question we have much less hesitation. It is our decided opinion that the words:—'Ut quicumque intra templa hujus, cujus anniversarium dedicationis diem celebramus, ambitum continemur, plena

[1] *Vide. De Herdt Sacrae Liturgiae Praxis*, ed. nona, tom i., 173.

tibi, atque perfecta corporis et animae devotione placeamus,' which occur in the secret of the Mass, *In Dedicatione Ecclesiae*, ought not to be said when the Mass is celebrated in a church that is not itself consecrated. For it is only churches that are consecrated by the solemn rite of the Pontifical that are entitled to an annual dedicatory feast. Hence, while the Mass celebrated in churches, consecrated as well as dedicated, is practically identical, still it is only the former class that have in reality an *anniversarium dedicationis diem*, and, consequently, it is only when the Mass is said in one of this kind that the words *ut quicumque*, etc., are verified.

D. O'Loan.

CORRESPONDENCE

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE CITY OF ARMAGH

Rev. Dear Sir,—Permit me to call the attention of those who possess copies of the new edition of the *Historical Memoirs of the City of Armagh*, to certain errors and misprints in the *Book of the Angel*, given in appendix A. As the whole of the *Book of Armagh* is now being printed, from a fund left for that purpose by the late Dr. Reeves, it is of the utmost importance that the errors referred to should be publicly rectified beforehand. It is also an act of simple justice to Dr. MacCarthy, who made the transcription as far back as 1883 and spontaneously placed the result of his labours at my disposal, as a valuable adjunct to the new edition of Stuart, together with an English translation, the first ever attempted. Unfortunately, being sorely pressed for time, I was unable to give him an opportunity of seeing the last revise and inserting the corrections. They are herewith subjoined.—I remain, Rev. dear Sir, yours faithfully,

Ambrose Coleman, o.p.

P. 449—Title :—*for* Royal Irish Academy *read* Trinity College, Dublin.
Translation :—line 3, *for* himself *read* him [Patrick].
line 12, *for* to the *read* [to bound] within.
P. 450—Translation :—*for* O Holy *read* O my Holy.
P. 451—Text :—line 22, *for* relegiossi *read* religiossi.
line 35, *to* reverentiæ add [-entia].
line 35, *for* Aird-Machæ *read* Aridd-Machæ.
line 41, *for* præest *read* preest.
Translation :—line 1, *for* said *read* saith.
line 15, *for* lector *read* rector.
line 25, *for* this *read* that.
line 31, *for* and *read* [and].
P. 452—Text :—line 9, *for* inerrabilis [innarrabilis] read ine[na]rrabilis.
line 25, *for* [-cum] *read* [cum].
Translation :—line 8, *for* favour *read* benefit [the Redemption].
line 13, *for* with the *read* with.
P. 453—Text :—line 13, *for* eundem *read* eundem [idem].
Translation :—line 40, *for* optional *read* unrestricted.
P. 454—Text :—line 19, *for* finem *read* in finem].
line 20, *for* in usque *read* usque.
line 28, *for* illam que *read* illamque.
Translation :—line 2, *for* by its *read* with [the aid of] its.
lines 3, 7, *for* decree *read* have decreed.
line 11, *for* followers *read* pupils.
line 14, *for* Church of the Relics of the Martyrs *read* [church of] the Shrine of the Relics.
lines 24-5, *for* seemed to have *read* had.
line 26, *for* through her *read* her.
Note * :—*for* Domach *read* Domnach.

DOCUMENTS

PASTORAL LETTER OF THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS ASSEMBLED IN NATIONAL SYNOD AT MAYNOOTH

TO THE CLERGY, SECULAR AND REGULAR, AND THE LAITY OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN IRELAND

VERY REV. AND REV. FATHERS, AND DEAR BRETHREN IN CHRIST,

Assembled as we are in a National Synod to make such amendments of our ecclesiastical laws and regulations as the lapse of time and the altered circumstances of our country require, our thoughts turn to our dear people, whom we have ever in our hearts, and we salute them in the words of the Apostle—'Grace to you and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ' (Gal. i. 3).

And as we contemplate the actual condition of the Church in Ireland, and its progress since the first Synod of Maynooth twenty-five years ago, we see on all sides manifest reasons for thanking God always for the grace that is given to you: 'That in all things you are made rich in Him, in all utterance and in all knowledge, as the testimony of Christ was confirmed to you, so that nothing is wanting to you in any grace, waiting for the manifestation of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Cor. i. 5-7).

For, whether we regard the Church's external organization or her living spirit—the outward forms in which her manifold activities show themselves, or the unfailing power of God's grace, which, as a living fountain, wells up amongst her children unto eternal life—our hearts are filled with joy, and 'we cease not to give thanks for you making commemoration of you in our prayers.'

It is hardly an exaggeration to state that the efforts and sacrifices of the Catholics of Ireland, within recent years, for the material and outward works of religion are, in proportion to their means, unsurpassed, and, perhaps, unequalled by those of any other people in the Church. Noble cathedrals, parochial churches of great richness and beauty; convents and monasteries, and religious institutions of all kinds, have sprung up in every direction, on a scale and in a style of great magnificence. To those who observe us from outside the Church, these works seem but ill-proportioned to our poverty. And so they are. Irish Catholics as a body are poor indeed. They do not own the land from which

their forefathers were expropriated; they are the merest fraction of the great professional and commercial classes; they rarely find admission to any of the high offices of state. 'For see your vocation, brethren, that there are not many wise according to the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble' (1 Cor. i. 26). And yet, to the amazement, and often to the vexation, of those who judge all things according to the standard of human prudence, they cover the whole face of the land with structures which, in any other country, would be taken for the evidences of great material prosperity.

But we who know the profoundly religious character of our people, their sense of the Majesty of God's service—their love for the beauty of the House where His divine presence dwells, can understand their action, and see in it an illustration of His own word that the 'foolish things of the world hath God chosen to confound the wise; and the weak things of the world hath God chosen that He may confound the strong' (1 Cor. i. 27).

And it is this spirit of faith that makes the singular harmony, which exists in Ireland, between the Church's growth in outward form and grandeur and her progress in the sanctity of her children. At other times, and in other places, there have been richer and grander churches than ours; but it has often happened that as the material building rose in strength and beauty the spiritual edifice was crumbling into ruins.

Thank God it has not been so in Ireland. As far as we can judge by the ordinary evidences of a people's spiritual condition, we have reason to bless and thank God for 'the faith and labour and charity' of ours.

There is scarcely any form of public or private devotion which has not received a notable development in recent years. The wonderful Pontiff whom God has given to the Church in these times of difficulty and trial, while by his great dogmatic pronouncements he has influenced the course of human thought in its highest reaches, has, at the same time, sent his voice into the humblest cabins, and made the hearts of the poor of Christ beat quicker with the love of Him who loved them first. Under his inspiration, the devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus has spread with singular rapidity. It is as if his words kindled the sacred fire which the Lord Himself had cast upon their hearts, and with scarcely any human effort, and often where the fervour of the people would seem to outstrip the zeal of the clergy, Communion

on the first Friday of the month has become an almost universal practice. We desire thus, formally, to thank God for this great grace, and to encourage both priests and people to persevere in maintaining and extending it.

Amongst other blessings which we expect from this beautiful and touching devotion to the Sacred Heart of our Lord is the increase in external reverence towards Him in His own Adorable Sacrament. Our shortcomings in this respect are an unhappy survival from the Penal times; but we may confidently hope that, as reverence for the Sacred Heart grows amongst our people, it will find its own expression spontaneously in an outward worship, in accordance with our faith. In this matter we trust that the clergy will lead their people by word and example, and in particular by the extension, under ecclesiastical authority, of the practice of Solemn Benediction and the beautiful devotion of the Forty Hours' Adoration.

The consecration of our people by families to the Holy Family was another most providential inspiration of our Holy Father the Pope, and an evidence of that divine assistance which is ever with him in the government of the Church. It has taught the people the sanctity of home, the sacred nature of the ties which religion adds to those of blood; and will thus be, we trust, the means of planting and cultivating in their hearts those domestic virtues which lie at the very foundation of all human society.

We have observed, with special satisfaction, the renewal of the old fervour of our people in the recitation of the Most Holy Rosary. Here, too, the words of our Holy Father the Pope touched a tender chord in the Irish heart. With the unerring instinct of faith, the Irish people have ever cherished the Holy Mother of God, in their inmost hearts, with a particular and most tender love; and by some attraction, or rather some gift of God's grace, they have found in the recitation of the Holy Rosary, as family prayer, something congenial to all their religious thoughts and feelings. Now, with the fresh sanction which it has received from the Head of the Church, we see this devotion established more firmly than ever in their affection; and we rest thereon great hopes for their perseverance, being confident that She who has crushed heresy in every age will not fail a people who have ever been so true to Her.

In these practices of piety, and in countless other ways, we find the evidences of our people's spiritual progress. One

notable feature deserves particular mention—that is, the continuous increase in the number of the faithful who approach the Sacraments of Penance and Holy Communion. It is questionable whether it has ever been exceeded, in proportion to the population, in any country, or at any period, since the Apostolic times.

Surely, Dearly Beloved Brethren, these are considerations which should gladden the hearts of the pastors of the country, and make them feel that in such a people they have 'their joy and their crown.'

And in the relations of the Church to questions that bear upon her interests, at the same time that they touch those of the civil society in which she exists, we can contemplate the course of events during the last twenty-five years with much satisfaction and gratitude to God.

Amongst all these questions there is none more important than that of education, and there has been none in Ireland which has filled us with greater thankfulness to God for the steadfastness with which our people have stood by their pastors in vindicating our rights as Catholics. In this matter ours has not been an isolated contest. Although the forces arrayed against us here in Ireland have adapted their line of attack to the peculiar condition of our country, in reality they are the same as those with which the Church all through this century has been in conflict in most of the countries of the world.

Everywhere two systems of education, resting on principles fundamentally opposed to one another, have striven for the mastery, and whether there has been a question of founding a University or a village school, the same vital issues have been at stake.

The essential difference between these systems comes from their respective attitudes towards supernatural truth. For those who do not believe in God or in a revelation made by Him to man, or consider that the meaning of these truths and their bearing on human conduct are matters of mere private opinion and conjecture, it is waste of energy and precious time to make the teaching of them, at least in any public institution, a part of its ordinary functions.

These are the children of this world. They deal with what they know. This world is the one certainty for them, and to prepare their children to advance in it, is their highest conception of education.

This in its final analysis is Secularism; over and against it stands out the position of the Church of Christ. All education is holy. There is no more sacred duty than the development of a young mind and soul. Man's destiny is supernatural; he has not here a lasting city but seeks that which is to come, and for its attainment God has given to him a revelation distinct and well-defined in its doctrines; solemn and imperative in the duties which it imposes on him; rich and abundant in the aids to their fulfilment; and He has made the knowledge and the belief of these things the first principle of spiritual life in man. 'This is the true life that they should know Thee, the one true God and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent.'

In his wonderful Encyclical *On Human Liberty*, our Holy Father Leo XIII. sets forth this conception of Christian education with singular force and clearness. Truth, he lays down, must be the subject-matter of all teaching—truth, both in the natural and the supernatural order—and unless the art of teaching is to be turned into an instrument of corruption, both of these must be guarded inviolably. Now, amongst the inestimable treasures of supernatural truths which God has revealed to us are:—'That the only-begotten Son of God was made flesh to witness to the truth; that a perfect society—that is the Church—was founded by Him, of which He is the Head, and with which He has promised to abide to the end of ages. He willed to make that Church the depository of all the truths which He taught, in order that she might hold, and guard, and by lawful authority expound them. At the same time He commanded all nations to hear her as they should hear Him, and whosoever should disobey should be lost eternally. Whence it follows that the first and supreme Teacher of man is God Himself—the fountain and source of all truth; then the only-begotten Son, who is in the bosom of the Father, the way, the truth, and the life—the true light which enlighteneth every man. But in bringing the knowledge of faith to men, and in the formation of their lives, God Himself has made the Church a participator in this divine office of teaching, and by His gift has made her infallible.' (Encyc. Leo XIII. *On Human Liberty*.)

When once we understand these two conceptions of man's place and duty on earth, we can see how profound and irreconcilable must be the differences in the views as to education which correspond with them. It is the opposition which Christ

found between Himself and the world, and which He foretold would endure between it and His Church for ever.

In Ireland we have had bitter experience of that hostility, and in no phase of our sufferings for the faith has it been directed against us with more determination and persistence than in its attacks on religious education.

But, what gave our people courage and strength to withstand it, was their instinctive perception of the interests that were at stake. The struggle for the schools turned on everlasting issues. The souls of the children were the objects for which men fought, and it was the realization of this truth that it was no mere matter of ecclesiastical policy, no movement for the social or political advantage of the Catholic body, but that it was simply to determine the religious belief of the Irish people—to decide whether the next generation and those to come after them were to forsake the faith of their fathers or be true to it; it was the clear appreciation of this issue that made sacrifice easy, and made every human advantage a loss to the Irish people, when compared with the pre-eminent knowledge of Jesus Christ. 'This is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith' (1 John v. 4).

In every grade of public education in Ireland we have had to contend for these Christian principles. Sixty years ago the System of National Education was established. In its first conception it was thoroughly dangerous, if not worse. The notorious Whately revelations let in a flood of light on the combination of Protestants and Secularists who, under the specious formula of combined secular and separate religious education, hoped to undermine the faith of our people. But, thanks to that good God whose Providence never failed us, that System of National Education, instead of spreading secularism or indifference, has itself undergone a radical change, and in a great part of Ireland is now in fact, whatever it is in name, as denominational almost as we could desire. In most of its schools there is no mixed education whatsoever. It is separate education, as it ought to be, for the children of different religious professions, and thus it has come, in a great part of Ireland, to be a help rather than a hindrance to the Church. That is a great achievement. It has not been the work of a day, but it has been brought about by the steady and unswerving determination of a Catholic people who were true to themselves and loyal to their pastors.

Yet some great blots remain on the System of National Education. The vexatious restrictions on the use of religious emblems in schools that are manifestly denominational are hardly intelligible; and the maintenance of the Model schools, which violate the principle of local control and managership, which is the very essence of the whole system, is a wrong to Catholics and an unpardonable waste of public money.

We hope, however, that this latter anomaly may soon cease, and that these schools may become technical institutions, or otherwise turned to useful account, under the recent Agricultural Act.

These remarks which we have made on our Primary system of education suggest some considerations on the character and duties of teachers.

In many respects the office of teacher is allied to that of a priest, and is almost sacred in the nature of the work for which it is instituted. A school teacher is not a mere instructor of youth in certain branches of knowledge, but it is his mission to form their minds in wisdom—to mould their characters, to bring them in intellect and in heart to that disposition which will enable them to grow up into good and useful members of society, and worthy children of the Church, whose aim will be, in their various positions in life, to attain, above all things, the supernatural end of their creation.

That is, to instruct them unto justice; and, assuredly, every good and faithful teacher may look with confidence to a share of the special reward that is promised to those who do this holy work. We would then exhort the teachers of Ireland to set before themselves a high ideal of their noble profession, which our people have always held in the highest honour. For them, as for all men, the interests of religion must come first in their thoughts, and if they are personally penetrated with the spirit of faith, they will manifest it in their whole bearing and action in their schools, but especially in their relations with their spiritual guides and superiors. From our knowledge of the teachers and their work in our respective dioceses, we can bear testimony—and we do so willingly—to their worth, their zeal, their piety, as individuals; but we have to add that, in recent years, their organization has manifested a painfully un-Catholic spirit.

We are aware that the great majority of the National school teachers are not in sympathy with this anti-clerical and almost secularist movement. But it is an evil that follows associations

that they readily lend themselves to the machinations of a few designing persons who are able to impose on the body collectively courses of action which, as individuals, the greater number of them would condemn. In this way only can we reconcile the official acts of the Teachers' Association with the well-known dispositions of its members at large.

It is for these members, then, to put themselves right as Catholics, and, unless their Association takes up and maintains, unequivocally, a correct and becoming attitude towards the Bishops and Priests of the Church, to sever their connection with it as no longer in harmony with the principles of faith, or with their duties as members of the Catholic Church.

In Intermediate education our progress has been still more striking. Up to the year 1878 a large number of our Catholic schools languished for the want of resources, while Protestant schools were amply provided with endowments derived in large measure from confiscated Catholic property. Since the passing of the Intermediate Education Act, an astonishing change has come in this respect, and the annual examinations which have been held have been a positive revelation, and showed us the wealth of intellect which had lain undiscovered and unworked in our Catholic youth, as well as the teaching power of our Catholic masters.

But the feature in this system on which we desire particularly to dwell is its frank recognition of the denominational principle,—thus illustrating the obvious truth that if educational or any other laws are to be a success, they must be framed in accordance with the convictions and feelings of the people for whom they are made.

To the great body of Catholic teachers throughout the country, whether members of the Secular or Regular clergy, or of other religious communities, we tender the expression of our thanks for their services, and our admiration of their signal success.

At the same time, we venture to express a hope that no competition however keen in secular studies, will cause them to forget the precedence which religious instruction should hold in a Catholic school. It is to vindicate freedom for our schools in this respect that we have all along striven, and it would be a poor result of all our labours if when our triumph was secure, we ourselves neglected the very object for which we fought.

But the triumph of denominational principles and the consequent growth of our Catholic schools, has given to our grievance in the matter of University Education a fresh urgency and importance. Our Catholic boys—who bear off the highest prizes in the Intermediate Examinations—are increasing in numbers annually The system of education that exists is leading them, by hundreds, nay by thousands, to the very threshold of the University, only to find the door shut in their faces, while the comparatively few Protestants or Agnostics who joined in the same competition enter into the possession of all the advantages that a University career can give.

Dearly Beloved Brethren, this is not only a grievance, it is an insult to this Catholic Nation. In its ultimate resolution it means that we Catholics have no rights in this matter, that our principles may be disregarded, and those of religious bodies, who regard us with the bitterest hostility, may be imposed upon us. In other branches of the education question the true issues have sometimes been obscured; here there can be no mistake that we are face to face with an opposition which draws its full force from religious prejudice. One has only to consider the source from which the opposition comes to divine its nature. Statesmen are not against us. The ablest and most representative politicians in England and Ireland have openly espoused our cause; and, what is more noteworthy, not a single public man of the first rank, no matter what his political opinions, has taken sides against us. Nor is it in the interest of knowledge that our claims are denied. As far as they have spoken, the representative men of the great Protestant Universities in England and Ireland have pleaded for us. Not, indeed, that their principles and ours are one, or that we and they have a common ideal of a University; but, differing from us fundamentally as they do, they consider it narrow bigotry and unwisdom to lower the whole educational status of a country because its people will not renounce in education the abiding principles of their religious belief.

Whence, then, comes this persistent, and, we are sorry to add, powerful opposition? One has only to follow the course of this question for the last few years to tell that it has its source in a limited body of English and Irish Protestants who, we believe we may state without offence, are actuated mainly, if not entirely, by their bias against the Catholic Church.

They are the very men who have always opposed every

concession and measure of relief to their Catholic fellow-citizens; whose feelings against us are so strong that they regard it as an injustice to themselves if a public place of emolument is given to a Catholic, and whose policy, if it had prevailed, would have kept us still under the disabilities of the Penal Laws. Yet, while this is so, it only makes our position more humiliating. If responsible statesmen held, on some ground of public policy, that it was dangerous to the State to allow Irish Catholics to get a higher education in a Catholic atmosphere, or if the representatives of learning asserted that it could not be done without injury to the interests of Knowledge—although we should differ from them as to the facts, we should understand their position; but when those who can speak with authority for the State and for Knowledge unite in vindicating the justice and the expediency of our claim, we consider it the strongest and most fatal condemnation of our Government to find it abandon its own convictions, and, for some electoral expediency, takes its policy from the least enlightened sections of its followers.

For us, however, our course is clear. Irish Catholics know what it is to be repulsed time and again. On every issue that we have ever raised for freedom we have been thrown to the ground often—but from the touch of our mother earth we have risen with fresh vigour and determination, until in the end the victory was achieved. We are confident that this will be our experience here too. The argument is over, the case is clear, and it only needs to be pressed home with determination for a little while. We trust, then, that our people will realize its importance for themselves, and for their children, and for their country, materially as well as religiously, and lose no opportunity of infusing their own spirit into our public men. At the approaching General Election it should be made a test question in every Catholic constituency, and still more, in selecting representatives, our people should have regard to the importance of choosing men who, by education and personal character and experience, would be capable and worthy advocates of this most important and sacred cause.

Hitherto we have tried to find a solution of the question which would hurt no existing institution and leave no heart-burnings behind.

Nor can it be said that we have aimed at enlarging our ecclesiastical privileges. If we have erred at all, it has been on

the side of concession—for our purpose has been to reduce our claims to the very narrowest limits that were consistent with our duty as Bishops and guardians of our people's faith.

If ultimately these efforts of ours fail, we cannot be blamed for seeking, on some other lines, for relief from a grievance which is simply intolerable. We have tried to meet the case by 'levelling up.' If the extreme Protestant party in these countries stop the way in that direction, they must be prepared to find public opinion advancing on another. Things cannot remain as they are. The days are gone by when any one section of the community, and least of all, the wealthiest, can be allowed to monopolise endowments that should be the possession of the nation at large; and it may be found that the vexatious delay which has occurred in settling this grave question has only led to a more thoroughgoing and satisfactory solution than we had ever ventured to ask.

Out of the revenues of Trinity College, which are undoubtedly public and national property, and the endowment of the Royal University, and the annual grants made to the Queen's Colleges, a fund might be established which would be sufficient to satisfy all the higher educational needs of the country in one great National University, and on principles that would hurt no religious susceptibilities. The System of Intermediate Education is founded on this principle. Catholics come into competition under it with their non-Catholic fellow-countrymen. If we may not have a University for ourselves, then let us have equality between Irishmen of all religious bodies in another way—let one National University preside over all our higher studies and administer a common fund, and let each college or institution receive a share of it according to the extent and the quality of its work.

Meanwhile, it is for Irish Catholic parents to heed the warnings of the Church, and remember the account which they shall have to render to God for the souls of their children. On no account should they send them for the sake of any temporal advantages to colleges in which their religious interests may suffer.

The Queen's Colleges have been condemned by the Holy See itself as intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals—and two National Synods have promulgated that condemnation. Trinity College, Dublin, has been declared by the National Synod of Maynooth to be dangerous for the same reasons.

It is, then, for Catholic parents to keep their sons away from these places, lest in seeking the knowledge of this world they

suffer the loss of their holy faith. Even at some pecuniary sacrifice they should send their sons to the Colleges of our own Catholic University; and Catholic representative bodies, too, may afford substantial aid to the cause by appointing to offices of trust and emolument those candidates who have made their studies in these Colleges. The Medical School, in particular, has a strong claim on the favourable consideration of Boards of Guardians. It turns out, from year to year, a number of young doctors who have passed their examinations with great distinction before the public licensing bodies of the country; and we do not think it unreasonable to ask that, if they are found as well qualified as their competitors from other institutions, they should get a preference in those appointments from which Catholics have been so long excluded.

Although, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we address you directly on matters of spiritual interest, we cannot refrain from expressing our congratulations on the powers of Local Government, which for the first time in this century, have been conferred upon our fellow-countrymen; and, we have to add with singular satisfaction, our admiration of the prudence and moderation and liberality with which they have entered on their exercise. In this beginning, limited as it is, we see the seeds of great developments; and we are confident, if the spirit which the people have shown in the first year of their power continues—especially if they exercise great care in the selection of their representatives—that this measure of local government will not only help to heal the soreness of ancient feuds, to mitigate class prejudices, to draw all Irishmen together in the service of our common country, but that it will demonstrate our fitness for wider responsibilities, and remove much of the distrust with which some persons, no doubt honestly, still regard the prospect of national self-government.

Amongst the powers which our local authorities will have to exercise are those of directing and controlling Technical Instruction under the recently-passed Agricultural Act. At once let us say frankly that we recognize in that Act the means of securing great advantages for our people, and that, as far as it is in our power, we should wish to co-operate in making it a success. Whatever increases the resources of Ireland, by manufacture, by commerce, and, most of all, by agriculture, has our fullest sympathy. Every increase in national wealth brings with it the means of better and more extensive employment, and puts a

corresponding check upon the flow of emigration, in which our poor country, literally and truly, has been bleeding to death. Whatever may have been thought about emigration at the time of the great famine, no one of any school of economics will now venture to hold that it can continue at its present rate without absolutely impoverishing the whole country.

But in putting their powers under this Agricultural Act in force in town and country, our local bodies in Catholic districts will, we are sure, shape their regulations in accordance with the principles which we, as their Pastors, have always laid down on educational questions. In particular, great care has to be taken in establishing residential colleges of any kind, and the great waste of public money, and the utter failure that befel the old Agricultural Colleges under the Commissioners of National Education, because they ran counter to Catholic principles, should act as a warning to those who are confronted with the same problem which they failed to solve.

The essential error made in their constitution was, that Catholic youth were asked to live in the same dwellings with youths of different religions, and often under non-Catholic masters. In such a system it was obvious that there could be no security for the religious belief and moral training of these students, and the colleges founded under it might readily become hot-beds of vice and irreligion. If residential colleges are to be set up, they should be placed under the control of some religious body which would take the place of parents for the young students, and, while giving them technical instruction, would prepare them to take their place as good and useful members of society.

If there is question of mere day classes, the same objections do not hold; yet even here we think it will be found that the nearer the Technical Education system approximates to the ordinary educational institutions in existence, the healthier and more useful it will be.

If well and judiciously used, we believe that the powers given under this Act may be productive of immense good; but if the drain of emigration is to cease, and their homes in Ireland are to be made more attractive for our people than their prospects in foreign lands, something more radical and thorough is required. As it stands, the Land Question is in an impossible position. There is no finality in our land laws. No one now pretends to think that a system in which rents are periodically made a matter

of litigation before a tribunal in which neither of the litigants has confidence, can be the true solution of the question, and the conviction is growing on many sides that peasant proprietary must ultimately come. In that change will be involved, we trust, a measure which will restore to the industry of Irish peasants, who now are driven to starvation on miserable holdings, the great grass plains that are at present almost worthless to their owners, and are economically lost to the country.

A movement for these purposes will have our fullest sympathy and support, on the one condition that it is conducted on just and orderly and constitutional lines, but we shall set our faces against any attempt to reach them by violence or injustice or any other means condemned by the laws of God. Our recent experiences must be a warning to us. Within a few years the country has passed through a political agitation which, in its extent and force was little less than a revolution. It would be too much to expect that during its progress many things should not have occurred, from which, in calmer moments, people would shrink. There have been considerable evils which we all deplore; but considering the vastness of the interests which were at stake, and the intensity of the movement that arose in connection with them, we have reason to thank God that these evils were for the most part, superficial and transient, and left hardly a trace upon the national character.

But, such as they were, it is our duty to profit by the lessons which they teach, and, in any further movement for similar objects, to eliminate everything which is at variance with God's law, as authoritatively declared to us by the Pastors of His Church. Sinful means do no good. They often defeat their own ends; but, even if they brought us some temporal advantages, these would be bought at too dear a price if we offend God, and still more if we lower the moral tone of an entire nation by bringing it to acquiesce in methods of action which it knows to be immoral.

But, Dearly Beloved Brethren, while the actual condition of our country fills us spiritually with great joy and gratitude to God, and, as regards your temporal prospects, gives us the hope of much prosperity, we cannot disguise from you the fact that sometimes anxious thoughts for the future present themselves to us, and we ask ourselves: Will our people, under the altered conditions of life that are now forming around them, be found

as faithful as in the past? Nations, as well as individuals, may fall away from God's faith. There are few things more touching in human history than St. Paul's account of the rejection of the Jewish people. They were his own race, and he loved them with an intense devotion. Their ancient glories, their privileges, their mysterious and wonderful election as the chosen people of God, filled his heart with exultation, and he loved to recount them all:—'Who are Israelites, to whom belongeth the adoption as of children, and the glory, and the testament, and the giving of the law, and the service of God and the promises; whose are the fathers, and of whom is Christ, according to the flesh, who is over all things, God blessed for ever' (Rom. ix. 4, 5).

Yet after these ages of predilection, during which, out of all the nations of the earth, they had been God's chosen people—and at the very time when all their glories had received their consummation and their crown by the birth, as one of them, of the Incarnate Son of God—the Jews, even then, as a nation, were rejected by God, and others taken in their stead.

'I speak the truth in Christ,' says the Apostle; 'I lie not, my conscience bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great sadness and continual sorrow in my heart; for I wished myself to be an anathema from Christ for my brethren, who are my kinsmen according to the flesh' (Rom. ix. 1, 2). And the words of solemn admonition which the Apostle then addressed to the Roman converts, who might be disposed to overweening pride and confidence at being called into the place which the Jews had forfeited, have their application as directly and immediately to us, and to every people who are similarly the objects of Divine favour:—'If some of the branches be broken, and thou, being a wild olive, art engrafted in them, and art made partaker of the root and of the fatness of the olive-tree, boast not against the branches; but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee. Thou wilt say then: 'The branches were broken off that I might be grafted in. Well, because of unbelief they were broken off; but thou standest by faith: be not high-minded, but fear; for if God hath not spared the natural branches, lest, perhaps, he also spare not thee' (Rom. xi. 17-21).

That is the supreme lesson for a Christian people to learn. Their faith, which is the root and foundation of all God's supernatural blessings to man on earth, is His gift, given to us without right or title on our part. 'It is not of him that willeth, nor

of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy' (Rom. ix. 16). To us, the people of Ireland, He has shown great and signal mercy at all times. He has led us, even as He led the Jews of old; He has been the God of our fathers, and kept them, generation after generation, faithful children of the Church; yet these mercies of God should but deepen our anxiety lest we should be unworthy of them, and in some evil hour we, too, should be cut off.

And though, in many respects, the state of things, religiously, in our country, gives us good grounds to hope that we shall persevere in the ways of our fathers; yet there are special dangers in our times that should make us humble and cautious. Hitherto we lived almost apart from the great movements of the world's thoughts. The very persecutions to which our religion was subjected for the last three centuries,—while they brought out what was best in the national character, and tempered and strengthened it,—on the other hand, acted as a shield against the attacks of unbelief, which, at the same time, were making such havoc throughout Europe. Down to our own day, also, nearly all our political movements were either purely religious, or were tinged with a religious spirit, so that this providential combination of circumstances tended to bring the religious interests of the country into prominence, and to concentrate the mind and heart of the people upon them.

How great a change we have undergone in these respects is a matter of common knowledge, and the danger is that in the intense, though perfectly legitimate, preoccupation of our people with the purely human questions that are now in issue, with the spread of education, the diffusion of literature, the unrestrained circulation of every current, however bad or irreligious, of modern thought, the mind of our people may lose the fine edge of its faith, and, it may be, enter on the path that has led other nations to their spiritual ruin.

Against such a danger there is no protection so secure as personal holiness of life, fidelity to religious duty, and the devout and humble reception of the Sacraments. God protects the good man, and guides him, and opens his mind to the teaching of the Church and the knowledge of faith: 'Wisdom conducted the just man . . . through right ways, and showed him the kingdom of God, and gave him the knowledge of holy things' (Wisdom x. 10). And as a means towards extending amongst the laity, particularly those of the educated classes who are most exposed to dangers

against faith, the practices of religion, we desire most earnestly to commend the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. No words of ours can add anything to the formal and most emphatic testimony which this very year it has received from our most Holy Father, Leo XIII. In a remarkable letter addressed to the President-General, His Holiness writes:—

'It is becoming daily more evident that this Society, which is entirely devoted to works of active charity and benevolence, is peculiarly suited to the needs of our times. For in the singular force of Christian charity we must find the remedy of the evils which now press around us. Wherefore we thank the most merciful God for the increase which He has given to your work, and we pray to Him that He may give you many more partners of your labours.'

We trust that this prayer of the Vicar of Christ may be efficacious in Ireland too, and that the Society of St. Vincent de Paul may receive an extension worthy of its own excellence and of the piety of our people.

We would particularly recommend it to young men, many of whom are disposed to yield themselves up to the pleasures and frivolities of life, and pass their best years without realizing its earnestness and its solemnity. It is most noteworthy that in its origin this Society was the work of six or eight young students of the University of Paris, under the leadership of Frederick Ozanam, and was their answer to the taunts of infidels and sceptics: 'Show us your works.' We should desire most earnestly that young Catholics throughout this country followed that blessed example. In visiting the poor in their homes, they would be brought into actual contact with the stern realities of life; they would be schooled in the lessons of Christian charity; and by the very poor themselves, in their resignation to God's Holy Will—their vivid faith—their undying hope—they would learn the deep and wonderful power of our Holy Church to ennoble the lives of the lowliest of her children.

But over and above these ordinary precautions of a Christian life, it is our duty to warn our people, with all the earnestness and solemnity which we can command, against the special danger, which has assumed such proportions in our days, from the spread of irreligious and immoral literature. A sad change seems to have come over public opinion on this point. No subject now is too sacred to be made the matter of popular discussion in

magazines and newspapers—the mysteries of faith, the solemn truths on which man rests his eternal hopes, are tossed about, with as little reverence or reserve, as if they were some topics of the most trivial importance, and we fear that sometimes these things leave their poison in the minds of Catholics who read them. 'Lead us not into temptation' holds in this as in all other occasions of sin, and the Catholic who, out of mere wantonness or curiosity, reads such writings, loves the danger, and it is no wonder if he should perish therein. The ordinary man of the world—without any special training in such subjects—without any opportunity or intention of following up the questions in discussion to the end—is no match for writers who are often specialists of great ability and knowledge, but who by some perversity use their powers against God's holy faith; and, at the very least, it is inexcusable rashness for such a man to expose himself to the danger of being unsettled in his belief by the impressions which they may make upon him.

Avoid such writings, then, Dearly Beloved Brethren, thank God for the gift of faith, and guard and cherish it as your most sacred possession.

Worse, perhaps, and more fatal to many souls, is the immoral literature which is poured, almost in floods, over the country. We believe that one should go back to the old pagan times to find anything equal to it in corruption, and it would be a wrong to the great classical writers of antiquity to compare them with a certain important school of English fiction in these days. And what is most deplorable is that many Catholics, who deem themselves loyal members of the Church, allow themselves the utmost liberty in reading such things. Let a book only be extensively spoken of, then no matter how impure and how suggestive of evil it may be, no matter how gross and indecent may be the phases of human life with which it deals, if only it is fashionable, numbers of people seem to think that they are free to read it. Even women—Catholic women—take this licence, and will sit down hour by hour over a book, which no earthly consideration would induce them to read aloud in the presence of any one—man or woman—for whom they had a particle of respect. Surely such reading must fill the imagination with images of evil that in the end will corrupt their very souls.

In this matter we Catholics have a high standard of morals, and we should never regulate our conduct by any other. For all

Catholics, but especially for women, there is ever set before their eyes, by our Holy Church, an image that should raise them above foulness of this kind, and make it, in any form, repulsive to them. Mary Immaculate, the Virgin Mother, is their ideal, and their pattern, and we can hardly conceive anyone—least of all a woman, in whose heart that spotless image is enshrined—finding pleasure in the literature to which we refer.

And all that we have said of these works of fiction, which are written for the leisured classes, holds, with still greater force, with regard to the grosser and more vulgar forms in which the same topics are presented to the people at large. We believe that immense quantities of these vile publications, together with most indecent and lascivious pictures, which are shown by certain traders in their shops, are brought into this country from England. It should be the duty of Parish Priests, by combined and persistent action, to put a stop to this unholy trade, and to denounce, in the clearest and plainest terms, the utter sinfulness of all participation in it.

A positive remedy for this crying evil is to find for the people a literature which will be at the same time healthy and interesting, and it is for this purpose, mainly, that the Catholic Truth Society has been established. We commend it to the patronage and support of our clergy and people. It has given an earnest already of what it can do, but with the full strength of Catholic Ireland to sustain it, it would be impossible to measure the services which it may yet render to letters and religion amongst us.

In referring, as we have to do, to the widespread and most pernicious evil of Intemperance, we only follow in the footsteps of our predecessors in the last Synod of Maynooth. Almost every word in which their Pastoral Letter described the sin, the misery, the domestic woe, the national impoverishment, which follow in the train of this degrading vice, might be repeated by us now. It is still working havoc in town and country—it is still blighting many a life and bringing sorrow into many a home—it is a blot upon the fair fame of our Irish Church, and a mystery in the persistence with which it baffles all the efforts of religion to extirpate it. Consequently, it is our duty, as Pastors of the people, to strive in the first place to raise their minds to a realization of its magnitude, and then by God's grace to organize them in strong and united action for its cure, or at least its substantial abatement.

At the same time, it is right to acknowledge the decided

progress that has already been made. It is the universal experience of the clergy, and our own, that the extent to which drunkenness prevails has been steadily reduced in recent years, and what is more important and more hopeful, that a sounder and truer tone of public opinion has grown up in reference to it. It is no longer regarded, as it used to be, as a tolerable failing of which a decent man need not be ashamed. Drunkenness now is considered disgraceful in every class of society, and to the influence of this feeling we look, under God and His Holy Sacraments, for future progress towards sobriety.

We desire that the clergy should encourage and foster religious associations under their own direction for the promotion of temperance, and, in particular, we recommend to their zeal the establishment of total abstinence societies in the schools, and we would make an earnest appeal to parents to encourage their children at the time of Confirmation to take a pledge against drink, and to watch over its observance themselves as long as the children remain under their control.

We should wish, too, that the occasions of intemperance were reduced. The multiplication of public-houses out of all proportion to any possible needs of our people is a great wrong; and we anxiously desire to see a considerable reduction in the opportunities of drinking which are thrown in the way of our working-men on Saturday nights and Sundays.

But although legislation may do a good deal by lessening the occasions of sin, the radical and permanent cure can be brought about only by God's grace working through His Holy Word, by the Sacraments and Prayer, on the hearts and consciences of the people.

There is another evil which we may not fail to notice, because although at present it has not grown to any great extent, yet it may develop into considerable proportions and bring in its train most serious consequences. We refer to the shocking desecration of the Lord's day by horse-racing. In the strongest and most emphatic terms we condemn this practice, as scandalous in the last degree, and an outrage on religious decency. We would appeal to our good Catholic people to aid us in stopping it at the outset, for if it should ever come to pass that our people, in considerable numbers, should so far depart from their duty as Catholics as to take part in such irreligious conduct, we should begin to fear that the ancient faith of Ireland was passing away. Let us leave these things to the infidels on the Continent of

Europe. Hitherto they have been unheard of in this Catholic land, and they shock every sense of religion and propriety.

In times past, secret societies were the occasion of much injury to the souls of our people. We have reason to hope that they have lost the greater part, if not all, of the strange fascination which they seemed to exercise on the minds of young men. Possibly the experience which the country has had of their worthlessness for any national purpose and, in many instances, of the treachery of their leaders, has helped to bring home to our people the conviction of the wisdom in this, as in other respects, of the Church's laws.

Still there may be some individuals so misguided as to look to them as a means of serving their country, and to these we trust it will be enough to point out that all such societies are condemned by the Church, and fall under grave ecclesiastical censures. The severity of this legislation should, in itself, be a sufficient warning to Catholics of the sinfulness of these societies, and of the Church's anxiety to save her children from their pernicious influence.

In all these admonitions which, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we have addressed to you, as well as in the decrees which we have passed in Synod, we have the comfort of knowing that we address those who recognise our authority as Pastors of the Church, and will receive our words with dutiful obedience. There is, however, one section of the flock committed to our charge, for whose welfare we cannot thus provide, because by a most unfair, and, we will add, unchristian state of the civil law, they are cut off from the opportunities of practising their religion, which we regard as necessary for their spiritual needs. We refer to the sailors in Her Majesty's Navy. More than forty years ago an undertaking was given that the evil of which we complain would be remedied, but still there it stands, and Catholic sailors are required to go to every quarter of the globe, and to be ready, at all times, to shed their blood for their Queen, and all the while no Catholic priest is allowed to accompany them, no proper provision is made to satisfy their conscientious requirements in the practice of their religion, or give them its consolations and help in their dying moments to prepare them to go before their God. We should be false to our duty, if at any cost, we did not raise our voices in protest against so glaring and so intolerable a wrong.

In conclusion, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we cannot omit a

reference to the auspicious time at which we are assembled. It is of good promise, we trust, for the fruit of our labours that they have been carried on during this Holy Year, when the thoughts of the faithful throughout the universal Church are turned, at the invitation of the Supreme Pontiff, to Rome, and multitudes of them, day by day, are pouring out at the shrines of the Apostles their prayers for the spread of God's faith, the extirpation of error, and the welfare of our Holy Church. In the Divine blessings which these prayers must draw down abundantly, we hope and trust that we have had a part, and that, in view of them, the Spirit of God has directed our deliberations.

We are assembled under the authority of the Vicar of Christ, and what we have decreed must, before its promulgation, receive his approval. He is the Chief Pastor and Ruler of the whole Church, to whom, in Peter, have been given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven. In communion with him, and under his authority, we exercise the powers which we have received from the Spirit of God to rule His Church.

This year, more than ever, the spirit of that loyalty to Rome, and to him that sits in the chair of the Fisherman, should be quickened within us.

In a few weeks a pilgrimage will go from Ireland to partake of the blessings of the Jubilee which has been proclaimed, and, over and above their own spiritual advantages, to be witnesses to the faith of this Catholic land, 'which is spoken of in the whole world;' and in particular of our unfaltering loyalty, under all circumstances, to the Vicar of Christ and to the See of Rome. Even more, as they kneel in the gracious presence of the venerable Pontiff Leo XIII., they will thank God, on behalf of all of us, for having in these days given to the Church a Pope who, by the sheer force of his own glorious personality, has raised the Papal Throne to a place of influence and power such as it has not held in the world for many a year. But, at the same time, as they think that this illustrious Pontiff, whose 'sons come from afar, and whose daughters rise up at his side,' is, humanly speaking, a mere dependent upon the will of others, that even the city of Rome, which is his by titles as sacred as they are indefeasible, is not left to him, they will pray, as we all do, that these evil times may cease, and that He whose angel struck the chains from Peter in prison, will deliver Peter's successor, too, and give him back that independence which the well-being of the Church and the nature of his office demand.

For the rest, Dearly Beloved Brethren, we 'pray that your charity may more and more abound in knowledge and in all understanding; that you may approve the better things, that you may be sincere and without offence unto the day of Christ, filled with the fruit of justice, through Jesus Christ unto the glory and praise of God' (Philippians i. 9-11).

✠ Michael, Cardinal Logue, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of All Ireland, Delegate Apostolic.
✠ William Joseph, Archbishop of Dublin, and Primate of Ireland.
✠ Thomas William, Archbishop of Cashel.
✠ John, Archbishop of Tuam.
✠ Francis Joseph, Bishop of Galway.
✠ Thomas Alphonsus, Bishop of Cork.
✠ John, Bishop of Clonfert.
✠ James, Bishop of Ferns.
✠ Abraham, Bishop of Ossory.
✠ Edward Thomas, Bishop of Limerick.
✠ Patrick, Bishop of Raphoe.
✠ John, Bishop of Achonry.
✠ Edward, Bishop of Kilmore.
✠ Thomas, Bishop of Dromore, by Procurator.
✠ John, Bishop of Kerry.
✠ Thomas, Bishop of Killaloe.
✠ John, Bishop of Derry.
✠ Richard Alphonsus, Bishop of Waterford.
✠ John, Bishop of Killala.
✠ Robert, Bishop of Cloyne.
✠ Richard, Bishop of Clogher.
✠ Joseph, Bishop of Ardagh.
✠ John, Bishop of Elphin.
✠ Henry, Bishop of Down and Connor.
✠ Patrick, Bishop of Kildare.
✠ Denis, Bishop of Ross.
✠ Mathew, Bishop of Meath.
✠ Nicholas, Bishop of Canea.
Carthage Delany, Abbot of Melleray.
J. Camillus Beardwood, Abbot of St. Joseph's, Roscrea.

Given at Maynooth,
Feast of the Most Holy Name of Mary, 1900.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

THE LIFE AND LETTERS OF THOMAS HENRY HUXLEY. By his Son, Leonard Huxley. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd. 1900. 2 vols. 8vo.

THROUGH the medium of these two volumes we get a pretty full view of the life and character of Thomas Henry Huxley. We must honestly say that the view is, on the whole, anything but a pleasant or attractive one. The chief work of Huxley's life was to popularize Darwinism, to spread unbelief amongst the people, to undermine Christianity. As a man of science his performance is of little value. No doubt he awakened an interest in biology, and did much not only to win for it the attention of all classes of people, and not least of Christian apologists, but also to facilitate for them the study of the subject by his clear and forcible methods of exposition. But really no great discovery remains after him, no very original investigation. He has not left nearly so much as Tyndall; yet to judge from his letters and his essays one would imagine that he had made most of the scientific discoveries of the century.

The man had not in him a single element of the supernatural; he had no reverence or respect for what the great majority of his fellow-men held sacred. He had, as his letters attest, but little sympathy for the fine arts. He had no genuine love of poetry or literature. The two great objects of his cult were science and Huxley.

We cannot, therefore, be much surprised to find that his views of men and things were singularly narrow-minded, that he was imperfect and one-sided, wanting in that sympathy and receptiveness which are needed by the man of science, perhaps, more than by any other member of society.

If he is ever assigned a place in the history of philosophy, a matter which is doubtful enough, as he has done so little that is original or of any permanent value, it will be in the company of the famous John Toland, the Derry philosopher of the eighteenth century, between whom and Huxley there are many points of analogy. Both wielded the English language with equal deftness and vigour. Both were animated by the same hatred of

Christianity. Both set themselves with equal determination to prove that the Scriptures were mere human books. Toland invented the term 'Pantheism' and was the first to introduce it into the literature of philosophy, although, of course, the thing it represents is to be found not only in the works of Spinoza but in those of the ancient philosopher Linus. Huxley, if he was not the inventor of the terms agnosticism and biology, was, at all events, the first to give them a place in the terminology of science. Toland taught an exoteric doctrine to the public, and held an esoteric doctrine for himself. Huxley, though by no means deficient in brass, took care to clip his sails when he was called upon to lecture in public, and to tack before the breeze of popular opinion. He kept his most radical views for himself and for the readers of the reviews and of his books. According to Toland the Nazareans or Ebionites were the only true Christians of early times; according to Huxley, the Founder of Christianity would not recognize His work were He to come on earth to-day. Toland, however, was by far the more acute and versatile man of the two. It would be difficult to say which surpassed the other in impiety—*par nobile fratrum.*

We can readily imagine to what the world would revert if paganism on the Huxley model were to get the upper hand once more. In 1885 he is in Rome, and his friend, Donnelly, sends him an account of some dynamite outrage to which he replies in this delicate fashion:—

'News about the dynamiting gentry just arrived. A little more mischief and there will be an Irish massacre in some of our great towns. If an Irish Parnellite member were to be shot for every explosion I believe the thing would soon stop. It would be quite just, as they are practically accessories.'

He is fearfully shocked at seeing the poor Italians kiss the 'Bambino' on Christmas Day. He rages and blasphemes at some ceremony he witnessed in St. Peter's at which Cardinal Howard pontificated. His description of the Cardinal is coarse and brutal. He, himself, is possessed with the 'desire to arise and slay the whole brood of idolators.' Nero and Caligula and Julian the Apostate were possessed with the same desire, and what they failed to accomplish is not likely to be carried out by an official of the British Museum or of London University.

Cardinal Newman is 'the slipperiest of all the sophists' he has come across. We have no doubt. Call the man you cannot

answer 'a sophist,' and, of course, there is an end of him. As far as Catholicism is concerned it is, perhaps, just as well that Huxley was what he was. The Papacy was to him anathema. He hated it with a bitterness that approached to madness. As we read some of his diatribes we are reminded of the words of the psalm :—*Peccator videbit et irascetur, dentibus suis fremet et tabescet.* But we should not forget the sequel : *Desiderium peccatorum peribit.* We imagine that in spite of all his bravery Huxley had his moments of terrible misgiving. He was a man whose whole life might have been transformed by some sudden stroke of grace. But the favour was denied him. A correspondent once brought under his notice an article written by a Catholic priest on the Galileo question. Huxley replies :— 'I looked into the matter when I was in Italy and I arrived at the conclusion that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had the best of it. It would complete the paradox if Father Roberts should help me to see the error of my ways.'

But it was not to be. Huxley died as he had lived, interesting himself only in nature. The flowers of his garden were the only things he thought of on his death-bed. Perhaps he thought of something else. His son, at all events, draws the veil over his last moments. The people whom he laboured to pervert will very soon draw it over his whole life.

J. F. H.

L'Église Catholique à la Fin du XIX^e^ Siècle. Paris : Librairie Plon, Nourrit et Cie, Rue Garancière 10. Price, 60 francs bound ; 40 francs unbound.

We have received from Messrs. Plon, Nourrit & Co., of Paris, this splendid volume, representing the Catholic Church at the end of the nineteenth century. It is no excessive praise to say of it that it is worthy of its noble subject, and worthy of one of the greatest publishing firms of Catholic France. It will find its natural place, not alone in Catholic libraries, and Catholic religious institutions, but on the drawing-room tables of Catholic families the world over. As a gift book, or a present, we could not recommend anything more suitable for a Catholic. It contains a splendid portrait, in colours, of Pope Leo XIII., portraits of all the cardinals of the Sacred College, of a great number of archbishops and bishops, of Roman prelates, heads and

officials of Roman congregations, heads and professors of Roman colleges, members of the Papal household, distinguished Catholic laymen, who are known for their devotion to the Holy Catholic Church, all sorts of religious buildings, and works of art.

The letter-press gives us a short account of the lives of the principal personages, and a brief history of some of the principal institutions. It is a beautiful book, and we trust that the enterprise and skill which have been brought to the service of the Church in this noble volume may have a rich reward.

The book contains amongst other Irish portraits an excellent one of his Grace, the Archbishop of Dublin, accompanied on the same page by a sketch of St. Patrick's cathedral. The compilers of the work evidently thought that the cathedral was still in the possession of Catholics.

J. F. H.

THE HOLY YEAR OF JUBILEE. By Herbert Thurston, S.J. London: Sands & Co., 1900. 12*s.* 6*d.*

DECIDEDLY the gift of style does not seem to have been vouchsafed to Father Thurston. When we think of what an attractive and readable volume a French author would have made of the materials, so laboriously collected, and yet so inartistically woven together, which compose the work before us, we cannot fail to be impressed by the contrast. That Father Thurston has given his readers a vast amount of information, and that he has taken great pains to satisfy curiosity-lovers is abundantly clear. The pity of it is, that he did not take more trouble to throw his materials into shape, to relegate to the appendices several of the documents he has introduced into the body of the work, and to lift the reader now and again from the dull and monotonous plane of facts and details to something more in harmony with the subject. This was the rare gift that was possessed in such a high degree by John Henry Newman, by Matthew Arnold, and by Ruskin. It is still a notable characteristic of writers like John Morley and Mr. Lecky. It is to be met with in historians of the type of Freeman, Gardiner and Gasquet. But in a good many of the works that have recently issued from the Catholic press of Great Britain there seems to be positively neither life nor soul. We certainly are no believers in the rhapsodical style of writing; but there is a judicious mean. The mass of readers have imaginations and

sentiments as well as intellects, and if their minds and hearts are to be reached, and their attention captivated, they must be appealed to as the composite mixtures that they are.

Father Thurston's book is essentially *a livre de circonstance*. In a hundred years time people will look into it and quote it as a specimen of the taste and learning of our age; but in the meantime its readers will be few, and will be mostly drawn from the circle of historians. For, the matter of the book is interesting, and would require only the skilful touch of some master-hand to make it live and speak. We regret that we cannot give the book the unqualified praise which we should like to extend to a work that must have caused the author so much trouble. There is no use in recommending a book to the general reader that will not be read by any but curiosity hunters, and persons specially interested in the history of the subject.

F. D.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF ST. IGNATIUS. Edited by J. F. X. O'Connor, S.J. New York: Benziger Bros.

THIS is a volume we would wish to see in the hands of every Catholic. St. Ignatius was of so commanding a personality himself, the Order founded by him has played so large a part in the history of the Catholic Church for the last three hundred years and more, that any detail of his life or labours must be of much interest to us all. And here we have that life-story told, not in the words of any biographer—whose best work can be only an impression from without—but by the saint himself, and with all the simple candour characteristic of him. The details may not be numerous, but there is a luminousness in them that reveals more than the keenest observation of the biographer. The saint's heart is laid bare, the doors of his soul thrown open for the time, and we are permitted to look at the most interior working of divine grace in him. We will not say that one finds here in all its fulness that charm of close personal confidence one experiences in the *Confessions of St. Augustine*. If it be not irreverent in us to say so, we have sometimes felt sorry that the saint elected to tell his story in the third person; and we have also longed at times for fuller treatment. Nevertheless, we have not met with much that was more delightful reading. The narrative is plain, direct, and for its compass intensely self-revealing. The book is one of those one instinctively takes to his heart.

The editor has done his work carefully. The English of the

translation is all one could desire. There is an appendix of interesting particulars, illustrative of the educational work done by the fathers of the Society of Jesus. Many of the statistics are very significant, and Catholics will thank Father O'Connor for having told them so plainly.

The publishers—Benziger Bros.—have spared no pains in bringing out the volume. The rich, velvety paper employed, the generous print, the binding, make a book well worthy of St. Ignatius and his Order. The many plates, printed on fine art paper, scattered through the text, are a feature one should not omit to mention.

We wish, and confidently predict, a large sale for the volume.

P. D.

At the Feet of Jesus. By Madame Cecilia, Religious of St. Andrew's Convent, Streatham. London: Burns and Oates. 1900. 3*s.* 6*d.*

Under the above title we have a little volume which is at once a spiritual reading and meditation book. Under either aspect it is very satisfactory: under both combined it is out of the common: altogether it is an excellent book—one that fully justifies its separate existence in an age of spiritual books, for it can be read with pleasure and profit by all. In a space of two hundred and eighty pages it contains twenty-four familiar discourses on the lessons taught us by the life and virtues and example of Jesus in the Gospels. They are written in an easy, elegant style. They breathe a spirit of deep and solid piety throughout. The title of the book is an appropriate one, and indicates the chief excellence of its contents: the conferences bring us at once to the feet of the Master, and speak—or rather let Him speak—at once to the head and to the heart. They teach us how to read the Gospels by exciting our wonder at the depths of wisdom and instruction an humble and devout follower of the Lord can draw from even the least of His words and actions. All good spiritual reading books afford much matter for meditation; so do those discourses. Reading them creates a desire to go back and meditate. For this very purpose each of them is followed by a brief clear summary. The book, therefore, serves a double purpose, and its value is enhanced accordingly.

P. C.

EDITORIAL NOTES

THE POEMS OF EGAN O'RAHILLY

We should have stated, in connection with the review of 'The Poems of Egan O'Rahilly,' which appeared in our last issue, that the text of the work, just published by the 'Irish Texts Society,' and edited by Father Dineen, S.J., of Clongowes Wood, can be had from the publisher, David Nutt, 57, Long Acre, London, at the price of 10*s.* 6*d.* The members of the 'Irish Texts Society' (8, Adelphi-terrace, Strand, London), are entitled to all the publications of the Society on payment o 7*s.* 6*d.* per annum. New subscribers can also get the three volumes already published at the original subscription.—Ed. I. E. R.

If 'Def. Par.' would kindly send us his name and address, his communication will be attended to. We have already stated more than once that we cannot insert anonymous communications, unless they are privately authenticated.—Ed. I. E. R.

The answers to Liturgical questions of 'Regular' are unavoidably held over till next month.—Ed. I. E. R.

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